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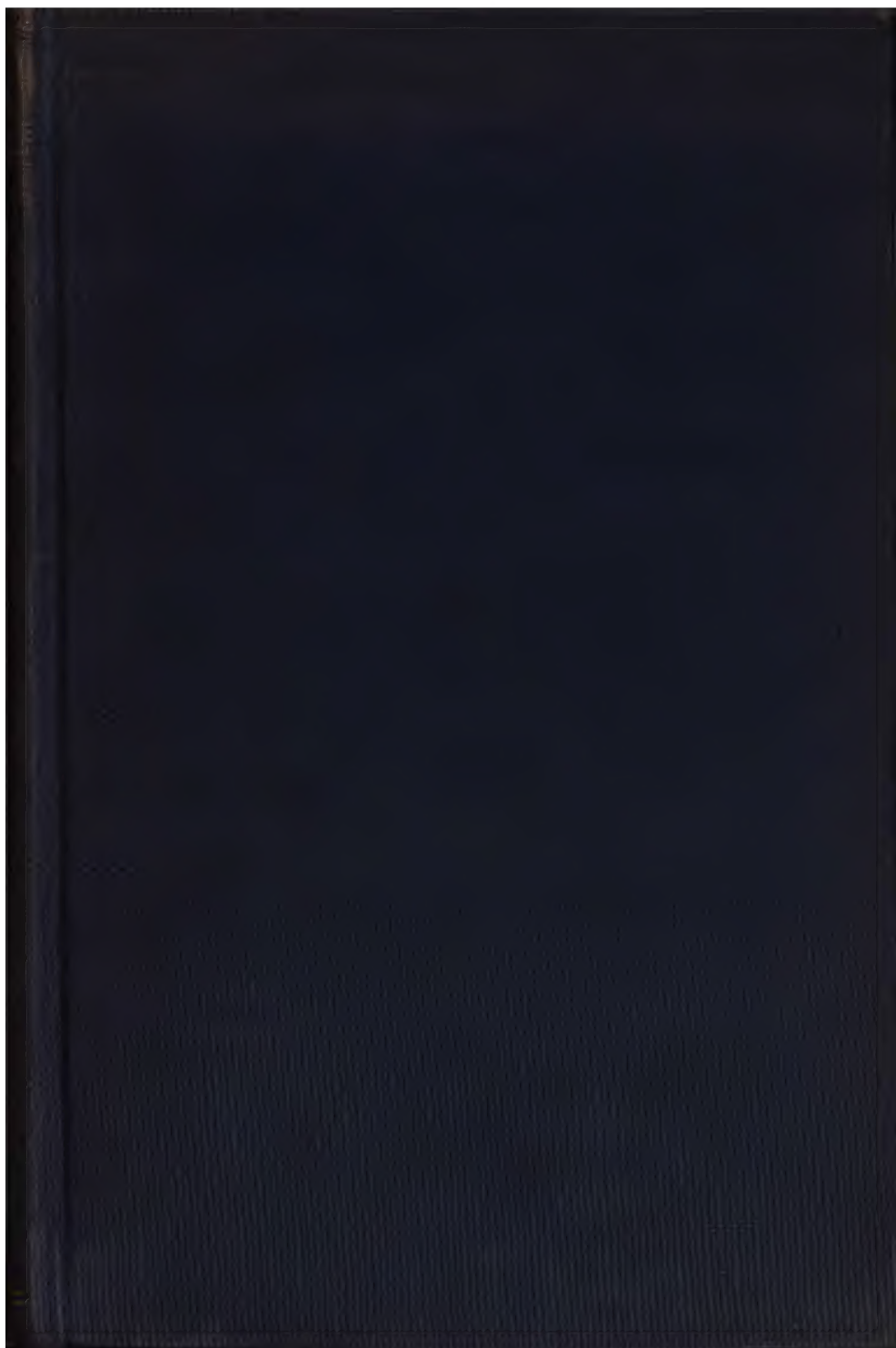
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SELECTIONS

FROM

XENOPHON AND HERODOTUS.

With Notes

ADAPTED TO THE REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION OF
GOODWIN'S GREEK GRAMMAR (1877),

AND COPPERPLATE MAPS.

EDITED BY

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PREFACE.

THIS volume of Selections from Xenophon and Herodotus professes to contain a fair equivalent in amount for the extracts from Xenophon, Plato, Herodotus, and Thucydides which are included in Goodwin's Greek Reader. It is intended for the use of those who, from want of time or for any other reason, are obliged to confine their reading in Greek prose, before entering college, to two authors. The Editors, however, cannot refrain from recording their conviction, that all who are able and willing to study the Reader, or some other compilation containing as great variety of matter and style, should by all means do so. Two additional books of the *Anabasis* are surely a poor substitute, in point of quality, for Xenophon's sketch of the character of Socrates, Plato's graphic account of the last hours of his great master, Thucydides's narrative of the campaign at Pylus, and Xenophon's of the battle of Mantinea.

The first four books of the *Anabasis*, which are here given entire, carry the narrative of the retreat of the Ten Thousand down to their arrival at Trapezus, after their perilous march from the neighborhood of Babylon. Then follows the greater part of the Second Book of the *Hellenica*, describing the capture of Athens by the Spartan Lysander, the tragic end of the long Peloponnesian war in the destruction of the Piræus and of the Long Walls of Athens—the pride of Themistocles and Pericles—to the insulting music of flutes, the odious rule of the Thirty Tyrants, with the expulsion of the oligarchy and

the restoration of the democracy by Thrasybulus and his band of exiled patriots from Phyle.

The selections from Herodotus are in four parts. The first contains the account of the invasion of Darius and the battle of Marathon. The three others contain the most important passages in the Seventh and Eighth books, forming a continuous account of the invasion of Xerxes, — the pomp of the Great King's preparation; the march of the mighty host from Asia to Greece, including bridging the Hellespont and cutting the canal through Athos; the preparations of the terrified Greeks; the wisdom of the Delphic oracle and the craft of Themistocles; the battles of Thermopylae, Artemisium, and Salamis; and finally the ignominious retreat of Xerxes from Salamis to Asia. The campaign of Mardonius in the following year, with the battles of Plataea and Mycale, is omitted for want of space. In thus condensing two long books of Herodotus into so small a compass, great pains have been taken to avoid abrupt transitions; and often single sentences have been taken from a chapter to keep up the continuity of the narrative. It is hoped that the wonderful story of the campaign of Xerxes has thus been presented to the pupil in greater vividness and completeness than it could have been by detached extracts.

The notes on the first two books of the *Anabasis* have been prepared chiefly by Mr. White, those on the last two chiefly by Mr. Goodwin. Those on the *Hellenica* and Herodotus are taken, generally without change, from the notes in Goodwin's Reader, which were prepared for that work in 1871 with the help of Rev. Joseph H. Allen. The notes make no pretension to learning, and aim merely at aiding beginners in laying a solid foundation for future scholarship. The grammatical aid is given in great measure in the form of references, in which form alone it can be systematic. Young students need to be referred to more detailed statements of the general principles involved in the new constructions which they constantly meet in reading than can be given in a commentary; and frequent reference to the

grammar is the only sure means of fixing in the mind the important principles of syntax. It will be seen that the notes on the First Book of the Anabasis, which it is assumed will be used for giving a solid foundation in the general principles of Greek syntax, are especially copious; while those on the remainder of the work are written for pupils who are supposed to have mastered the rudiments. In the opinion of the Editors it is highly desirable to use as small a portion as possible of the classic literature as a *corpus vile* for the more minute dissection, and to enable pupils at the earliest possible moment to read Greek and Latin with an appreciative mind.

No notes can supply all the collateral information needed for the full understanding of an ancient historian. Constant reference should be made to a classical dictionary and to some Greek history. It may be too much to expect of school-boys in these days that they should read a history like Grote's; but all who wish to catch the true spirit of the history they are studying cannot be too strongly recommended to read Grote's graphic account of the Persian wars with Herodotus, his chapters on the Thirty Tyrants with Xenophon's Hellenica, and those on Cyrus the Younger and the Ten Thousand Greeks with the Anabasis. Cox's little volume, "The Greeks and the Persians," is also an excellent companion to Herodotus. It cannot be doubted, moreover, that the time spent in reading these historical works would generally be more than saved by their aid as a commentary to the Greek text, while the increased interest which they would awaken might often change the study from a task to a pleasure.

It is of course impossible in notes like these to give special credit for every remark which is wholly or partly borrowed. The Editors must therefore express, once for all, their obligations to the long and familiar line of commentators on Xenophon and Herodotus, and last, not least, to Grote, from whose notes many valuable hints have been derived. The map of the march of the Ten Thousand Greeks in this volume is copied chiefly

from Kiepert's map in Rehdantz's *Anabasis* (1873); the smaller maps are generally reduced from larger ones in Kiepert's "*Atlas von Hellas*."

In the extracts from Xenophon, the chapters and sections are numbered as they are in recent editions. The selections from Herodotus are divided into new sections as they stand, and numbered accordingly; but the numbers of the original book and chapter with which the right-hand page of the present text ends are given at the top of the page.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., April, 1877.

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XENOPHON.

I. ANABASIS.

BOOK FIRST.

I. Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος γίγονται παῖδες δύο, πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀρταξέρξης, νεώτερος δὲ Κῦρος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡσθένει Δαρείος καὶ ὑπώπτευε τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, ἐβούλετο τὸν παῖδα ἀμφοτέρῳ παρῆναι. **2.** ὁ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος παρὼν ἐτύγχανε· Κῦρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἧς αὐτὸν σατρίπην ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων ὅσοι εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδῖον ἀθροίζονται. ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ Κῦρος λαβὼν Τισσαφέρην ὡς φίλον, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δὲ ἔχων ὀπλίτας ἀνέβη τριακοσίους, ἄρχοντα δὲ αὐτῶν Ξενίαν Παρρύσιον. **3.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρείος καὶ κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀρταξέρξης, Τισσαφέρης διαβύλλει τὸν Κῦρον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ πείθεται τε καὶ συλλαμβάνει Κῦρον ὡς ἀποκτενῶν· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἐξαιτησαμένη αὐτὸν ἀποπέμπει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. **4.** ὁ δ' ὡς ἀπῆλθε κινδυνεύσας καὶ ἀτιμασθεὶς, βουλεύεται ὅπως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλ', ἣν δύνηται, βασιλεύσει ἀντ' ἐκείνου. Παρύσατις μὲν δὴ ἡ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ, φιλοῦσα αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν βασιλεύοντα Ἀρταξέρξην. **5.** ὅστις δ' ἀφικνεῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν, πάντας οὕτω διατιθεὶς ὑπεπέμπετο ὥστε αὐτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖ. καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπεμελείτο ὡς πολεμεῖν τε ἱκανοὶ εἴησαν καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοιεν αὐτῷ. **6.** τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἡθροίζεν ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρυπτῶ

μενος, ὅπως ὅτι ἀπαρασκευότατον λάβοι βασιλέα. ὦδε οὖν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συλλογὴν. ὁπόσας εἶχε φυλακὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, παρήγγειλε τοῖς φρουράρχοις ἐκάστοις λαμβάνειν ἄνδρας Πελοποννησίους ὅτι πλείστους καὶ βελτίστους, ὡς ἐπιβουλευόντος Τισσαφέρνους ταῖς πόλεσι. καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις Τισσαφέρνους τῷ ἀρχαίῳ ἐκ βασιλείως δεδομέναι, τότε δ' ἀφειστήκεσαν πρὸς Κῦρον πᾶσαι πλὴν Μιλήτου. 7. ἐν Μιλήτῳ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης προαισθόμενος τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα βουλευομένους, ἀποστήναι πρὸς Κῦρον, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλεν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας, συλλέξας στράτευμα ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ ἐπειράτο κατὰγειν τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας. καὶ αὕτη αὖ ἄλλη πρόφασις ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀθροίζειν στράτευμα. 8. πρὸς δὲ βασιλέα νέμπων ἡξίου ἀδελφὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ δοθῆναι οἱ ταύτας τὰς πόλεις μᾶλλον ἢ Τισσαφέρνῃ ἀρχεῖν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ συνέπραττεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα. ὥστε βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβουλὴν οὐκ ἠσθάνετο, Τισσαφέρνει δὲ ἐνόμιζε πολεμοῦντα αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾶν. ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤχθετο αὐτῶν πολεμούντων. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κῦρος ἀπέπεμπε τοὺς γιγνομένους δασμοὺς βασιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὧν Τισσαφέρνης ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων. 9. ἄλλο δὲ στράτευμα αὐτῷ συνελέγετο ἐν Χερρονήσῳ τῇ καταντιπέρας Ἀβύδου τούτῳ τὸν τρόπον. Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς ἦν· τούτῳ συγγενόμενος ὁ Κῦρος ἡγάσθη τε αὐτὸν καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ μυρίους δαρεικούς. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ ἐπολέμει ἐκ Χερρονήσου ὁρμώμενος τοῖς Θραξὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλησποντον οἰκοῦσι, καὶ ὠφέλει τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ὥστε καὶ χρήματα συνεβάλλοντο αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν τροφὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἱ Ἑλλησποντιακαὶ πόλεις ἐκούσαι. τοῦτο δ' αὖ οὕτω τρε-

φόμενον ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα. **10.** Ἀρίστιππος δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς ξένος ὦν ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἴκοι ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κύρον καὶ αἰτεῖ αὐτὸν εἰς δισχιλίους ξένους καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν μισθόν, ὡς οὕτω περιγενόμενος ἂν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος δίδωσιν αὐτῷ εἰς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἕξ μηνῶν μισθόν, καὶ δεῖται αὐτοῦ μὴ πρόσθεν καταλύσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας πρὶν ἂν αὐτῷ συμβουλευέσθαι. οὕτω δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τρεφόμενον στράτευμα. **11.** Πρόξενον δὲ τὸν Βοιωτίον ξένον ὄντα αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα ἄνδρας ὅτι πλείστους παραγενέσθαι, ὡς εἰς Πισίδας βουλόμενος στρατεύεσθαι, ὡς πράγματα παρεχόντων τῶν Πισιδῶν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρᾳ. Σοφαίνετον δὲ τὸν Στυμφάλιον καὶ Σωκράτην τὸν Ἀχαιὸν, ξένους ὄντας καὶ τούτους, ἐκέλευσεν ἄνδρας λαβόντας ἐλθεῖν ὅτι πλείστους, ὡς πολεμήσων Τισσαφέρνει σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Μιλησίων. καὶ ἐποίουον οὕτως οὗτοι.

II. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκει ἤδη πορεύεσθαι αὐτῷ ἄνω, τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο ὡς Πισίδας βουλόμενος ἐμβαλεῖν παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· καὶ ἀθροίζει ὡς ἐπὶ τούτους τό τε βαρβαρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ παραγγέλλει τῷ τε Κλεάρχῳ λαβόντι ἤκειν ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ στράτευμα, καὶ τῷ Ἀριστίππῳ συναλλαγέντι πρὸς τοὺς οἴκοι ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὃ εἶχε στράτευμα· καὶ Ξενίᾳ τῷ Ἀρκάδι, ὃς αὐτῷ προειστήκει τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ξενικοῦ, ἤκειν παραγγέλλει λαβόντα τοὺς ἄνδρας πλὴν ὅπόσοι ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν τὰς ἀκροπόλεις φυλάττειν. **2.** ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μίλητον πολιορκούντας, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐκέλευσε σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύεσθαι, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς καταπράξειεν ἐφ' ἃ ἐστρατεύετο, μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι πρὶν αὐτοὺς καταγάγει οἴκαδε. οἱ δὲ ἡδέως ἐπείθοντο· ἐπίστευον γὰρ

αὐτῷ· καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα παρήσαν εἰς Σάρδεις. 3. Ξένιας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων λαβὼν παρεγένετο εἰς Σάρδεις ὀπλίτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, Πρόξενος δὲ παρὴν ἔχων ὀπλίτας μὲν εἰς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, γυμνήτας δὲ πεντακοσίους, Σοφαίνετος δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος ὀπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους, Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀχαιοὺς ὀπλίτας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους, Πασίων δὲ ὁ Μεγυρεὺς τριακοσίους μὲν ὀπλίτας, τριακοσίους δὲ πελταστὰς ἔχων παρεγένετο· ἦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης τῶν ἀμφὶ Μίλητον στρατευομένων. 4. οὗτοι μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ κατανοήσας ταῦτα, καὶ μείζονα ἡγησάμενος εἶναι ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ Πισίδας τὴν παρασκευὴν, πορεύεται ὡς βασιλέα ἢ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἱππέις ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους. 5. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ, ἵππεϊ ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρνους τὸν Κύρου στόλον, ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο.

Κύρος δὲ ἔχων οὓς εἴρηκα ὠρμάτο ἀπὸ Σάρδεων· καὶ ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυδίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας ἑκοσι καὶ δύο ἐπὶ τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμόν. τούτου τὸ εὖρος δύο πλῆθρα· γέφυρα δὲ ἐπὴν ἐξευγμένη πλοίοις ἐπτά. 6. τούτου διαβὰς ἐξελαύνει διὰ Φρυγίας σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας ὀκτὼ εἰς Κολοσσὰς, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας ἐπτά· καὶ ἦκε Μένων ὁ Θετταλὸς ὀπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς πεντακοσίους, Δόλοπας καὶ Αἰνιῶνας καὶ Ὀλυνθίους. 7. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας ἑκοσιν εἰς Κελαινὰς, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα Κύρῳ βασιλεία ἦν καὶ παράδεισος μέγας ὠγρίων θηρίων πλήρης, ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἐθήρηνεν ἀπὸ ἵππου, ὅποτε γυμνάσαι βούλοιτο ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους. διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ρεῖ ὁ Μαίανδρος ποταμός· αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· ρεῖ

δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κελαινῶν πόλεως. 8. ἔστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως βασιλεία ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἔρυμνὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Μαρσίου ποταμοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαίανδρον· τοῦ δὲ Μαρσίου τὸ εὐρὸς ἐστὶν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ποδῶν. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσίαν, νικήσας ἐρίζοντά ι' ἐπεὶ περὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δέρμα κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ ὅθεν αἱ πηγαί· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς καλεῖται Μαρσύας. 9. ἐνταῦθα Ξέρξης, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ ἀπεχώρει, λέγεται οἰκοδομῆσαι ταυτί τε τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν Κελαινῶν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κῦρος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα· καὶ ἦκε Κλέαρχος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς Θρᾶκας ὀκτακοσίους καὶ τοξότας Κρήτας διακοσίους. ἅμα δὲ καὶ Σῶσις παρῆν ὁ Συρακόσιος ἔχων ὀπλίτας τριακοσίους, καὶ Σοφαίνετος ὁ Ἀρκὰς ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους. καὶ ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος ἐξέτασιν καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες ὀπλίται μὲν μύριοι καὶ χίλιοι, πελτασταὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους. 10. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασύγγας δέκα εἰς Πέλτας, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσε καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ἦσαν στλεγγίδες χρυσαί· ἐθεώρει δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κῦρος. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασύγγας δώδεκα εἰς Κεραμῶν ἀγορὰν, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, ἐσχάτην πρὸς τῇ Μυσίᾳ χώρα. 11. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασύγγας τριάκοντα εἰς Καῦστρου πεδίον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠφέλετο μισθος πλεόν ἢ τριῶν μηνῶν, καὶ πολλάκις ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἀπήτουν. ὁ δὲ ἐλπίδας λέγων διῆγε, καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀνιώμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τοῦ Κύρου τρόπου ἔχοντα

μὴ ἀποδιδόναι. **12.** ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται Ἐπύαξα ἡ Συεν-
νέσιος γυνὴ τοῦ Κιλικῶν βασιλέως παρὰ Κύρον· καὶ ἐλέ-
γετο Κύρῳ δοῦναι χρήματα πολλά. τῇ δ' οὖν στρατιᾷ
τότε ἀπέδωκε Κύρος μισθὸν τεττάρων μηνῶν. εἶχε δὲ ἡ
Κίλισσα καὶ φύλακας περὶ αὐτὴν Κίλικας καὶ Ἀσπεν-
δίους· ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ συγγενέσθαι Κύρον τῇ Κιλίσση.
13. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα
εἰς Θύμβριον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἦν παρὰ τὴν
ὁδὸν κρήνη ἡ Μίδου καλουμένη τοῦ Φρυγῶν βασιλέως, ἐφ'
ἣ λέγεται Μίδας τὸν Σάτυρον θηρεῦσαι οἴῳ κεράσας αὐ-
τὴν. **14.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο παρασάγγας
δέκα εἰς Τυριαῖον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν
ἡμέρας τρεῖς. καὶ λέγεται δεηθῆναι ἡ Κίλισσα Κύρου
ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸ στράτευμα αὐτῇ· βουλόμενος οὖν ἐπιδεῖξαι,
ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρ-
βάρων. **15.** ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὥς νόμος αὐτοῖς
εἰς μάχην, οὕτω ταχθῆναι καὶ στήναι, συντάξει δ' ἕκαστον
τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. ἐτάχθησαν οὖν ἐπὶ τεττάρων· εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν
δεξιὸν Μένων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον Κλέαρχος
καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου, τὸ δὲ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοί. **16.** ἐθεώ-
ρει οὖν ὁ Κύρος πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ δὲ παρή-
λανον τεταγμένοι κατ' ἴλας καὶ κατὰ τάξεις· εἶτα δὲ τοὺς
Ἕλληνας, παρελαύνων ἐφ' ἄρματος καὶ ἡ Κίλισσα ἐφ'
ἄρμαμάξης. εἶχον δὲ πάντες κράνη χαλκᾷ καὶ χιτῶνας
φοινικεὺς καὶ κυνημίδας καὶ τὰς ὑσπίδας ἐκκεκαλυμμένας.
17. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντας παρήλασε, στήσας τὸ ἄρμα πρὸ τῆς
φάλαγγος μέσης, πέμψας Πίγρητα τὸν ἑρμηνέα παρὰ τοὺς
στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα
καὶ ἐπιχωρῆσαι ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα προεῖπον
τοῖς στρατιώταις· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐσάλπιγξε, προβαλλόμενοι τὰ
ὅπλα ἐπήεσαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου θᾶπτον προϊόντων σὺν κραυγῇ,

ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου δρόμος ἐγένετο τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. 18. τῶν δὲ βαρβύρων φόβος πολὺς, καὶ ἡ τε Κίλισσα ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄρμαμάξης καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταλιπόντες τὰ ὄνια ἔφυγον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες σὺν γέλῳτι ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς ἦλθον. ἡ δὲ Κίλισσα ἰδοῦσα τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐθαύμασε. Κύρος δὲ ἤσθη τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοὺς βαρβύρους φόβον ἰδὼν. 19. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν εἰς Ἰκόνιον, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν ἐσχάτην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας σταθμοὺς πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα. ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐπέτρεψε διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὥς πολεμίαν οὖσαν. 20. ἐντεῦθεν Κύρος τὴν Κίλισσαν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν ἀποπέμπει τὴν ταχίστην ὁδόν· καὶ συνέπεμψεν αὐτῇ στρατιώτας οὓς Μένων εἶχε καὶ αὐτόν. Κύρος δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξελαύνει διὰ Καππαδοκίας σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε πρὸς Δάνα, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν ᾧ Κύρος ἀπέκτεινεν ἄνδρα Πέρσην Μεγαφέρνην, φοινικιστὴν βασίλειον, καὶ ἕτερόν τινα τῶν ὑπάρχων δυνάστην, αἰτιασάμενος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ. 21. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπειρῶντο εἰσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν· ἡ δὲ εἰσβολὴ ἦν ὁδὸς ἀμαξιτὸς ὀρθία ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ἀμήχανος εἰσελθεῖν στρατεύματι εἰ τις ἐκώλυνεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Συένεσις εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων φυλάττων τὴν εἰσβολήν· διὸ ἔμειναν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. τῇ δ' ὕστεραία ἤκεν ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι λελοιπῶς εἴη Συένεσις τὰ ἄκρα, ἐπεὶ ἤσθητο ὅτι τὸ Μένωνος στράτευμα ἤδη ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἦν εἰσω τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ ὅτι τριήρεις ἤκουε περιπλεούσας ἀπ' Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν Ταμῶν ἔχοντα τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου. 22. Κύρος δ' οὖν ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος, καὶ εἶδε τὰς σκηνάς οὐ οἱ

XENOPHON.

I. ANABASIS.

BOOK FIRST.

I. Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος γίνονται παῖδες δύο, πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀρταξέρξης, νεώτερος δὲ Κύρος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡσθένει Δαρείος καὶ ὑπώπτει τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, ἐβούλετο τὸν παῖδα ἀμφοτέρῳ παρεῖναι. **2.** ὁ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος παρὼν ἐτύγχανε· Κύρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἧς αὐτὸν σατρίπην ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπεδείξε πάντων ὅσοι εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδῖον ἀθροίζονται. ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ Κύρος λαβὼν Τισσαφέρην ὡς φίλον, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δὲ ἔχων ὀπλίτας ἀνέβη τριακοσίους, ἄρχοντα δὲ αὐτῶν Ξενίαν Παρράσιον. **3.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρείος καὶ κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀρταξέρξης, Τισσαφέρης διαβάλλει τὸν Κύρον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ πείθεται τε καὶ συλλαμβάνει Κύρον ὡς ἀποκτενῶν· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἐξαιτησαμένη αὐτὸν ἀποπέμπει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. **4.** ὁ δ' ὡς ἀπῆλθε κινδυνεύσας καὶ ἀτιμασθεὶς, βουλεύεται ὅπως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλ', ἣν δύνηται, βασιλεύσει ἀντ' ἐκείνου. Παρύσατις μὲν δὴ ἡ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ, φιλοῦσα αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν βασιλεύοντα Ἀρταξέρξην. **5.** ὅστις δ' ἀφικνεῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν, πάντας οὕτω διατιθεὶς ἀπεπέμπετο ὥστε αὐτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖ. καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπεμελείτο ὡς πολεμεῖν τε ἱκανοὶ εἴησαν καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχουεν αὐτῷ. **6.** τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἡθροίζεν ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρυπτό-

μενος, ὅπως ὅτι ἀπαρασκευότατον λάβοι βασιλεία. ὧδε οὖν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συλλογὴν. ὁπόσας εἶχε φυλακὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, παρήγγειλε τοῖς φρουράρχοις ἐκάστοις λαμβάνειν ἄνδρας Πελοποννησίουσιν ὅτι πλείστους καὶ βελτίστους, ὡς ἐπιβουλευόντος Τισσαφέρους ταῖς πόλεσι. καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις Τισσαφέρους τῷ ἀρχαίῳ ἐκ βασιλείως δεδομέναι, τότε δ' ἀφειστήκεσαν πρὸς Κῦρον πᾶσαι πλὴν Μιλήτου. γ. ἐν Μιλήτῳ δὲ Τισσαφέρην προαισθόμενος τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα βουλευομένους, ἀποστῆναι πρὸς Κῦρον, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλεν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας, συλλέξας στράτευμα ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θύλατταν, καὶ ἐπειράτο κατὰγειν τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας. καὶ αὕτη αὖ ἄλλη πρόφασις ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀθροίζειν στράτευμα. β. πρὸς δὲ βασιλεία νέμπων ἡξίου ἀδελφὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ δοθῆναι οἱ ταύτας τὰς πόλεις μᾶλλον ἢ Τισσαφέρην ἄρχειν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ συνέπραττεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα· ὥστε βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβουλὴν οὐκ ἤσθάνετο, Τισσαφέρνει δὲ ἐνόμιζε πολεμοῦντα αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾶν· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤχθετο αὐτῶν πολεμούντων. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κῦρος ἀπέπεμπε τοὺς γιγνομένους δασμοὺς βασιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὧν Τισσαφέρην ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων. θ. ἄλλο δὲ στράτευμα αὐτῷ συνελέγετο ἐν Χερρονήσῳ τῇ καταντιπέρας Ἀβύδου τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος φυχὰς ἦν· τούτῳ συγγενόμενος ὁ Κῦρος ἡγάσθη τε αὐτὸν καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ μυρίους δαρεικούς. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον στράτευμα συνέλεξε ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ ἐπολέμει ἐκ Χερρονήσου ὁρμώμενος τοῖς Θραξὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλησποντον οἰκοῦσι, καὶ ὠφέλει τοὺς Ἑλληνας· ὥστε καὶ χρήματα συνεβύλλοντο αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν τροφὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἱ Ἑλλησποντιακαὶ πόλεις ἐκούσαι. τοῦτο δ' αὖ οὕτω τρε-

φόμενον ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα. **10.** Ἀρίστιππος δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς ξένος ὧν ἐτύγγανεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἴκοι ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον καὶ αἰτεῖ αὐτὸν εἰς δισχιλίους ξένους καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν μισθόν, ὡς οὕτω περιγεγόμενος ἂν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος δίδωσιν αὐτῷ εἰς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἕξ μηνῶν μισθόν, καὶ δέεται αὐτοῦ μὴ πρόσθεν καταλύσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας πρὶν ἂν αὐτῷ συμβουλευέσθαι. οὕτω δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τρεφόμενον στράτευμα. **11.** Πρόξενον δὲ τὸν Βοιώτιον ξένον ὄντα αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα ἄνδρας ὅτι πλείστους παραγενέσθαι, ὡς εἰς Πισίδας βουλόμενος στρατεύεσθαι, ὡς πράγματα παρεχόντων τῶν Πισιδῶν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρᾳ. Σοφαίνετον δὲ τὸν Στυμφάλιον καὶ Σωκράτην τὸν Ἀχαιὸν, ξένους ὄντας καὶ τούτους, ἐκέλευσεν ἄνδρας λαβόντας ἐλθεῖν ὅτι πλείστους, ὡς πολεμήσων Τισσαφέρνει σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Μιλησίων. καὶ ἐποίουν οὕτως οὗτοι.

ΙΙ. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκει ἤδη πορεύεσθαι αὐτῷ ἄνω, τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο ὡς Πισίδας βουλόμενος ἐκβαλεῖν παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· καὶ ἀθροίζει ὡς ἐπὶ τούτους τό τε βαρβαρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ παραγγέλλει τῷ τε Κλεάρχῳ λαβόντι ἥκειν ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ στράτευμα, καὶ τῷ Ἀριστίππῳ συναλλαγέντι πρὸς τοὺς οἴκοι ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὃ εἶχε στράτευμα· καὶ Ξενίᾳ τῷ Ἀρκάδι, ὃς αὐτῷ προειστήκει τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ξενικοῦ, ἥκειν παραγγέλλει λαβόντα τοὺς ἄνδρας πλὴν ὅποσοι ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν τὰς ἀκροπόλεις φυλάττειν. **2.** ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μίλητον πολιορκούντας, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐκέλευσε σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύεσθαι, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς καταπράξειεν ἐφ' ᾧ ἐστρατεύετο, μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι πρὶν αὐτοὺς καταγάγοι οἴκαδε. οἱ δὲ ἡδέως ἐπείθοντο· ἐπίστευον γὰρ

αὐτῷ· καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα παρήσαν εἰς Σάρδεις. **3.** Ξενίας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων λαβὼν παρεγένετο εἰς Σάρδεις ὀπλίτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, Πρόξενος δὲ παρὴν ἔχων ὀπλίτας μὲν εἰς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, γυμνήτας δὲ πεντακοσίους, Σοφαίνετος δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος ὀπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους, Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀχαιοὺς ὀπλίτας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους, Πασίων δὲ ὁ Μεγαρεὺς τριακοσίους μὲν ὀπλίτας, τριακοσίους δὲ πελταστὰς ἔχων παρεγένετο· ἦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης τῶν ἀμφὶ Μίλητον στρατευμένων. **4.** οὗτοι μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο. Τισσαφέρης δὲ κατανοήσας ταῦτα, καὶ μείζονα ἰγΗΣάμενος εἶναι ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ Πισίδας τὴν παρασκευὴν, πορεύεται ὡς βασιλέα ἢ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἱππέας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους. **5.** καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ, ἵππεϊ ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρην τὸν Κύρου στόλον, ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο.

Κύρος δὲ ἔχων οὓς εἴρηκα ὠρμάτο ἀπὸ Σάρδεων· καὶ ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυδίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας ἑκοσι καὶ δύο ἐπὶ τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμόν. τούτου τὸ εὖρος δύο πλέθρα· γέφυρα δὲ ἐπὴν ἐξευγμένη πλοίοις ἐπτά. **6.** τούτον διαβάς ἐξελαύνει διὰ Φρυγίας σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας ὀκτὼ εἰς Κολοσσάς, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας ἐπτά· καὶ ἦκε Μένων ὁ Θετταλὸς ὀπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς πεντακοσίους, Δόλοπας καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ Ὀλυνθίους. **7.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας ἑκοσιν εἰς Κελαινὰς, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα Κύρῳ βασιλεία ἦν καὶ παράδεισος μέγας ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης, ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἐθήρευεν ἀπὸ ἵππου, ὅποτε γυμνάσαι βούλοιτο ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους. διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ρεῖ ὁ Μαίανδρος ποταμός· αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· ρεῖ

δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κελαινῶν πόλεως. 8. ἔστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως βασιλεία ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἔρμυνὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Μαρσίου ποταμοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαίανδρον· τοῦ δὲ Μαρσίου τὸ εὐρὸς ἐστὶν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ποδῶν. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν, νικήσας ἐρίζοντά ι' ἐπεὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δέρμα κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ ὅθεν αἱ πηγαί· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς καλεῖται Μαρσύας. 9. ἐνταῦθα Ξέρξης, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ ἀπεχώρει, λέγεται οἰκοδομῆσαι ταυτὶ τε τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν Κελαινῶν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κύρος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα· καὶ ἦκε Κλέαρχος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς Θρᾶκας ὀκτακοσίους καὶ τοξότας Κρήτας διακοσίους. ἅμα δὲ καὶ Σῶσις παρῆν ὁ Συρακόσιος ἔχων ὀπλίτας τριακοσίους, καὶ Σοφαίνετος ὁ Ἀρκὰς ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους. καὶ ἐνταῦθα Κύρος ἐξέτασιν καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες ὀπλίται μὲν μύριοι καὶ χίλιοι, πελτασταὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους. 10. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα εἰς Πέλτας, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινε ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσσε καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ἦσαν στλεγγίδες χρυσαί· ἐθεώρει δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κύρος. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δώδεκα εἰς Κεραμῶν ἀγορὰν, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, ἐσχάτην πρὸς τῇ Μυσίᾳ χώρᾳ. 11. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας τριάκοντα εἰς Καῦστρου πεδίον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινε ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠφέλετο μισθὸς πλεον ἢ τριῶν μηνῶν, καὶ πολλὰκις ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἀπήτουν. ὁ δὲ ἐλπίδας λέγων διῆγε, καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀνιώμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τοῦ Κύρου τρόπον ἔχοντα

μὴ ἀποδιδόναι. **12.** ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται Ἐπίαξα ἡ Συνενέσιος γυνὴ τοῦ Κιλικῶν βασιλέως παρὰ Κύρον· καὶ ἐλέγετο Κύρῳ δοῦναι χρήματα πολλά. τῇ δ' οὖν στρατιᾷ τότε ἀπέδωκε Κύρος μισθὸν τεττάρων μηνῶν. εἶχε δὲ ἡ Κίλισσα καὶ φύλακας περὶ αὐτὴν Κίλικας καὶ Ἀσπενδίους· ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ συγγενέσθαι Κύρον τῇ Κιλίσῃ. **13.** ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα εἰς Θύμβριον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἦν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κρήνη ἡ Μίδου καλουμένη τοῦ Φρυγῶν βασιλέως, ἐφ' ἣ λέγεται Μίδας τὸν Σάτυρον θηρεῦσαι οἴῳ κεράσας αὐτήν. **14.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα εἰς Τυριαῖον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς. καὶ λέγεται δεηθῆναι ἡ Κίλισσα Κύρου ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸ στράτευμα αὐτῇ· βουλόμενος οὖν ἐπιδεῖξαι, ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. **15.** ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὥς νόμος αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην, οὕτω ταχθῆναι καὶ στήναι, συντάξει δ' ἕκαστον τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. ἐτάχθησαν οὖν ἐπὶ τεττάρων· εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν Μένων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου, τὸ δὲ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοί. **16.** ἐθεώρει οὖν ὁ Κύρος πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ δὲ παρήλαντον τεταγμένοι κατ' ἴλας καὶ κατὰ τάξεις· εἶτα δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, παρελαύνων ἐφ' ἄρματος καὶ ἡ Κίλισσα ἐφ' ἄρμαμάξης. εἶχον δὲ πάντες κράνη χαλκᾷ καὶ χιτῶνας φοινικοὺς καὶ κνημίδας καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκκεκαλυμμένας. **17.** ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντας παρήλασε, στήσας τὸ ἄρμα πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος μέσης, πέμψας Πίγρητα τὸν ἑρμηνέα παρὰ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐπιχωρῆσαι ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα προεῖπον τοῖς στρατιώταις· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐσάλπιγξε, προβαλλόμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἐπήεσαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου θάπτον προϋόντων σὺν κραυγῇ,

ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου δρόμος ἐγένετο τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. **18.** τῶν δὲ βαρβύρων φόβος πολὺς, καὶ ἡ τε Κίλισσα ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄρμαμάξης καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταλιπόντες τὰ ὄνια ἔφυγον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες σὺν γέλῳτι ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἦλθον. ἡ δὲ Κίλισσα ἰδοῦσα τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐθαύμασε. Κῦρος δὲ ἥσθη τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους φόβον ἰδὼν. **19.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν εἰς Ἰκόνιον, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν ἐσχάτην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας σταθμοὺς πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα. ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐπέτρεψε διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὡς πολεμίαν οὖσαν. **20.** ἐντεῦθεν Κῦρος τὴν Κίλισσαν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν ἀποπέμπει τὴν ταχίστην ὁδόν· καὶ συνέπεμψεν αὐτῇ στρατιώτας οὓς Μένων εἶχε καὶ αὐτόν. Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξελαύνει διὰ Καππαδοκίας σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε πρὸς Δάνα, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν ᾧ Κῦρος ἀπέκτεινεν ἄνδρα Πέρσην Μεγαφέρην, φοινικιστὴν βασίλειον, καὶ ἕτερόν τινα τῶν ὑπάρχων δυνάστην, αἰτιασάμενος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ. **21.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐπειρῶντο εἰσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν· ἡ δὲ εἰσβολὴ ἦν ὁδὸς ἀμαξιτὸς ὀρθία ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ἀμήχανος εἰσελθεῖν στρατεύματι εἴ τις ἐκώλυνεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Σύνενσεις εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων φυλάττων τὴν εἰσβολήν· διὸ ἔμειναν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἤκεν ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι λελοιπῶς εἶη Σύνενσεις τὰ ἄκρα, ἐπεὶ ἥσθητο ὅτι τὸ Μένωνος στρατεύμα ἦδη ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἦν εἰσω τῶν ὁρέων, καὶ ὅτι τρηῖρες ἤκουε περιπλεούσας ἀπ' Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν Ταμῶν ἔχοντα τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου. **22.** Κῦρος δ' οὖν ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος, καὶ εἶδε τὰς σκηνὰς οὐ οἱ

Κίλικες ἐφύλαττον. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ κατέβαινον εἰς πεδίον μέγα καὶ καλόν, ἐπίρρυτον, καὶ δένδρων παντοδαπῶν σύμπλεων καὶ ὑμπέλων· πολὺ δὲ καὶ σήσαμον καὶ μελίην καὶ κέγχρον καὶ πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς φέρει. ὄρος δ' αὐτὸ περιέχει ὄχυρόν καὶ ὑψηλὸν πάντῃ ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν.

23. καταβὰς δὲ διὰ τούτου τοῦ πεδίου ἤλασε σταθμούς τέτταρας παρασύγγας πέντε καὶ εἵκοσιν εἰς Ταρσοὺς, τῆς Κιλικίας πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Συεννέσιος βασιλεία τοῦ Κιλικῶν βασιλέως· διὰ μέσου δὲ τῆς πόλεως ρεῖ ποταμὸς Κύδνος ὄνομα, εὖρος δύο πλέθρων.

24. ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἐνοικούντες μετὰ Συεννέσιος εἰς χωρίον ὄχυρόν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, πλὴν οἱ τὰ καπηλεία ἔχοντες· ἔμειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν οἰκούντες ἐν Σόλοις καὶ ἐν Ἰσσοῖς.

25. Ἐπύαξα δὲ ἡ Συεννέσιος γυνὴ πρότερά Κύρου πέντε ἡμέραις εἰς Ταρσοὺς ἀφίκετο· ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ὁρέων τῶν εἰς τὸ πεδίον δύο λόχοι τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος ἀπώλοντο· οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν ἀρπάζοντάς τι κατακοπῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν Κιλικῶν, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντας καὶ οὐ δυναμένους εὐρεῖν τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα οὐδὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς εἶτα πλανωμένους ἀπολέσθαι· ἦσαν δ' οὖν οὗτοι ἑκατὸν ὀπλίται.

26. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπεὶ ἤκου, τὴν τε πόλιν τοὺς Ταρσοὺς διήρπασαν, διὰ τὸν ὄλεθρον τῶν συστρατιωτῶν ὀργιζόμενοι, καὶ τὰ βασιλεία τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ. Κύρος δὲ ἐπεὶ εἰσήλασεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, μετεπέμπετο τὸν Συέννεσιν πρὸς ἑαυτόν· ὁ δ' οὔτε πρότερον οὐδενί πω κρείττονι ἑαυτοῦ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἔφη, οὔτε τότε Κύρῳ ἵεναι ἤθελε, πρὶν ἢ γυνὴ αὐτὸν ἔπεισε καὶ πίστει ἔλαβε.

27. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεὶ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, Συέννεσις μὲν ἔδωκε Κύρῳ χρήματα πολλὰ εἰς τὴν στρατιάν, Κύρος δὲ ἐκείνῳ δῶρα ἃ νομίζεται παρὰ βασιλεῖ τίμια, ἵππον χρυσοχάλινον καὶ στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ ψέλια καὶ ἀκινύ-

κην χρυσοῦν καὶ στολὴν Περσικὴν, καὶ τὴν χώραν μηκέτι ἀφαρπάζεσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἥρπασμένα ἀνδράποδα, ἣν που ἐν-
τυγχάνωσιν, ἀπολαμβάνειν.

III. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κῦρος καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἡμέρας εἰ-
κοσιν· οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἔφασαν ἰέναι τοῦ πρόσω·
ὑπώπτευν γὰρ ἤδη ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἰέναι· μισθωθῆναι δὲ οὐκ
ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔφασαν. πρῶτος δὲ Κλέαρχος τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρα-
τιώτας ἐβιάζετο ἰέναι· οἱ δὲ αὐτόν τε ἐβαλλον καὶ τὰ ὑπο-
ζύγια τὰ ἐκείνου, ἐπεὶ ἤρξατο προΐεναι. 2. Κλέαρχος δὲ
τότε μὲν μικρὸν ἐξέφυγε μὴ καταπετρωθῆναι, ὕστερον δ'
ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι οὐ δυνήσεται βιάσασθαι, συνήγαγεν ἐκκλη-
σίαν τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐδάκρυε
πολλὸν χρόνον ἐστῶς· οἱ δὲ ὀρώντες ἐθαύμαζον καὶ ἐσιώ-
πων· εἶτα δὲ ἔλεξε τοιάδε. 3. Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μὴ
θαυμάζετε ὅτι χαλεπῶς φέρω τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν.
ἐμοὶ γὰρ ξένος Κῦρος ἐγένετο καὶ με φεύγοντα ἐκ τῆς πα-
τρίδος τά τε ἄλλα ἐτίμησε καὶ μυρίους ἔδωκε δαρεικούς·
οὓς ἐγὼ λαβὼν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον κατεθέμην ἐμοὶ ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
καθηδυνάθησα, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔδαπάνων. 4. καὶ πρῶτον
μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Θρᾶκας ἐπολέμησα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
ἐτιμωρούμην μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἐκ τῆς Χερρονήσου αὐτοὺς ἐξελαύ-
νων βουλομένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἰνοικούντας Ἑλληνας
τὴν γῆν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκάλει, λαβὼν ὑμᾶς ἐπορευό-
μην, ἵνα εἴ τι δέοιτο ὠφελοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνθ' ὧν εὖ ἔπαθον
ὑπ' ἐκείνου. 5. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς οὐ βούλεσθε συμπορεύεσθαι,
ἀνάγκη δὴ μοι ἢ ὑμᾶς προδόντα τῇ Κύρου φιλίᾳ χρῆσθαι
ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνον ψευδόμενον μεθ' ὑμῶν ἰέναι. εἰ μὲν δὴ
δίκαια ποιήσω οὐκ οἶδα, αἰρήσομαι δ' οὐκ ὑμᾶς καὶ σὺν
ὑμῖν ὅ τι ἂν δέῃ πείσομαι. καὶ οὔποτε ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς ὥς ἐγὼ
Ἑλληνας ἀγαγὼν εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, προδούς τοὺς Ἑλ-
ληνας τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων φιλίαν εἰλόμην. 6. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ

ὕμεις ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἐθέλετε πείθεσθαι οὐδὲ ἔπεισθαι, ἐγὼ σὺν ὑμῖν ἔψομαι καὶ ὅ τι ἂν δέῃ πείσομαι. νομίζω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ εἶναι καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν μὲν ἂν οἶμαι εἶναι τίμιος ὅπου ἂν ᾖ, ὑμῶν δὲ ἔρημος ᾧ οὐκ ἂν ἱκανὸς εἶναι οἶμαι οὐτ' ἂν φίλον ὠφελῆσαι οὐτ' ἂν ἐχθρὸν ἀλέξασθαι. ὥς ἐμοῦ οὖν ἰόντος ὅπη ἂν καὶ ὑμεῖς, οὕτω τὴν γνώμην ἔχετε. 7. ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἳ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, ὅτι οὐ φαίη παρὰ βασιλέα πορεύεσθαι, ἐπήνεσαν· παρὰ δὲ Ξενίου καὶ Πασίωνος πλείους ἢ δισχίλιοι λαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ Κλεάρχῳ. 8. Κύρος δὲ τούτοις ὑπορῶν τε καὶ λυπούμενος μετεπέμπετο τὸν Κλεάρχον· ὁ δὲ ἵεναι μὲν οὐκ ἤθελε, λάθρα δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέμπων αὐτῷ ἄγγελον ἔλεγε θαρρεῖν ὥς καταστησομένων τούτων εἰς τὸ δέον· μεταπέμπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτόν· αὐτὸς δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἵεναι. 9. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναγαγὼν τοὺς θ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βουλόμενον, ἔλεξε τοιούδε. Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τὰ μὲν δὴ Κύρου δῆλον ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ τὰ ἡμέτερα πρὸς ἐκείνον· οὔτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἐκείνου ἔτι στρατιῶται, ἐπεὶ γε οὐ συνεπόμεθα αὐτῷ, οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἔτι ἡμῖν μισθοδότης. 10. ὅτι μέντοι ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζει ὑφ' ἡμῶν οἶδα· ὥστε καὶ μεταπεμπομένον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐθέλω ἐλθεῖν, τὸ μὲν μέγιστον αἰσχυνόμενος ὅτι σύνοιδα ἑμαυτῷ πάντα ἐψευσμένος αὐτόν, ἔπειτα καὶ δεδιὼς μὴ λαβὼν με δίκην ἐπιθῇ ᾧ νομίζει ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἡδικῆσθαι. 11. ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ οὐχ ὥρα εἶναι ἡμῖν καθεύδειν οὐδ' ἀμελεῖν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ βουλεύεσθαι ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐκ τούτων. καὶ ἕως τε μένομεν αὐτοῦ σκεπτέον μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα μένωμεν, εἴ τε ἤδη δοκεῖ ἀπείναι, ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα ἄπιμεν καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξομεν·

ἄνευ γὰρ τούτων οὔτε στρατηγοῦ οὔτε ἰδιώτου ὄφελος οὐδέν. **12.** ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ πολλοῦ μὲν ἄξιος φίλος ᾧ ἂν φίλος ᾖ, χαλεπώτατος δ' ἐχθρὸς ᾧ ἂν πολέμιος ᾖ, ἔχει δὲ δύναμιν καὶ πεζὴν καὶ ἱππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν ἣν πάντες ὁμοίως ὀρώμεν τε καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πόρρω δοκοῦμέν μοι αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι. ὥστε ὦρα λέγειν ὃ τι τις γιγνώσκει ἄριστον εἶναι. ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. **13.** ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀνίσταντο οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, λέγοντες ἃ ἐγίγνωσκον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐγκέλευστοι, ἐπιδεικνύντες ὅα εἴη ἡ ἀπορία ἄνευ τῆς Κύρου γνώμης καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι. **14.** εἷς δὲ δὴ εἶπε, προσποιούμενος σπεύδειν ὥς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, στρατηγοὺς μὲν ἐλέεσθαι ἄλλους ὥς τάχιστα, εἰ μὴ βούλεται Κλέαρχος ἀπάγειν· τὰ δ' ἐπιτῆδαι ἀγοράζεσθαι· ἡ δ' ἀγορὰ ἦν ἐν τῷ βαρβαρικῷ στρατεύματι· καὶ συσκευάζεσθαι· ἐλθόντας δὲ Κύρον αἰτεῖν πλοῖα, ὥς ἀποπλέοιεν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ διδῶ ταῦτα, ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν Κύρον ὅστις διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας ἀπάξει· ἐὰν δὲ μὴδὲ ἡγεμόνα διδῶ, συντάττεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ προκαταληψομένους τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως μὴ φθάσωσι μήτε Κύρος μήτε οἱ Κίλικες καταλαβόντες, ὧν πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν ἀνθρωπακότες. οὔτος μὲν τοιαῦτα εἶπε· μετὰ δὲ τούτον Κλέαρχος εἶπε τοσοῦτον. **15.** Ὡς μὲν στρατηγῆσοντα ἐμὲ ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν μηδεὶς ὑμῶν λεγέτω· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐνορῶ δι' ἃ ἐμοὶ τοῦτο οὐ ποιητέον· ὥς δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ὃν ἂν ἔλθῃς πείσομαι ἢ δυνατὸν μάλιστα, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι ὥς τις καὶ ἄλλος μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων. **16.** μετὰ τούτου ἄλλος ἀνέστη, ἐπιδεικνὺς μὲν τὴν εὐήθειαν τοῦ τὰ πλοῖα αἰτεῖν κελεύοντος, ὥσπερ πάλιν τὸν στόλον Κύρου ποιοιμένου, ἐπιδεικνὺς δὲ ὥς εὐθες εἴη ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν παρὰ τούτου ᾧ λυμαινόμεθα τὴν πρᾶξιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι

πιστεύομεν ὃν ἂν Κύρος διδῷ, τί κωλύει καὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἡμῖν
κελεύειν Κύρον προκαταλαμβάνειν; 17. ἐγὼ γὰρ ὀκνοῖν
μὲν ἂν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἐμβαίνειν ἃ ἡμῖν δοίη, μὴ ἡμᾶς αὐταῖς
ταῖς τριήρεσι καταδύσῃ, φοβοίμην δ' ἂν τῷ ἡγεμόνι ᾧ δοίη
ἔπεσθαι, μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀγάγῃ ὅθεν οὐχ οἶόν τε ἔσται ἐξελθεῖν.
βουλοίμην δ' ἂν ἄκοντος ἀπὼν Κύρου λαθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελ-
θῶν· ὃ οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ φημι ταῦτα μὲν φλυ-
αρίας εἶναι. 18. δοκεῖ δέ μοι ἄνδρας ἐλθόντας πρὸς Κύρον
οὔτινες ἐπιτήδειοι σὺν Κλεάρχῳ ἐρωτᾶν ἐκείνον τί βούλεται
ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἡ πρᾶξις ἢ παραπλησία οἷα περ
καὶ πρόσθεν ἐχρήτο τοῖς ξένοις, ἔπεσθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ μὴ
κακίους εἶναι τῶν πρόσθεν τούτῳ συναναβάντων. 19. ἐὰν
δὲ μείζων ἢ πρᾶξις τῆς πρόσθεν φαίνεται καὶ ἐπιπονωτέρα
καὶ ἐπικινδυνωτέρα, ἀξιούν ἢ πείσαντα ἡμᾶς ἄγειν ἢ πει-
σθέντα πρὸς φιλίαν ἀφίεναι· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐπόμενοι ἂν
φίλοι αὐτῷ καὶ πρόθυμοι ἐποίμεθα, καὶ ἀπιόντες ἀσφαλῶς
ἂν ἀπίοιμεν· ὅ τι δ' ἂν πρὸς ταῦτα λέγῃ ἀναγγεῖλαι δεῦρο·
ἡμᾶς δ' ἀκούσαντας πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευέσθαι. 20. ἔδοξε
ταῦτα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐλόμενοι σὺν Κλεάρχῳ πέμπουσιν οἱ
ἡρώτων Κύρον τὰ δόξαντα τῇ στρατιᾷ. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο
ὅτι ἀκούει Ἀβροκόμαν ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ πο-
ταμῷ εἶναι, ἀπέχοντα δώδεκα σταθμούς· πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν
ἔφη βούλεσθαι ἐλθεῖν· κὰν μὲν ἢ ἐκεῖ, τὴν δίκην ἔφη χρή-
ζειν ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτῷ, ἣν δὲ φεύγῃ, ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα
βουλευσόμεθα. 21. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ αἰρετοὶ ἀναγ-
γέλλουσι τοῖς στρατιώταις· τοῖς δὲ ὑποψία μὲν ἦν ὅτι
ἄγει πρὸς βασιλέα, ὅμως δὲ ἔδοκει ἔπεσθαι. προσαιτούσι
δὲ μισθόν· ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὑπισχνεῖται ἡμίλιον πᾶσι δώσειν
οὐ πρότερον ἔφερον, ἀντὶ δαρεικοῦ τρία ἡμιδαιρικά τοῦ μη-
νὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ· ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἄγοι οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα
ἤκουσεν οὐδεὶς ἐν γὰρ τῷ φανερώ.

IV. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο παρασύγγας δέκα ἐπὶ τὸν Ψάρον ποταμὸν, οὗ ἦν τὸ εὖρος τρία πλέθρα. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασύγγας πέντε ἐπὶ τὸν Πύραμον ποταμὸν, οὗ τὸ εὖρος στάδιον. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο παρασύγγας πεντεκαίδεκα εἰς Ἴσσοις, τῆς Κιλικίας ἐσχάτην πόλιν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. 2. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ Κύρῳ παρήσαν αἱ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νῆες τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς ναύαρχος Πυθιογόρας Λακεδαιμόνιος. ἡγήετο δ' αὐταῖς Ταμῶς Αἰγύπτιος ἐξ Ἐφέσου, ἔχων ναῦς ἑτέρας Κύρου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, αἷς ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον, ὅτε Τισσαφέρνει φίλη ἦν, καὶ συνεπολέμει Κύρῳ πρὸς αὐτόν. 3. παρὴν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, μετώπεμptos ὑπὸ Κύρου, ἑπτακοσίους ἔχων ὀπλίτας, ὧν ἐστρατιῇ παρὰ Κύρῳ. αἱ δὲ νῆες ὥρμουν παρὰ τὴν Κύρου σκηνήν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ παρ' Ἀβροκόμα μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες ἀποστάντες ἦλθον παρὰ Κύρον τετρακόσιοι ὀπλίται καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ. 4. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασύγγας πέντε ἐπὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας. ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τεῖχη, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔσωθεν τὸ πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας Σύννεσις εἶχε καὶ Κιλικίων φυλακὴ, τὸ δὲ ἔξω τὸ πρὸ τῆς Συρίας βασιλεύς ἐλέγετο φυλακὴ φυλάττειν. διὰ μέσου δὲ ρεῖ τούτων ποταμὸς Κάρσος ὄνομα, εὖρος πλέθρον. ἄπαν δὲ τὸ μέσον τῶν τευχῶν ἦσαν στάδιοι τρεῖς· καὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἦν βία· ἦν γὰρ ἡ πάροδος στενὴ καὶ τὰ τεῖχη εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθήκοντα, ὑπερθεν δ' ἦσαν πέτραι ἡλίβατοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τεύχεσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἐφειστήκεσαν πύλαι. 5. ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς παρόδου Κύρος τὰς ναῦς μετεπέμψατο, ὅπως ὀπλίτας ἀποβιβάσειεν εἰσω καὶ ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ βιασόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους παρέλθοιεν, εἰ φυλάττοιεν ἐπὶ ταῖς Συρίαις

πύλαις, ὅπερ ᾤετο ποιήσῃν ὁ Κῦρος τὸν Ἀβροκόμαν, ἔχοντα πολὺν στράτευμα. Ἀβροκόμας δὲ οὐ τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Κῦρον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ὄντα, ἀναστρέψας ἐκ Φοινίκης παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπήλauen, ἔχων, ὡς ἐλέγετο, τριάκοντα μυριάδας στρατιᾶς. 6. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ Συρίας σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας πέντε εἰς Μυρίανδον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ· ἐμπόριον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὥρμουν αὐτόθι ὀλκάδες πολλαί. 7. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ· καὶ Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς στρατηγὸς καὶ Πασίων ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἐμβάντες εἰς πλοῖον καὶ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐνθήμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν, ὡς μὲν τοῖς πλείστοις ἐδόκουν, φιλοτιμηθέντες ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτῶν τοὺς παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἀπελθόντας ὡς ἀπιόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν καὶ οὐ πρὸς βασιλέα εἶα Κῦρος τὸν Κλέαρχον ἔχειν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν ἀφανεῖς, διῆλθε λόγος ὅτι διώκοι αὐτοὺς Κῦρος τριήρεσι· καὶ οἱ μὲν εὔχοντο ὡς δειλοὺς ὄντας αὐτοὺς ληφθῆναι, οἱ δ' ᾤκτειρον εἰ ἀλώσονται. 8. Κῦρος δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἶπεν. Ἀπολελοίπασιν ἡμᾶς Ξενίας καὶ Πασίων. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπιστάσθωσαν ὅτι οὔτε ἀποδεδράκασιν· οἶδα γὰρ ὅπη οἴχονται· οὔτε ἀποπεφεύγασιν· ἔχω γὰρ τριήρεις ὥστε ἐλεῖν τὸ ἐκείνων πλοῖον· ἀλλὰ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἔγωγε αὐτοὺς διώξω, οὐδ' ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς ὡς ἐγὼ ἕως μὲν ἂν παρῇ τις χρώμαι, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀπιέναι βούληται, συλλαβὼν καὶ αὐτοὺς κακῶς ποιῶ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀποσουλῶ. ἀλλὰ ἰόντων, εἰδότες ὅτι κακίους εἰσὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἢ ἡμεῖς περὶ ἐκείνους. καίτοι ἔχω γε αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν Τράλλεσι φρουρούμενα· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων στερήσονται, ἀλλ' ἀπολήψονται τῆς πρόσθεν ἕνεκα περὶ ἐμὲ ἀρετῆς. 9. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, εἴ τις καὶ ἀθυμότερος ἦν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ἀκούοντες τὴν Κύρου ἀρετὴν ἡδίων καὶ προθυμότερον συνεπορεύοντο.

Μετὰ ταῦτα Κύρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς τέτταρας παρα-
 σάγγας εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Χάλον ποταμὸν, ὄντα τὸ εὖρος
 πλέθρου, πλήρη δ' ἰχθύων μεγάλων καὶ πραέων, οὓς οἱ
 Σύροι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἶων, οὐδὲ τὰς περι-
 στεράς. αἱ δὲ κῶμαι ἐν αἷς ἐσκήνουν Παρυσάτιδος ἦσαν,
 εἰς ζώνην δεδομένοι. 10. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς
 πέντε παρασάγγας τριῖκοντα ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Δύρδατος
 ποταμοῦ, οὗ τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου. ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Βελέ-
 σσος βασιλεία τοῦ Συρίας ἄρξαντος, καὶ παράδεισος πάννυ-
 μέγας καὶ καλὸς, ἔχων πάντα ὅσα ὧρα φύουσι. Κύρος δ'
 αὐτὸν ἐξέκοψε καὶ τὰ βασιλεία κατέκαυσεν. 11. ἐντεῦθεν
 ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ
 τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν, ὄντα τὸ εὖρος τεττάρων σταδίων·
 καὶ πόλις αὐτόθι φέκεῖτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων Θάψακος
 ὄνομα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ Κύρος μετα-
 πεμφύμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἡ
 ὁδὸς ἔσοιτο πρὸς βασιλέα μέγαν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα· καὶ κε-
 λεύει αὐτοὺς λέγειν ταῦτα τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ ἀναπείθειν
 ἕπεσθαι. 12. οἱ δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν ἀπήγγελλον
 ταῦτα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐχαλέπαινον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καὶ
 ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς πάλαι ταῦτ' εἰδότας κρύπτειν, καὶ οὐκ ἔφα-
 σαν ἰέναι, ἐὰν μή τις αὐτοῖς χρήματα διδῶ, ὥσπερ τοῖς
 προτέροις μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβᾶσι παρὰ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κύ-
 ρου, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχην ἰόντων, ἀλλὰ καλοῦντος τοῦ
 πατρὸς Κύρου. 13. ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ Κύρῳ ἀπήγγελλο-
 ν· ὁ δ' ὑπέσχετο ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστῳ δώσειν πέντε ἀργυρίου
 μνᾶς ἐπὶ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἦκωσι, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἐντελῆ
 μέχρι ἂν καταστήσῃ τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰς Ἰωνίαν πάλιν. τὸ
 μὲν δὴ πολὺ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ οὕτως ἐπείσθη. Μένων δέ,
 πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται, πότε-
 ρον ἔφονται Κύρῳ ἢ οὐ, συνέλεξε τὸ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα
 χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἔλεξε τάδε. 14. Ἄνδρες, εἴν μοι

πεισθῆτε, οὔτε κινδυνεύσαντες οὔτε πονήσαντες τῶν ἄλλων πλέον προτιμήσεσθε στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου. τί οὖν κελεύω ποιῆσαι; νῦν δέϊται Κῦρος ἔπεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ βασιλέα· ἐγὼ οὖν φημι ὑμᾶς χρῆναι διαβῆναι τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι ὅτι οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἀποκρινοῦνται Κύρῳ. 15. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ψηφίσονται ἔπεσθαι, ὑμεῖς δόξετε αἴτιοι εἶναι ἄρξαντες τοῦ διαβαίνειν, καὶ ὡς προθυμοτάτοις οὖσιν ὑμῖν χάριν εἴσεται Κῦρος καὶ ἀποδώσει· ἐπίσταται δ' εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος· ἦν δ' ἀποψηφίσονται οἱ ἄλλοι, ἄπιμεν μὲν ἅπαντες τοῦμπαλιν, ὑμῖν δὲ ὡς μόνους πειθομένοις πιστοτάτοις χρήσεται καὶ εἰς φρούρια καὶ εἰς λοχαγίας, καὶ ἄλλου οὔτινος ἂν δέησθε οἶδα ὅτι ὡς φίλου τεύξεσθε Κύρου. 16. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπείθοντο καὶ διέβησαν πρὶν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποκρίνασθαι. Κῦρος δ' ἐπεὶ ἦσθετο διαβεβηκότας, ἦσθη τε καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πέμψας Γλοῦν εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἤδη ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ· ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμὲ ἐπαίνεσετε ἐμοὶ μελήσει, ἢ μηκέτι με Κῦρον νομίζετε. 17. οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατιῶται ἐν ἐλπίσι μεγάλαις ὄντες εὐχοντο αὐτὸν εὐτυχῆσαι, Μένωνι δὲ καὶ δῶρα ἐλέγετο πέμψαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας διέβαινε· συνείπετο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στρώτευμα αὐτῷ ἅπαν. καὶ τῶν διαβαινόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οὐδεὶς ἐβρέχθη ἀνωτέρω τῶν μαστῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. 18. οἱ δὲ Θαψακηνοὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐπώποθ' οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς διαβατὸς γένοιτο πεζῇ εἰ μὴ τότε, ἀλλὰ πλοίοις, ἃ τότε Ἀβροκόμας προῖων κατέκαυσεν, ἵνα μὴ Κῦρος διαβῇ. ἐδόκει δὴ θεῖον εἶναι καὶ σαφῶς ὑποχωρῆσαι τὸν ποταμὸν Κύρῳ ὡς βασιλεύουσιν. 19. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Συρίας σταθμοὺς ἐννέα παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμόν. ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν κῶμαι πολλαί, μεσταὶ σίτου καὶ οἴνου. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο.

V. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας, τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων, σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ ἦν μὲν ἡ γῆ πεδίου ἅπαν ὁμαλὲς ὥσπερ θάλαττα, ἀψινθίου δὲ πλήρες· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐνῆν ὕλης ἢ καλύμου, ἅπαντα ἦσαν εὐώδη ὥσπερ ἀρώματα· δένδρον δ' οὐδὲν ἐνῆν. **2.** θηρία δὲ παντοῖα, πλείστοι ὄνοι ἄγριοι, πολλοὶ δὲ στρουθοὶ οἱ μεγάλοι· ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ ὠτίδες καὶ δορκάδες· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ θηρία οἱ ἵππεῖς ἐνίοτε ἐδίωκον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄνοι, ἐπεὶ τις διώκοι, προδραμόντες ἔστασαν· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ἵππων ἔτρεχον θάττον· καὶ πάλιν, ἐπεὶ πλησιάζοιεν οἱ ἵπποι, ταῦτόν ἐποίουν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ διαστάντες οἱ ἵππεῖς θηρῶν διαδεχόμενοι. τὰ δὲ κρέα τῶν ἀλίσκομένων ἦν παραπλήσια τοῖς ἐλαφείοις, ἀπαλώτερα δέ. **3.** στρουθὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔλαβεν· οἱ δὲ διώξαντες τῶν ἱππέων ταχὺ ἐπαύοντο· πολὺ γὰρ ἀπεσπᾶτο φεύγουσα, τοῖς μὲν ποσὶ δρόμῳ, ταῖς δὲ πτέρυξιν αἶρουσα ὥσπερ ἰστίῳ χρωμένη. τὰς δὲ ὠτίδας ἂν τις ταχὺ ἀνιστῇ, ἔστι λαμβάνειν· πέτονται γὰρ βραχὺ ὥσπερ πέρδικες καὶ ταχὺ ἀπαγορεύουσι. τὰ δὲ κρέα αὐτῶν ἥδιστα ἦν. **4.** πορευόμενοι δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Μάσκαν ποταμὸν, τὸ εὖρος πλεθριαῖον. ἐνταῦθα ἦν πόλις ἐρήμη μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ Κορσωτή· περιερρεῖτο δ' αὕτη ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάσκα κύκλῳ. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο. **5.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρισκαίδεκα παρασάγγας ἐνενήκοντα, τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ Πύλας. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς σταθμοῖς πολλὰ τῶν ὑπόζυγιων ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ λιμοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον, ἀλλὰ ψιλὴ ἦν ἅπασα ἡ χώρα· οἱ δὲ ἐνοικούντες ὄνους ἀλέτας παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὀρύττοντες καὶ ποιούντες εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἦγον καὶ ἐπώλουν, καὶ ἀνταγορά-

ζωντες σίτον ἔζων. 6. τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ὁ σίτος ἐπέλιπε, καὶ πρίασθαι οὐκ ἦν εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ Λυδία ἀγορᾷ ἐν τῷ Κῦρου βαρβαρικῷ τὴν καπίθην ἀλεύρων ἢ ἀλφίτων τεττάρων σίγλων. ὁ δὲ σίγλος δύναται ἐπτὰ ὀβολοὺς καὶ ἡμιωβόλιον Ἀττικούς· ἡ δὲ καπίθη δύο χοίνικας Ἀττικὰς ἐχώρει. κρέα οὖν ἐσθίωντες οἱ στρατιῶται διεγίγνοντο. 7. ἦν δὲ τούτων τῶν σταθμῶν οὓς πᾶν μακροὺς ἤλαυνεν, ὅποτε ἡ πρὸς ὕδωρ βούλοιτο διατελέσαι ἢ πρὸς χιλόν. καὶ δὴ ποτε στενοχωρίας καὶ πηλοῦ φανέντος ταῖς ἀμάξαις δυσπορεύτου, ἐπέστη ὁ Κῦρος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρίστοις καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτοις καὶ ἔταξε Γλοῦν καὶ Πίγρητα, λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ, συνεκβιβάζειν τὰς ἀμάξας. 8. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ σχολαίως ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ ὀργῇ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν Πέρσας τοὺς κρατίστους συνεπισπεῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξας. ἔνθα δὴ μέρος τι τῆς εὐταξίας ἦν θεάσασθαι. ῥίψαντες γὰρ τοὺς πορφυροὺς κἀνδύς ὅπου ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος ἐστηκώς, ἔντο ὥσπερ ἂν δράμοι τις περὶ νίκης καὶ μάλα κατὰ πρανοὺς γηλόφου, ἔχοντες τούτους τε τοὺς πολυτελεῖς χιτῶνας καὶ τὰς ποικίλας ἀναξυρίδας, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ στρεπτοὺς περὶ τοῖς τραχήλοις καὶ ψέλια περὶ ταῖς χερσίν· εὐθὺς δὲ σὺν τούτοις εἰσπηδήσαντες εἰς τὸν πηλὸν θᾶττον ἢ ὥς τις ἂν ᾤετο μετεώρους ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἀμάξας. 9. τὸ δὲ σύμπαν δῆλος ἦν Κῦρος ὡς σπεύδων πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ οὐ διατρίβων ὅπου μὴ ἐπισιτισμοῦ ἕνεκα ἢ τινος ἄλλου ἀναγκαίου ἐκαθέζετο, νομίζων, ὅσῳ μὲν θᾶττον ἔλθοι, τοσούτῳ ἀπαρασκευοτέρῳ βασιλεῖ μαχεῖσθαι, ὅσῳ δὲ σχολαιτέρων, τοσούτῳ πλέον συναγείρεσθαι βασιλεῖ στράτευμα. καὶ συνιδεῖν δ' ἦν τῷ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν ἢ βασιλέως ἀρχὴ πλήθει μὲν χώρας καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυρὰ οὖσα, τοῖς δὲ μήκεσι τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τῷ διεσπᾶσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις ἀσθενῆς, εἴ τις διὰ ταχέων τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιεῖτο. 10. πέραν

δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ἐρήμους σταθμοὺς ἦν πόλις εὐδαίμων καὶ μεγάλη, ὄνομα δὲ Χαρμάδης· ἐκ ταύτης οἱ στρατιῶται ἡγόραζον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, σχεδιαίαι διαβαίνοντες ὧδε. διφθέρας ἅς εἶχον σκεπάσματα ἐπίμπλασαν χόρτου κούφου, εἶτα συνήγον καὶ συνέσπων, ὥς μὴ ἄπτεσθαι τῆς κάρφης τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐπὶ τούτων διέβαινον καὶ ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, οἶνόν τε ἐκ τῆς βαλάνου πεποιημένον τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ φοίνικος καὶ σίτον μελίνης· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πλείστον. **11.** ἀμφιλεξάντων δέ τι ἐνταῦθα τῶν τε τοῦ Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν τοῦ Κλεάρχου, ὁ Κλέαρχος κρίνας ἀδικεῖν τὸν τοῦ Μένωνος πληγὰς ἐνέβαλεν· ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα ἔλεγεν· ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται ἐχαλέπαινον καὶ ὠργίζοντο ἰσχυρῶς τῷ Κλεάρχῳ. **12.** τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖ κατασκηφάμενος τὴν ἀγορὰν, ἀφιππεύει ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν διὰ τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν· Κύρος δὲ οὐπῶ ἦκεν, ἀλλ' ἔτι προσήλαινε· τῶν δὲ Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν ξύλα σχίζων τις, ὥς εἶδε Κλέαρχον διελαύνοντα, ἦσι τῇ ἀξίνῃ· καὶ οὗτος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἤμαρτεν· ἄλλος δὲ λίθῳ καὶ ἄλλος, εἶτα πολλοὶ, κραυγῆς γενομένης. **13.** ὁ δὲ καταφεύγει εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα, καὶ εὐθὺς παραγγέλλει εἰς τὰ ὄπλα· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας αὐτοῦ ἐκέλευσε μέναι τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ γόνατα θέντας, αὐτὸς δὲ λαβὼν τοὺς Θυρᾶκας καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας, οἳ ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι πλείους ἢ τετταράκοντα, τούτων δὲ οἱ πλείστοι Θυρᾶκες, ἤλαινε ἐπὶ τοὺς Μένωνος, ὥστ' ἐκείνους ἐκπεπλήχθαι καὶ αὐτὸν Μένωνα, καὶ τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἕστασαν ἀπορούντες τῷ πράγματι. **14.** ὁ δὲ Πρόξενος, ἔτυχε γὰρ ὕστερος προσιῶν καὶ τάξις αὐτῷ ἐπομένη τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, εὐθὺς οὖν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων ἄγων

ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ἰδεῖτο τοῦ Κλεάρχου μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα. ὁ δ' ἐχαλέπαινεν ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὀλίγου δεήσαντος καταλευσθῆναι πρῶως λέγοι τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος, ἐκέλευσέ τε αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐξίστασθαι. **15.** ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐπῆει καὶ Κῦρος καὶ ἐπύθετο τὸ πρᾶγμα· εὐθὺς δ' ἔλαβε τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν πιστῶν ἦκεν ἐλαύνων εἰς τὸ μέσον, καὶ λέγει τάδε. **16.** Κλέαρχε καὶ Πρόξενε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἴστε ὃ τι ποιεῖτε. εἰ γάρ τινα ἀλλήλοις μάχην συνάψετε, νομίζετε ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐμέ τε κατακεκόψεσθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς οὐ πολὺ ἐμοῦ ὕστερον· κακῶς γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐχόντων πάντες οὗτοι οὐδ' ὁρᾶτε βάρβαροι πολεμιώτεροι ἡμῖν ἔσονται τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ὄντων. **17.** ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο· καὶ παυσάμενοι ἀμφότεροι κατὰ χώραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα.

VI. Ἐντεῦθεν προϊόντων ἐφαίνετο ἵχνη ἵππων καὶ κόπρος· εἰκάζετο δ' εἶναι ὁ στίβος ὡς δισχιλίῳ ἵππων. οὗτοι προϊόντες ἔκαον καὶ χιλὸν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο χρήσιμον ἦν. Ὅρόντας δὲ Πέρσης ἀνὴρ, γένει τε προσήκων βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ πολέμια λεγόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις Περσῶν, ἐπιβουλεύει Κύρῳ, καὶ πρόσθεν πολεμήσας καταλλαγεῖς δέ. **2.** οὗτος Κύρῳ εἶπεν, εἰ αὐτῷ δοίῃ ἱππέας χιλίους, ὅτι τοὺς προκατακάοντας ἱππέας ἢ κατακάνοι ἂν ἐνεδρεύσας ἢ ζώντας πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἔλοι καὶ κωλύσειε τοῦ κάειν ἐπιόντας, καὶ ποιήσειεν ὥστε μήποτε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς ἰδόντας τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα βασιλεῖ διαγγεῖλαι. τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀκούσαντι ταῦτα ἐδόκει ὠφέλιμα εἶναι, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν μέρος παρ' ἐκάστου τῶν ἡγεμόνων. **3.** ὁ δ' Ὅρόντας, νομίσας ἐτοιμοὺς εἶναι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἱππέας, γράφει ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ βασιλείᾳ ὅτι ἦξοι ἔχων ἱππέας ὡς ἂν δύνηται πλείστους· ἀλλὰ φράσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἱππεύσιν ἐκέλευεν ὡς φίλιον αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεσθαι. ἐνῆν δὲ ἐν τῇ

ἐπιστολῇ καὶ τῆς πρόσθεν φιλίας ὑπομνήματα καὶ πίστεως. ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δίδωσι πιστῷ ἀνδρὶ, ὡς ᾤετο· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν Κύρῳ δίδωσιν. 4. ἀναγνούς δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Κύρος συλλαμβάνει Ὀρόνταν, καὶ συγκαλεῖ εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνὴν Πέρσας τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἑπτὰ, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγούς ἐκέλευεν ὀπλίτας ἀγαγεῖν, τούτους δὲ θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνὴν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν, ἀγαγόντες ὡς τρισχιλίους ὀπλίτας. 5. Κλέαρχον δὲ καὶ εἴσω παρεκάλεσε σύμβουλον, ὅς γε καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδόκει προτιμηθῆναι μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῆλθεν, ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς φίλοις τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Ὀρόντα ὡς ἐγένετο· οὐ γὰρ ἀπόρρητον ἦν. ἔφη δὲ Κύρον ἄρχειν τοῦ λόγου ᾧδε. 6. Παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅπως σὺν ὑμῖν βουλευόμενος, ὅτι δίκαιόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο πράξω περὶ Ὀρόντου τουτουί. τοῦτον γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ ἔδωκεν ὑπήκουον εἶναι ἐμοί· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταχθεὶς, ὡς ἔφη αὐτός, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ οὗτος ἐπολέμησεν ἐμοὶ ἔχων τὴν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν προσπολεμῶν ἐποίησα ὥστε δοῖται τούτῳ τοῦ πρὸς ἐμὲ πολέμου παύσασθαι καὶ δεξιὰν ἔλαβον καὶ ἔδωκα, 7. μετὰ ταῦτα, ἔφη, ὦ Ὀρόντα, ἔστιν ὅ τι σε ἠδίκησα; ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐ. πάλιν δὲ ὁ Κύρος ἡρώτα, Οὐκοῦν ὕστερον, ὡς αὐτὸς σὺ ὁμολογεῖς οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀδικούμενος, ἀποστὰς εἰς Μυσσοὺς κακῶς ἐποίεις τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν ὅ τι ἐδύνω; ἔφη ὁ Ὀρόντας. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ὅπότ' αὐτὸς ἔγνωσ τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος βωμὸν μεταμέλειν τέ σοι ἔφησθα καὶ πείσας ἐμὲ πιστὰ πάλιν ἔδωκός μοι καὶ ἔλαβες παρ' ἐμοῦ; καὶ ταῦθ' ὁμολογεῖ ὁ Ὀρόντας. 8. Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἀδικηθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ νῦν τὸ τρίτον ἐπιβουλεύων μοι φανερὸς γέγονας; εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀρόντα ὅτι οὐδὲν

ἀδικηθεῖς, ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κῦρος αὐτὸν, Ὁμολογεῖς οὖν περὶ ἐμὲ ἀδικὸς γεγενῆσθαι; Ἡ γὰρ ἀνύγκη, ἔφη ὁ Ὀρόντας. ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κῦρος, Ἐτι οὖν ἂν γενοιο τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷ πολέμος, ἐμοὶ δὲ φίλος καὶ πιστός; ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐδ' εἰ γενοίμην, ὦ Κῦρε, σοί γ' ἂν ποτε ἔτι δόξαιμι. 9. πρὸς ταῦτα Κῦρος εἶπε τοῖς παρούσιν, Ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ τοιαῦτα μὲν πεποίηκε, τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγει· ὑμῶν δὲ σὺ πρῶτος, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀπόφηναι γνώμην ὃ τι σοι δοκεῖ. Κλέαρχος δὲ εἶπε τάδε. Συμβουλευώ ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι ὡς ταίχιστα, ὡς μηκέτι δέῃ τοῦτον φυλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σχολή ἢ ἡμῖν τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι τοὺς ἐθέλοντας φίλους τούτους εὖ ποιεῖν. 10. ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ἔφη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσθέσθαι. μετὰ ταῦτα κελεύοντος Κύρου ἔλαβον τῆς ζώνης τὸν Ὀρόνταν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἅπαντες ἀναστάντες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς· εἶτα δὲ ἐξῆγον αὐτὸν οἷς προσετάχθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν οἷπερ πρόσθεν προσεκύνουν, καὶ τότε προσεκύνησαν, καίπερ εἰδότες ὅτι ἐπὶ θάνατον ἄγοιτο. 11. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρταπάτου σκηνὴν εἰσῆχθη τοῦ πιστοτάτου τῶν Κύρου σκηπτούχων, μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε ζῶντα Ὀρόνταν οὔτε τεθνηκότα οὐδεὶς εἶδε πώποτε οὐδὲ ὅπως ἀπέθανεν οὐδεὶς εἰδὼς ἔλεγεν· εἰκάζον δὲ ἄλλοι ἄλλως· τάφος δὲ οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοῦ ἐφάνη.

VII. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας δώδεκα. ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ Κῦρος ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περὶ μέσας νύκτας· ἐδόκει γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἔω ἦξιν βασιλέα σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι μαχομένον· καὶ ἐκέλευε Κλέαρχον μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἡγεῖσθαι, Μένωνα δὲ τὸν Θετταλὸν τοῦ εὐωνύμου, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ διέταξε. 2. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἅμα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἦκοντες αὐτόμολοι παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἀπήγγελλον

Κύρῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλέως στρατιᾶς. Κύρος δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεβουλεύετό τε πῶς ἂν τὴν μίχην ποιοῖτο καὶ αὐτὸς παρήνει θαρρύνων τοιῷδε. **3.** ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἀπορῶν βαρβάρων συμμάχους ὑμᾶς ἄγω, ἀλλὰ νομίζων ἀμείνους καὶ κρείττους πολλῶν βαρβάρων ὑμᾶς εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο προσέλαβον. ὅπως οὖν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες ἄξιοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἧς κέκτησθε καὶ ἧς ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ εὐδαιμονίζω. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐλοίμην ἂν ἀνθ' ὧν ἔχω πάντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλαπλασίῳ. **4.** ὅπως δὲ καὶ εἰδῆτε εἰς οἶον ἔρχεσθε ἀγῶνα, ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς διδάξω. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλήθος πολὺ, καὶ κραυγῇ πολλῇ ἐπίασιν· ἂν δὲ ταῦτα ἀνύσχησθε, τᾶλλα καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαί μοι δοκῶ οἶους ἡμῖν γνῶσεσθε τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὄντας ἀνθρώπους. ὑμῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ὄντων καὶ εὐτόλμων γενομένων, ἐγὼ ὑμῶν τὸν μὲν οἴκαδε βουλούμενον ἀπιέναι τοῖς οἴκοι ζηλωτὸν ποιήσω ἀπελθεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ οἶμαι ποιήσειν τὰ παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐλέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν οἴκοι. **5.** ἐνταῦθα Γαυλίτης παρῶν φυγὰς Σάμιος, πιστὸς δὲ Κύρῳ, εἶπε, Καὶ μὴν, ὦ Κύρε, λέγουσί τινες ὅτι πολλὰ ὑπισχνεῖ νῦν διὰ τὸ ἐν τοιούτῳ εἶναι τοῦ κινδύνου προσιόντος. ἂν δὲ εὖ γένηται τι, οὐ μεμνήσεσθαί σε φασιν· ἐνιοὶ δὲ οὐδ' εἰ μεμνήῳ τε καὶ βούλοιο, δύνασθαι ἂν ἀποδοῦναι ὅσα ὑπισχνεῖ. **6.** ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἔλεξεν ὁ Κύρος, Ἄλλ' ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡ ἀρχὴ ἢ πατρώα πρὸς μὲν μεσημβρίαν μέχρι οὗ διὰ καῦμα οὐ δύνανται οἰκεῖν ἄνθρωποι, πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτον μέχρι οὗ διὰ χειμῶνα· τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τούτων πάντα σατραπεύουσιν οἱ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φίλοι. **7.** ἢν δ' ἡμεῖς νικήσωμεν, ἡμᾶς δεῖ τοὺς ἡμετέρους φίλους τούτων ἐγκρατεῖς ποιῆσαι. ὥστε οὐ τοῦτο δέδοικα μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ὅ τι δῶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν φίλων, ἂν εὖ γένηται, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ἱκανοὺς οἷς δῶ. ὑμῶν δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ στέ-

φανον ἐκάστῳ χρυσοῦν δώσω. 8. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες αὐτοί τε ἦσαν πολὺ προθυμότεροι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξηγγέλλον. εἰσῆσαν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν οἳ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τινὲς, ἀξιούντες εἰδέναι τί σφίσιν ἔσται ἐὰν κρατήσωσιν. ὁ δὲ ἐμπιμπλὺς ἀπάντων τὴν γνώμην ἀπέπεμπε. 9. παρεκελεύοντο δὲ αὐτῷ πάντες ὅσοι περ διελέγοντο μὴ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅπισθεν ἑαυτῶν τάττεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ᾧ δὲ πῶς ἤρετο τὸν Κύρον. Οἶε γάρ σοι μαχεῖσθαι, ὦ Κύρε, τὸν ἀδελφόν; Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, εἴπερ γε Δυρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος ἔστι παῖς ἐμὸς δὲ ἀδελφός, οὐκ ἀμαχεῖ ταῦτ' ἐγὼ λήψομαι. 10. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐξοπλισίᾳ ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἄσπις μυρία καὶ τετρακοσία, πελτασταὶ δὲ δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν δὲ μετὰ Κύρου βαρβάρων δέκα μυριάδες καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσι. 11. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐλέγοντο εἶναι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια. ἄλλοι δὲ ἦσαν ἑξακισχίλιοι ἰππεῖς, ὧν Ἀρταγέρσης ἥρχεν· οὗτοι δ' αὖ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. 12. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως στρατεύματος ἦσαν ἄρχοντες καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες τέτταρες, τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἕκαστος, Ἀβροκόμας, Τισσαφέρνης, Γωβρύας, Ἀρβάκης. τούτων δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἑνεήκοντα μυριάδες καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα. Ἀβροκόμας δὲ ὑστέρησε τῆς μάχης ἡμέραις πέντε, ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐλαύνων. 13. ταῦτα δὲ ἡγγέλλον πρὸς Κύρον οἱ αὐτομολήσαντες ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως πρὸ τῆς μάχης, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οἱ ὕστερον ἐλήφθησαν τῶν πολεμίων ταῦτα ἡγγέλλον. 14. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ Κύρος ἐξελαίνει σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας τρεῖς συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι παντὶ καὶ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ βαρβαρικῷ· ᾧ το γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μαχεῖσθαι βασιλέα·

κατὰ γὰρ μέσον τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτον τάφρος ἦν ὀρυκτὴ βαθεΐα, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ὀργυιαί πέντε, τὸ δὲ βάθος ὀργυιαί τρεῖς. **15.** παρετέτατο δὲ ἡ τάφρος ἄνω διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐπὶ δώδεκα παρασύγγας μέχρι τοῦ Μηδίας τείχους. ἔνθα αἱ διώρυχες, ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ ῥέουσai· εἰσὶ δὲ τέταρες, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πλεθριαῖαι, βαθεΐαι δὲ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ πλοῖα πλεῖ ἐν αὐταῖς σιταγωγά· εἰσβάλλουσι δὲ εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην, διαλείπουσι δ' ἐκύστη παρασύγγην, γέφυραι δ' ἔπεισιν. ἦν δὲ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην πάροδος στενὴ μεταξὺ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς τάφρου ὡς εἴκοσι ποδῶν τὸ εὖρος. **16.** ταύτην δὲ τὴν τάφρον βασιλεὺς ποιεῖ μέγας ἀντὶ ἐρύματος, ἐπεὶδὴ πυνθάνεται Κύρον προσελαύνοντα. ταύτην δὴ τὴν πάροδον Κύρος τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρήλθε καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰσω τῆς τάφρου. **17.** ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἐμαχέσατο βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρούντων φανερά ἦσαν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἵχνη πολλά. **18.** ἐνταῦθα Κύρος Σιλαὸν καλέσας τὸν Ἀμβρακιώτην μάντιν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δαρεικοὺς τρισχιλίους, ὅτι τῇ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρας θυόμενος εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι βασιλεὺς οὐ μαχεῖται δέκα ἡμερῶν, Κύρος δ' εἶπεν, Οὐκ ἄρα ἔτι μαχεῖται, εἰ ἐν ταύταις οὐ μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέραις· εἴαν δ' ἀληθεύσης, ὑπισχνούμαι σοι δέκα τάλαντα. τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον τότε ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπεὶ παρήλθον αἱ δέκα ἡμέραι. **19.** ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ οὐκ ἐκώλυε βασιλεὺς τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα διαβαίνειν, ἔδοξε καὶ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπεγνωκέναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι· ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Κύρος ἐπορεύετο ἡμελημένως μᾶλλον. **20.** τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ἄρματος καθήμενος τὴν πορείαν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ὀλίγους ἐν τάξει ἔχων πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ πολὺ αὐτῷ ἀνατεταραγμένον ἐπορεύετο καὶ τῶν ὄπλων τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἀμαξῶν ἤγετο καὶ ὑποζυγίων.

VIII. Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσαν καὶ πλη-

σίον ἦν ὁ σταθμὸς ἔνθα ἔμελλε καταλύειν, ἡνίκα Πατηγύας ἀνὴρ Πέρσης τῶν ἀμφὶ Κῦρον πιστῶν προφαίνεται ἐλαύνων ἀνὰ κράτος ἰδρύνει τῷ ἵππῳ, καὶ εὐθὺς πᾶσιν οἷς ἐνετύγχανεν ἐβόα καὶ βαρβαρικῶς καὶ ἑλληνικῶς ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ προσέρχεται ὥς εἰς μάχην παρεσκευασμένος. 2. ἔνθα δὴ πολὺς τῦραχος ἐγένετο· αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐδόκουν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ πάντες δὲ ἀτάκτοις σφίσιν ἐπιπείσασθαι. 3. Κῦρός τε καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος τὸν θώρακα ἐνέδου καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἔλαβε, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλεν ἐξοπλίσσασθαι καὶ καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἕκαστον. 4. ἔνθα δὴ σὺν πολλῇ σπουδῇ καθίσταντο, Κλέαρχος μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχων πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ, Πρόξενος δὲ ἐχόμενος, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι μετὰ τούτον, Μένων δὲ καὶ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας ἔσχε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ. 5. τοῦ δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ ἱππεῖς μὲν Παφλαγόνες εἰς χιλιόνας παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πελταστικὸν, ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ Ἀριαῖός τε ὁ Κύρου ὑπαρχος καὶ τὸ ἄλλο βαρβαρικόν. 6. Κῦρος δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς τούτου ὅσον ἐξαικόσιοι ὠπλισμένοι θώραξι μὲν αὐτοὶ καὶ παραμηριδίῳ καὶ κράνεσι πάντες πλὴν Κύρου· Κῦρος δὲ ψιλὴν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὴν μάχην καθίστατο. 7. οἱ δ' ἵπποι πάντες οἱ μετὰ Κύρου εἶχον καὶ προμετωπίδια καὶ προστερνίδια· εἶχον δὲ καὶ μαχαίρας οἱ ἱππεῖς Ἑλληνικάς. 8. καὶ ἥδη τε ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας καὶ οὐπω καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· ἡνίκα δὲ δειλὴ ἐγένετο, ἐφάνη κονιόρτος ὥσπερ νεφέλη λευκὴ, χρόνῳ δὲ συχνῷ ὕστερον ὥσπερ μελανία τις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐπὶ πολύ. ὅτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον ἐγίνοντο, τύχα δὴ καὶ χαλκός τις ἤστραπτε καὶ αἱ λόγχαι καὶ αἱ τάξεις καταφανεῖς ἐγίνοντο. 9. καὶ ἦσαν ἱππεῖς μὲν λευκοθώρακες ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν πολεμίων· Τισσαφέρνης ἐλέγετο τούτων

ἄρχειν· ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων γερροφόροι, ἐχόμενοι δὲ ὀπλίται
 σὺν ποδιῆρσι ξυλίναις ἀσπίσιν· Αἰγύπτιοι δ' οὗτοι ἐλέ-
 γοντο εἶναι· ἄλλοι δ' ἵππεῖς, ἄλλοι τοξόται. πάντες δ'
 οὗτοι κατὰ ἔθνη ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστον τὸ
 ἔθνος ἐπορεύετο. **10.** πρὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἄρματα διαλείποντα
 συχνὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ δὴ δρεπανηφόρα καλούμενα· εἶχον
 δὲ τὰ δρέπανα ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτεταμένα καὶ
 ὑπὸ τοῖς δίφροις εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὡς διακόπτειν ὅτφ ἐν-
 τυγχάνοιεν. ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἦν ὡς εἰς τὰς τάξεις τῶν Ἑλλή-
 νων ἐλῶντα καὶ διακόψοντα. **11.** ὃ μέντοι Κύρος εἶπεν ὅτε
 καλέσας παρεκελεύετο τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν βαρ-
 βάρων ἀνέχεσθαι, ἐφεύσθη τούτο· οὐ γὰρ κραυγὴ ἀλλὰ
 συγῇ ὡς ἀνυστὸν καὶ ἡσυχῇ ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ βραδέως προσήεσαν.
12. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κύρος παρελαύνων αὐτὸς σὺν Πίγρητι
 τῷ ἐρμηνεῖ καὶ ἄλλοις τρισὶν ἢ τέτταρσι τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἐβόα
 ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ μέσον τὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὅτι ἐκεῖ
 βασιλεὺς εἴη· κἂν τοῦτ', ἔφη, νικῶμεν, πάνθ' ἡμῖν πεποιήται.
13. ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Κλεάρχος τὸ μέσον στῖφος καὶ ἀκούων Κύ-
 ρου ἔξω ὄντα τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ εὐωνύμου βασιλέα· τοσοῦτον
 γὰρ πλήθει περιῆν βασιλεὺς ὥστε μέσον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων
 τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου ἔξω ἦν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ Κλεάρχος οὐκ
 ἠθέλεν ἀποσπᾶσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, φο-
 βούμενος μὴ κυκλωθεῖη ἐκατέρωθεν, τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀπεκρί-
 νατο ὅτι αὐτῷ μέλοι ὅπως καλῶς ἔχοι. **14.** καὶ ἐν τούτῳ
 τῷ καιρῷ τὸ μὲν βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα ὁμαλῶς προῆει,
 τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένον συνετάττετο ἐκ τῶν
 ἔτι προσιόντων. καὶ ὁ Κύρος παρελαύνων οὐ πᾶν πρὸς
 αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι κατεθεῶτο ἐκατέρωσε ἀποβλέπων εἰς
 τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς φίλους. **15.** ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ
 τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὑπελάσας ὡς συναντή-
 σαι ἤρετο εἴ τι παραγγέλλοι· ὁ δ' ἐπιστήσας εἶπε καὶ λέ-

γειν ἐκέλευσε πᾶσιν ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ σφάγια καλὰ. **16.** ταῦτα δὲ λέγων θορύβου ἤκουσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων ἰόντος, καὶ ἤρετο τίς ὁ θόρυβος εἶη. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν ὅτι τὸ σύνθημα παρέρχεται δεύτερον ἤδη. καὶ ὃς ἐθαύμασε τίς παραγγέλλει καὶ ἤρετο ὅ τι εἶη τὸ σύνθημα. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, **ΖΕΤΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΚΑΙ ΝΙΚΗ.** **17.** ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἀκούσας Ἀλλὰ δέχομαί τε, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο ἔστω. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν ἀπήλυνε· καὶ οὐκέτι τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια διειχέτην τῷ φύλαγγε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἡνίκα ἐπαϊάνιζον τε οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ προήρχοντο ἀντίοι ἰέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις. **18.** ὡς δὲ πορευομένων ἐξεκύμαινέ τι τῆς φύλαγγος, τὸ ἐπιλειπόμενον ἤρξατο δρόμῳ θεῖν· καὶ ἅμα ἐφθέγγαντο πάντες οἷόνπερ τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ ἐλελίζουσι, καὶ πάντες δὲ ἔθεον. λέγουσι δέ τινες ὡς καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἐδούπησαν, φόβον ποιοῦντες τοῖς ἵπποις. **19.** πρὶν δὲ τόξευμα ἐξικνεῖσθαι, ἐκκλίνουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ φεύγουσι. καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδίωκον μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐβῶν δὲ ἀλλήλοις μὴ θεῖν δρόμῳ ἀλλ' ἐν τάξει ἔπρεσθαι. **20.** τὰ δ' ἄρματα ἐφέροντο τὰ μὲν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κενὰ ἡμιόχων. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ προῖδοιεν, δίσταντο· ἔστι δ' ὅστις καὶ κατελήφθη ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐκπλαγείς· καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον παθεῖν ἔφασαν, οὐδ' ἄλλος δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἔπαθεν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν, πλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοξευθῆναι τις ἐλέγετο. **21.** Κῦρος δ' ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας νικῶντας τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ διώκοντας, ἡδόμενος καὶ προσκυνούμενος ἤδη ὡς βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν, οὐδ' ὥς ἐξήχθη διώκειν, ἀλλὰ συνεσπειραμένην ἔχων τὴν τῶν σὺν ἑαυτῷ ἑτακοσίων ἱππέων τάξιν ἐπεμελεῖτο ὅ τι ποιήσει βασιλεὺς. καὶ γὰρ ᾔδει αὐτὸν ὅτι μέσον ἔχοι τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος. **22.** καὶ πάντες δ' οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες μέσον

ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν ἡγούνται, νομίζοντες οὕτω καὶ ἐν ἀσφα-
 λεστάτῳ εἶναι, ἣν ἢ ἡ ἰσχύς αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν, καὶ εἴ τι
 παραγγεῖλαι χρήζοιεν, ἡμίσει ἂν χρόνῳ αἰσθάνεσθαι τὸ
 στράτευμα. **23.** καὶ βασιλεὺς δὴ τότε μέσον ἔχων τῆς
 αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς ὅμως ἔξω ἐγένετο τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου
 κέρατος. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ἐμάχετο ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου οὐδὲ
 τοῖς αὐτοῦ τεταγμένοις ἔμπροσθεν, ἐπέκαμπτεν ὥς εἰς κύ-
 κλωσιν. **24.** ἔνθα δὴ Κύρος δέισας μὴ ὀπισθεν γενόμενος
 κατακόψῃ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐλαύνει ἀντίος· καὶ ἐμβαλὼν σὺν
 τοῖς ἑξακοσίοις νικᾷ τοὺς πρὸ βασιλέως τεταγμένους καὶ εἰς
 φυγὴν ἔτρεψε τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους, καὶ ἀποκτείνει λέγεται αὐ-
 τὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ Ἀρταγέρσην τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν. **25.** ὥς
 δ' ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο, διασπείρονται καὶ οἱ Κύρου ἑξακόσιοι εἰς
 τὸ διώκειν ὁρμήσαντες, πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγοι ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κατε-
 λείφθησαν, σχεδὸν οἱ ὁμοτράπεζοι καλούμενοι. **26.** σὺν τού-
 τοις δὲ ὦν καθορᾷ βασιλέα καὶ τὸ ἀμφ' ἐκείνον στίφος· καὶ
 εὐθύς οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν Τὸν ἄνδρα ὀρώ, ἵeto ἐπ' αὐτὸν
 καὶ παίει κατὰ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τιτρώσκει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος,
 ὥς φησι Κτησίας ὁ ἱατρὸς καὶ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτὸς τὸ τραῦμά φησι.
27. παίοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἀκοντίζει τις παλτῷ ὑπὸ τὸν ὀφθαλ-
 μὸν βιαίως· καὶ ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενοι καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ Κύ-
 ρος καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρου, ὅπόσοι μὲν τῶν ἀμφὶ
 βασιλέα ἀπέθνησκον Κτησίας λέγει· παρ' ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἦν·
 Κύρος δὲ αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ ὁκτὼ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν περὶ
 αὐτὸν ἔκειντο ἐπ' αὐτῷ. **28.** Ἀρταπάτης δ' ὁ πιστότατος
 αὐτῷ τῶν σκηπτούχων θεραπόντων λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ πεπτωκότες
 εἶδε Κύρον, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ.
29. καὶ οἱ μὲν φασι βασιλέα κελεύσαι τινα ἐπισφάζαι αὐ-
 τὸν Κύρῳ, οἱ δ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπισφάξασθαι σπασάμενον τὸν
 ἀκινάκην· εἶχε γὰρ χρυσοῦν· καὶ στρεπτὸν δ' ἐφόρει καὶ
 ψέλια καὶ τᾶλλα ὥσπερ οἱ ἄριστοι Περσῶν· ἐτετίμητο γὰρ
 ὑπὸ Κύρου δι' εὐνοίαν τε καὶ πιστότητα.

ΙΧ. Κύρος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ὢν Περσῶν τῶν μετὰ Κύρον τὸν ἀρχαῖον γενομένων βασιλικώτατος τε καὶ ἄρχειν ἀξιώτατος, ὡς παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογεῖται τῶν Κύρου δοκούντων ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι. **2.** πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔτι παῖς ὢν, ὅτ' ἐπαιδεύετο καὶ σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις παισὶ, πάντων πάντα κρῦτιστος ἐνομίζετο. **3.** πάντες γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἀρίστων Περσῶν παῖδες ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδεύονται· ἔνθα πολλὴν μὲν σωφροσύνην καταμάθοι ἂν τις, αἰσχρὸν δ' οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἀκούσαι οὐτ' ἰδεῖν ἔστι. **4.** θεῶνται δ' οἱ παῖδες καὶ τιμωμένους ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ ἀκούουσι, καὶ ἄλλους ἀτιμαζομένους· ὥστε εὐθύς παῖδες ὄντες μανθάνουσιν ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. **5.** ἔνθα Κύρος αἰδημονέστατος μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑποδεεστέρων μᾶλλον πείθεσθαι, ἔπειτα δὲ φιλιππότατος καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἄριστα χρῆσθαι· ἔκρινον δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἔργων, τοξικῆς τε καὶ ἀκοντίσεως, φιλομαθέστατον εἶναι καὶ μελετηρότατον. **6.** ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἔπρεπε, καὶ φιλοθηρότατος ἦν καὶ πρὸς τὰ θηρία μέντοι φιλοκινδυνότατος. καὶ ἄρκτον ποτὲ ἐπιφερομένην οὐκ ἔτρεσεν, ἀλλὰ συμπεσὼν κατεσπάσθη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔπαθεν, ὧν καὶ τὰς ὠτειλὰς εἶχε, τέλος δὲ κατέκανε· καὶ τὸν πρῶτον μέντοι βοηθήσαντα πολλοῖς μακαριστὸν ἐποίησεν. **7.** ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεπέμφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σατράπης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεδείχθη οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίου ἀθροίζεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ὅτι περὶ πλείστου ποιοῖτο, εἴ τῳ σπείσαιτο καὶ εἴ τῳ συνθοῖτο καὶ εἴ τῳ ὑπόσχοιτό τι, μηδὲν ψεύδεσθαι. **8.** καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐπίστευον μὲν αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις ἐπιτρεπόμεναι, ἐπίστευον δ' οἱ ἄνδρες· καὶ εἴ τις πολέμιος ἐγένετο, σπείσαμένου Κύρου ἐπίστευε μηδὲν ἂν παρὰ τὰς

σπονδὰς παθεῖν. **9.** τοιγαροῦν ἐπεὶ Τισσαφέρνει ἐπολέμησε, πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις ἐκούσαι Κύρον εἶλοντο ἀντὶ Τισσαφέρνους πλὴν Μιλησίων· οὗτοι δὲ, ὅτι οὐκ ᾔθελε τοὺς φεύγοντας προέσθαι, ἐφοβούντο αὐτόν. **10.** καὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε προοίτο, ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ φίλος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, οὐδ' εἰ ἔτι μὲν μείους γένοιτο ἔτι δὲ κίκιον πράξειαν. **11.** φανερὸς δ' ἦν καὶ, εἴ τίς τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ποιήσειεν αὐτόν, νικᾶν πειρώμενος· καὶ εὐχὴν δέ τινες αὐτοῦ ἐξέφερον ὡς εὐχοίτο τοσοῦτον χρόνον ζῆν ἔστε νικῆῃ καὶ τοὺς εὖ καὶ τοὺς κακῶς ποιούντας ἀλεξόμενος. **12.** καὶ γὰρ οὖν πλείστοι δὴ αὐτῷ ἐνὶ γε ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ χρήματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν σώματα προέσθαι. **13.** οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν τις εἴποι ὡς τοὺς κακούργους καὶ ἀδίκους εἶα καταγελᾶν, ἀλλ' ἀφειδέστατα πάντων ἐτιμωρεῖτο. πολλάκις δ' ἦν ἰδεῖν παρὰ τὰς στειβομένας ὁδοὺς καὶ ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν στερομένους ἀνθρώπους· ὥστ' ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀρχῇ ἐγένετο καὶ Ἑλληνι καὶ βαρβάρῳ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι ἀδεῶς πορεύεσθαι ὅποι τις ᾔθελεν, ἔχοντι ὃ τι προχωροίη. **14.** τοὺς γε μέντοι ἀγαθοὺς εἰς πόλεμον ὠμολόγητο διαφερόντως τιμᾶν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ πόλεμος πρὸς Πισίδας καὶ Μυσούς· στρατεούμενος οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ταύτας τὰς χώρας οὓς ἐώρα ἐθέλοντας κινδυνεύειν, τούτους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐποίει ἥς κατεστρέφετο χώρας, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις δώροις ἐτίμα. **15.** ὥστε φαίνεσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς εὐδαιμονεστάτους, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς δούλους τούτων ἀξιούσθαι εἶναι. τοιγαροῦν πολλὰ ἦν ἀφθονία αὐτῷ τῶν ἐθελόντων κινδυνεύειν, ὅπου τις οἶοιτο Κύρον αἰσθῆσθαι. **16.** εἷς γε μὴν δικαιοσύνην εἴ τις αὐτῷ φανερὸς γένοιτο ἐπιδείκνυσθαι βουλόμενος, περὶ παντὸς ἐποίειτο τούτους πλουσιωτέρους ποιεῖν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου φιλοκερδούντων. **17.** καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἄλλα τε

πολλὰ δικαίως αὐτῷ διεχειρίζετο καὶ στρατεύματι ἀληθινῷ ἐχρήσατο. καὶ γὰρ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ οὐ χρημάτων ἕνεκα πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐπλευσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν κερδαλεώτερον εἶναι Κύρῳ καλῶς πειθαρχεῖν ἢ τὸ κατὰ μήνα κέρδος.

18. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ τίς γέ τι αὐτῷ προστάξαντι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσκειν, οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀχάριστον εἶασε τὴν προθυμίαν. τοιγαροῦν κρῑτίστοι δὴ ὑπηρεταὶ παντὸς ἔργου Κύρῳ ἐλέχθησαν γενέσθαι.

19. εἰ δέ τινα ὁρῶν δεινὸν ὄντα οἰκονόμον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ κατασκευάζοντά τε ἧς ἄρχοι χώρας καὶ προσόδους ποιοῦντα, οὐδένα ἂν πώποτε ἀφείλετο, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πλείω προσεδίδου· ὥστε καὶ ἡδέως ἐπόνουν καὶ θαρραλέως ἐκτῶντο καὶ ὃ ἐπέπατο αὐτὸς ἧκιστα Κύρον ἐκρυπτεν· οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν τοῖς φανερώς πλουτοῦσιν ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ πειρώμενος χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων χρήμασι.

20. φίλους γε μὴν ὅσους ποιήσαιο καὶ εὖνους γινοῖν ὄντας καὶ ἱκανοὺς κρίνειε συνεργοὺς εἶναι ὃ τι τυγχάνοι βουλόμενος κατεργάζεσθαι, ὁμολογεῖται πρὸς πάντων κρῑτίστος δὴ γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν.

21. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐπερ αὐτὸς ἕνεκα φίλων ᾤετο δεῖσθαι, ὥς συνεργοὺς ἔχοι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο συνεργὸς τοῖς φίλοις κρῑτίστος εἶναι τούτου ὅτου ἕκαστον αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιθυμοῦντα.

22. δῶρα δὲ πλείστα μὲν οἶμαι εἰς γε ὧν ἀνὴρ ἐλάμβανε διὰ πολλά· ταῦτα δὲ πάντων δὴ μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις διεδίδου, πρὸς τοὺς τρόπους ἐκάστου σκοπῶν καὶ ὅτου μάλιστα ὁρῶν ἕκαστον δεόμενον.

23. καὶ ὅσα τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ κόσμον πέμποι τις ἢ ὥς εἰς πόλεμον ἢ ὥς εἰς καλλωπισμὸν, καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο τούτοις πᾶσι κοσμηθῆναι, φίλους δὲ καλῶς κεκοσμημένους μέγιστον κόσμον ἀνδρὶ νομίζοι.

24. καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ μεγάλα νικᾶν τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν, ἐπειδὴ γε καὶ δυνατώτερος ἦν· τὸ δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ περιεῖναι τῶν φίλων

καὶ τῷ προθυμείσθαι χαρίζεσθαι, ταῦτα ἔμοιγε μᾶλλον δοκεῖ ἀγαστὰ εἶναι. **25.** Κύρος γὰρ ἔπεμπε βίκους οἴνου ἡμιδεεῖς πολλάκις ὅποτε πάνυ ἡδὺν λάβοι, λέγων ὅτι οὐπω δὴ πολλοῦ χρόνου τούτου ἡδίου οἶνον ἐπιτύχοι· τοῦτον οὖν σοὶ ἔπεμψε καὶ δεῖταί σου τήμερον τοῦτον ἐκπιεῖν σὺν οἷς μάλιστα φιλεῖς. **26.** πολλάκις δὲ χήνας ἡμβρώτους ἔπεμπε καὶ ἄρτων ἡμίσεα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλέγειν καλεῖν τὸν φέροντα, Τούτοις ἦσθη Κύρος· βούλεται οὖν καὶ σὲ τούτων γεύσασθαι. **27.** ὅπου δὲ χιλὸς σπάνιος πάνυ εἴη, αὐτὸς δ' ἐδύνατο παρασκευάσασθαι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἔχειν ὑπηρέτας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, διαπέμπων ἐκέλευε τοὺς φίλους τοῖς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα ἄγουσιν ἵπποις ἐμβάλλειν τοῦτον τὸν χιλὸν, ὡς μὴ πεινῶντες τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἄγωσιν. **28.** εἰ δὲ δὴ ποτε πορεύοιτο καὶ πλείστοι μέλλοιεν ὄψεσθαι, προσκαλῶν τοὺς φίλους ἐσπουδαιολογεῖτο, ὡς δηλοῖη οὕς τιμᾶ. ὥστε ἔγωγε ἐξ ὧν ἀκούω οὐδένα κρίνω ὑπὸ πλειόνων πεφιλῆσθαι οὔτε Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρβάρων. **29.** τεκμήριον δὲ τούτου καὶ τόδε. παρὰ μὲν Κύρου δούλου ὄντος οὐδεὶς ἀπῆει πρὸς βασιλέα, πλὴν Ὀρόντας ἐπεχείρησε· καὶ οὗτος δὴ ὃν ᾤετο πιστόν οἱ εἶναι ταχὺ αὐτὸν εὔρε Κύρῳ φιλαίτερον ἢ ἑαυτῷ· παρὰ δὲ βασιλέως πολλοὶ πρὸς Κύρον ἀπήλθον, ἐπειδὴ πολέμιοι ἀλλήλοις ἐγένοντο, καὶ οὗτοι μέντοι οἱ μάλιστα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαπώμενοι, νομίζοντες παρὰ Κύρῳ ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ ἀξιοτέρας ἢ τιμῆς τυγχάνειν ἢ παρὰ βασιλεῖ. **30.** μέγα δὲ τεκμήριον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου αὐτῷ γενόμενον ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀγαθὸς καὶ κρίνειν ὀρθῶς ἐδύνατο τοὺς πιστοὺς καὶ εὖνους καὶ βεβαίους. **31.** ἀποθνήσκοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ παρ' αὐτὸν φίλοι καὶ συντράπεζοι ἀπέθανον μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ Κύρου πλὴν Ἀριαίου· οὗτος δὲ τεταγμένος ἐτύγχανεν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοῦ ἵππου· ἄρχων· ὡς δ' ἴσθετο Κύρον πεπτωκότα, ἔφυγεν ἔχων καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν οὐ ἡγήετο.

Χ. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ Κύρου ἀποτέμενεται ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ ἡ χεὶρ ἡ δεξιὰ. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ διώκων εἰσπίπτει εἰς τὸ Κύρειον στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ Ἀριαίου οὐκέτι ἴστανται, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσι διὰ τοῦ αὐτῶν στρατοπέδου εἰς τὸν σταθμὸν ἔνθεν ὥρμητο· τέτταρες δ' ἐλέγοντο παρασύγαι εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ. **Β.** βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τί ~~ε~~ ἀλλὰ πολλὰ διαρπάζουσι, καὶ τὴν Φωκαΐδα τὴν Κύρου παλλακίδα τὴν σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν λεγομένην εἶναι λαμβάνει. **Γ.** ἡ δὲ Μιλησία ἡ νεωτέρα ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἐκφεύγει γυμνὴ πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δι' ἔτυχον ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις ὅπλα ἔχοντες, καὶ ἀντιταχθέντες πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀρπαζόντων ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον· οὐ μὴν ἔφυγόν γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἔσωσαν καὶ ἄλλα ὅποσα ἐντὸς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐγένοντο πάντα ἔσωσαν. **Δ.** ἐνταῦθα διέσχον ἁλλήλων βασιλεὺς τε καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὡς τριάκοντα στάδια, οἱ μὲν διώκοντες τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς ὡς πάντας νικῶντες, οἱ δ' ἀρπάζοντες ὡς ἤδη πάντες νικῶντες. **Ε.** ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσθοντο οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἶη, βασιλεὺς δ' αὖ ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρνους ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῶν τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν οἷχονται διώκοντες, ἐνταῦθα δὴ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἀθροίζει τε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συντάσσεται, ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο Πρόξενον καλέσας, πλησιαίτατος γὰρ ἦν, εἰ πέμποιέν τινας ἢ πάντες ἴοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρήξοντες. **ΣΤ.** ἐν τούτῳ καὶ βασιλεὺς δηλὸς ἦν προσίων πάλιν ὡς ἐδόκει ὀπισθεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες στραφέντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ταύτῃ προσιόντος καὶ δεξόμενοι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταύτῃ μὲν οὐκ ἦγεν, ἥ δὲ παρήλθεν ἔξω τοῦ εὐνῳύμου κέρατος ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπήγαγεν, ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτομολήσαντας καὶ Τισσαφέρην καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. **Ζ.** ὁ γὰρ Τισσαφέρ-

νης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνόδῳ οὐκ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ διήλασε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας πελταστὰς· διελαύνων δὲ κατέκανε μὲν οὐδένα, διαστάντες δ' οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔπαιον καὶ καὶ ἠκόντιζον αὐτούς· Ἐπισθένης δὲ Ἀμφιπολίτης ἦρχε τῶν πελταστῶν καὶ ἐλέγετο φρόνιμος γενέσθαι. 8. ὁ δ' οὖν Τισσαφέρνης ὡς μείον ἔχων ἀπηλλάγη, πάλιν μὲν οὐκ ἀναστρέφει, εἰς δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκεῖ συντυγχάνει βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὁμοῦ δὴ πάλιν συνταξίμενοι ἐπορεύοντο. 9. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἑλλήνων κέρας, ἔδεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες μὴ προσάγειν πρὸς τὸ κέρας καὶ περιπτύξαντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς κατακόψειαν· καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας καὶ ποιήσασθαι ὅπισθεν τὸν ποταμόν. 10. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο, καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς παραμειψάμενος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα κατέστησεν ἀντίαν τὴν φύλαγγα ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον μαχομένου συνῆι. ὡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐγγὺς τε ὄντας καὶ παρατεταγμένους, αὐθις παιανίσαντες ἐπῆσαν πολὺ ἔτι προθυμότερον ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν. 11. οἱ δ' αὖ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ πλείονος ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν ἔφευγον· οἱ δ' ἐπεδίωκον μέχρι κόμης τινός. 12. ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῆς κόμης γήλοφος ἦν, ἐφ' οὗ ἀνεστρίψαν οἱ ἀμφὶ βασιλέα, πεζοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι, τῶν δὲ ἵππέων ὁ λόφος ἐνεπλήσθη, ὥστε τὸ ποιούμενον μὴ γινώσκειν. καὶ τὸ βασιλείον σημεῖον ὁρᾶν ἔφασαν αἰτόν τινα χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ πέλτῃ ἐπὶ ξύλου ἀνατεταμένον. 13. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἐχώρουν οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουσι δὴ καὶ τὸν λόφον οἱ ἱππεῖς· οὐ μὴν ἔτι ἰθρόοι ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν· ἐψιλοῦτο δ' ὁ λόφος τῶν ἱππέων· τέλος δὲ καὶ πάντες ἀπεχώρησαν. 14. ὁ οὖν Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτὸν στήσας τὸ στράτευμα πέμπει Λύκιον τὸν Συρακόσιον καὶ ἄλλον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον καὶ κελεύει κατιδόντας τὰ

ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόφου τί ἐστὶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι. **15.** καὶ ὁ Λύκιος ἤλασέ τε καὶ ἰδὼν ἀπαγγέλλει ὅτι φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος. σχεδὸν δ' ὅτε ταῦτα ἦν καὶ ἥλιος ἐδύετο. **16.** ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα ἀνεπαύοντο· καὶ ἅμα μὲν ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ Κῦρος φαίνοιτο οὐδ' ἄλλος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς παρείη· οὐ γὰρ ἤδεσαν αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα, ἀλλ' εἵκαζον ἢ διώκοντα οἴχεσθαι ἢ καταληφόμενόν τι προεληλακέναι. **17.** καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβουλεύοντο εἰ αὐτοῦ μέιναντες τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐνταῦθα ἄγοιντο ἢ ἀπίοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἀπίεναι· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἀμφὶ δορπηστὸν ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. **18.** ταύτης μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο. καταλαμβάνουσι δὲ τῶν τε ἄλλων χρημάτων τὰ πλείστα διηρπασμένα καὶ εἴ τι σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν ἦν, καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας μεστὰς ἀλεύρων καὶ οἴνου, ἃς παρεσκευάσατο Κῦρος ἵνα, εἴ ποτε σφοδρὰ τὸ στράτευμα λάβοι ἔνδεια, διαδοίῃ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· ἦσαν δ' αὐταὶ τετρακῶσαι ὥς ἐλέγοντο ἅμαξαι· καὶ ταύτας τότε οἱ σὺν βασιλεῖ διήρπασαν. **19.** ὥστε ἄδειπνοι ἦσαν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνίριστοι· πρὶν γὰρ δὴ καταλῦσαι τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἄριστον βασιλεὺς ἐφάνη. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα οὕτω διεγέγοντο.

BOOK SECOND.

I. Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἠθροίσθη Κύρῳ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὅτε ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἐστρατεύετο, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἀνόδῳ ἐπράχθη καὶ ὥς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο καὶ ὥς Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησε καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλθόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκοιμήθησαν οἰόμενοι τὰ πάντα νικᾶν καὶ Κῦρον ζῆν, ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. **2.** ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθόντες

οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι Κῦρος οὔτε ἄλλον πέμποι σημανοῦντα ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν οὔτε αὐτὸς φαίνοιτο. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς συσκευασαμένοις ἅ εἶχον καὶ ἐξοπλισαμένοις προῖ-
 - εῖναι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἕως Κίρῳ συμμίξειαν. 3. ἤδη δὲ ἐν ὁρμῇ ὄντων ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἦλθε Προκλῆς ὁ Τευθρα-
 νίας ἄρχων, γεγονὼς ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου τοῦ Λύκωνος, καὶ Γλοῦς ὁ Ταμῶ. οὗτοι ἔλεγον ὅτι Κῦρος μὲν τέθνηκεν, Ἀριαῖος δὲ πεφευγὼς ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ εἶη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ὅθεν τῇ προτεραίᾳ ὥρμητο, καὶ λέγοι ὅτι ταύ-
 την μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιμείνειεν ἂν αὐτοὺς, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἥκειν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀπιέναι φαίη ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, ὅθεν περ ἦλθε. 4. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες πυνθανόμενοι βαρέως ἔφερον. Κλέαρχος δὲ τάδε εἶπεν, Ἀλλ' ὥφελε μὲν Κῦρος ζῆν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τετελεύτηκεν, ἀπαγ-
 γέλλετε Ἀριαίῳ ὅτι ἡμεῖς νικῶμέν τε βασιλέα καὶ ὡς ὀράτε οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἡμῖν μάχεται, καὶ εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἦλθετε, ἐπορευόμεθα ἂν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ. ἐπαγγελλόμεθα δὲ Ἀρισίῳ, εὖν ἐνθάδε ἔλθῃ, εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν βιαιότατον καθιεῖν αὐτόν· τῶν γὰρ μάχῃ νικῶντων καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἐστί. 5. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπο-
 στέλλει τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Χειρίστροφον τὸν Λάκωνα καὶ Μένωνα τὸν Θετταλόν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς Μένων ἐβούλετο· ἦν γὰρ φίλος καὶ ξένος Ἀριαίου. 6. οἱ μὲν ὄχοντο, Κλέαρχος δὲ περιέμενε. τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἐπορί-
 ζετο σίτον ὅπως ἐδύνατο ἐκ τῶν ὑποζυγίων κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς καὶ ὄνους· ξύλοις δ' ἐχρῶντο μικρὸν προϊόντες ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος οὗ ἡ μάχῃ ἐγένετο τοῖς τε οἰστοῖς πολλοῖς οὔσιν, οὓς ἠνάγκαζον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς αὐτομο-
 λούντας παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ τοῖς γέρροις καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι ταῖς ξυλίναις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις· πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ πέλται καὶ ἄμαξαι ἦσαν φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι· οἷς πᾶσι χρώμενοι κρέα ἔψοντες ἥσθιον ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν. 7. καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν περὶ

πλήθουσιν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἔρχονται παρὰ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους κήρυκες οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, ἣν δ' αὐτῶν Φαλῖνος εἰς Ἑλλήν, ὃς ἐτύγχανε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνει ὦν καὶ ἐντίμως ἔχων· καὶ γὰρ προσεποιεῖτο ἐπιστῆμων εἶναι τῶν ἀμφὶ τάξεις τε καὶ ὀπλομαχίαν. 8. οὗτοι δὲ προσελθόντες καὶ καλέσαντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρχοντας λέγουσιν ὅτι βασιλεὺς κελεύει τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ἐπεὶ νικῶν τυγχάνει καὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτονε, παραδόντας τὰ ὄπλα ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως θύρας εὐρίσκεσθαι ἂν τι δύνωνται ἀγαθόν. 9. ταῦτα μὲν εἶπον οἱ βασιλέως κήρυκες· οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες βαρέως μὲν ἤκουσαν, ὅμως δὲ Κλέαρχος τοσοῦτον εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐ τῶν νικῶντων εἴη τὰ ὄπλα παραδιδόναι· ἀλλ', ἔφη, ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες στρατηγοὶ, τούτοις ἀποκρίνασθε ὃ τι κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον ἔχετε· ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτίκα ἤξω. ἐκάλεσε γάρ τις αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ὅπως ἴδοι τα ἱερὰ ἐξηρημένα· ἔτυχε γὰρ θυόμενος. 10. εὐθὰ δὴ ἀπεκρίνατο Κλεάνωρ μὲν ὁ Ἀρκυὸς πρεσβύτατος ὦν ὅτι πρόσθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιεν ἢ τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῖεν· Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Θηβαῖος, Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ὦ Φαλῖνε, θαυμάζω πότερα ὡς κρατῶν βασιλεὺς αἰτεῖ τὰ ὄπλα ἢ ὡς διὰ φιλίαν δῶρα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς κρατῶν, τί δεῖ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν καὶ οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα; εἰ δὲ πείσας βούλεται λαβεῖν, λεγέτω τί ἔσται τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἐὰν αὐτῷ ταῦτα χαρίσωνται. 11. πρὸς ταῦτα Φαλῖνος εἶπε, Βασιλεὺς νικᾷν ἡγήται, ἐπεὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτονε. τίς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔστιν ὅστις τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖται; νομίζει δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, ἔχων ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρα καὶ ποταμῶν ἐντὸς ἀδιαβάτων καὶ πλήθος ἀνθρώπων ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δυνάμενος ἀγαγεῖν ὅσον οὐδ' εἰ παρέχοι ὑμῖν δύναισθε ἂν ἀποκτεῖναι. 12. μετὰ τοῦτον Θεόπομπος Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν, ὦ Φαλῖνε, νῦν, ὡς σὺ ὁρᾷς, ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἄλλο εἰ μὴ ὄπλα καὶ ἀρετῇ. ὄπλα μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες οἰόμεθα ἂν καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι,

παραδόντες δ' ἂν ταῦτα καὶ τῶν σωμάτων στερηθῆναι. μὴ
 οὖν οἶον τὰ μόνα ἀγαθὰ ἡμῖν ὄντα ὑμῖν παραδώσειν, ἀλλὰ
 σὺν τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγαθῶν μαχοῦμεθα.
 13. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φαλῖνος ἐγέλασε καὶ εἶπεν, Ἄλλὰ
 φιλοσόφῳ μὲν ἔοικας, ὦ νεανίσκε, καὶ λέγεις οὐκ ἀχάριστα·
 ἴσθι μέντοι ἀνόητος ὢν, εἰ οἶει τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρετὴν περι-
 γενέσθαι ἂν τῆς βασιλέως δυνάμεως. 14. ἄλλους δὲ τινὰς
 ἔφασαν λέγειν ὑπομαλακισμένους ὥς καὶ Κύρῳ πιστοὶ
 ἐγένοντο καὶ βασιλεῖ ἂν πολλοῦ ἄξιοι γένοιτο, εἰ βούλοιο
 φίλος γενέσθαι· καὶ εἴτε ἄλλο τι θέλοι χρῆσθαι εἴτ' ἐπ'
 Αἴγυπτον στρατεύειν, συγκαταστρέψαιντ' ἂν αὐτῷ. 15. ἐν
 τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ἦκε, καὶ ἠρώτησεν εἰ ἤδη ἀποκεκριμένοι
 εἶεν. Φαλῖνος δὲ ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Οὗτοι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε,
 ἄλλος ἄλλα λέγει· σὺ δ' ἡμῖν εἰπὲ τί λέγεις. 16. ὁ δ'
 εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ σε, ὦ Φάλινε, ἄσμενος ἐώρακα, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ οἱ
 ἄλλοι πάντες· σύ τε γὰρ Ἕλληνα εἶ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοσοῦτοι
 ὄντες ὅσους σὺ ὀράς· ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ ὄντες πράγμασι συμ-
 βουλευόμεθά σοι τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ ὧν λέγεις. 17. σὺ οὖν
 πρὸς θεῶν συμβούλευσον ἡμῖν ὃ τι σοι δοκεῖ κάλλιστον καὶ
 ἄριστον εἶναι, καὶ ὃ σοι τιμὴν οἴσει εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον
 λεγόμενον, ὅτι Φαλῖνός ποτε πεμφθεὶς παρὰ βασιλέως κε-
 λεύσων τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῦναι συμβουλευο-
 μένοις συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς τάδε. οἴσθα δὲ ὅτι ἀνάγκη
 λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἅ ἂν συμβουλευέσῃς. 18. ὁ δὲ
 Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ὑπήγετο βυλούμενος καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν παρὰ
 βασιλέως πρεσβεύοντα συμβουλευεῖν μὴ παραδοῦναι τὰ
 ὄπλα, ὅπως εὐέλπιδες μᾶλλον εἶεν οἱ Ἕλληνες. Φαλῖνος
 δὲ ὑποστρέψας παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν, 19. Ἐγὼ, εἰ
 μὲν τῶν μυρίων ἐλπίδων μία τις ὑμῖν ἐστὶ σωθῆναι πολε-
 μούντας βασιλεῖ, συμβουλεύω μὴ παραδιδόναι τὰ ὄπλα· εἰ
 δέ τοι μηδεμία σωτηρίας ἐστὶν ἐλπίς ἄκοντος βασιλέως,

συμβουλευώ σώζεσθαι ὑμῖν ὅπη δυνατόν. **20.** Κλέαρχος δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ σὺ λέγεις· παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπάγγελλε τάδε, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἴομεθα, εἰ μὲν δέοι βασιλεῖ φίλους εἶναι, πλείονος ἂν ἄξιοι εἶναι φίλοι ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα ἢ παραδόντες ἄλλῳ, εἰ δὲ δέοι πολεμεῖν, ἄμεινον ἂν πολεμεῖν ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα ἢ ἄλλῳ παραδόντες. **21.** ὁ δὲ Φαλῖνος εἶπε, Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπαγγελοῦμεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν ἐκέλευσε βασιλεὺς ὅτι μένουσι μὲν αὐτοῦ σπονδαὶ εἴησαν, προϋοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀπιούσι πόλεμος. εἴπατε οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτου πότερα μενεῖτε καὶ σπονδαὶ εἰσιν ἢ ὡς πολέμου ὄντος παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαγγελῶ. **22.** Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεξεν, Ἀπάγγελλε τοίνυν καὶ περὶ τούτου ὅτι καὶ ἡμῖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ ἄπερ καὶ βασιλεῖ. Τί οὖν ταῦτά ἐστιν; ἔφη ὁ Φαλῖνος. ἀπεκρίνατο Κλέαρχος, Ἦν μὲν μένωμεν, σπονδαὶ, ἀπιούσι δὲ καὶ προϋοῦσι πόλεμος. **23.** ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἠρώτησε, Σπονδὰς ἢ πόλεμον ἀπαγγελῶ; Κλέαρχος δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ἀπεκρίνατο, Σπονδαὶ μὲν μένουσιν, ἀπιούσι δὲ ἢ προϋοῦσι πόλεμος. ὅ τι δὲ ποιήσοι οὐ διεσήμνη.

II. Φαλῖνος μὲν δὴ ὥχето καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ παρὰ Ἀριαίου ἦκον Προκλῆς καὶ Χειρίσοφος. Μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμενε παρὰ Ἀριαίῳ· οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι πολλοὺς φαίη Ἀριαῖος εἶναι Πέρσας ἑαυτοῦ βελτίους, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἀνίσχεται αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος· ἀλλ' εἰ βούλεσθε συναπιέναι, ἦκειν ἤδη κελεύει τῆς νυκτός. εἰ δὲ μὴ, αὐτὸς πρὶν ἀπιέναι φησίν. **2.** ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν, Ἀλλ' οὕτω χρή ποιεῖν· εἰ μὲν ἡκώμεν, ὥσπερ λέγετε· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πρῦττετε ὅποιον ἂν τι ὑμῖν οἴσθε μάλιστα συμφέρειν. ὅ τι δὲ ποιήσοι οὐδὲ τούτοις εἶπε. **3.** μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη ἡλίου δύοντος συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς ἔλεξε τοιαῦδε. Ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες, θυομένῳ ἵεναι ἐπὶ βασιλέα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά. καὶ εἰκότως ἄρα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ νῦν πυνθάνομαι, ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ὁ Τίγρης ποταμός ἐστι ναυσί-

πορος, ὃν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν. οὐ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ γε μένειν οἶόν τε· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἔστιν ἔχειν· ἵεναι δὲ παρὰ τοὺς Κύρου φίλους πάνυ καλὰ ἡμῖν τὰ ἱερὰ ἦν. 4. ὧδε οὖν χρῆ ποιεῖν· ἀπιόντας δειπνεῖν ὅτι τις ἔχει· ἐπειδὰν δὲ σημήνη τῷ κέρατι ὡς ἀναπαύεσθαι, συσκευάζεσθε· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον, ἀνατίθεσθε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἔπεσθε τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, τὰ μὲν ὑποζύγια ἔχοντες πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὄπλα ἔξω. 5. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀπήλθον καὶ ἐποίουν οὕτω. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ μὲν ἤρχεν, οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο, οὐχ ἐλόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ὀρώντες ὅτι μόνος ἐφρόνει οἷα δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἄπειροι ἦσαν. 6. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦν ἦλθον ἐξ Ἐφέσου τῆς Ἰωνίας μέχρι τῆς μάχης σταθμοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, παρασάγγαι πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι, στάδιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐλέγοντο εἶναι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα στάδιοι ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι. 7. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπεὶ σκότος ἐγένετο Μιλτοκύθης μὲν ὁ Θράξ ἔχων τοὺς τε ἱππίας τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τετταράκοντα καὶ τῶν πεζῶν Θρακῶν ὡς τριακοσίους ἤντομόλησε πρὸς βασιλέα. 8. Ἡ κλέαρχος δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγείτο κατὰ τὰ παρηγγελμένα, οἱ δ' εἵποντο· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς τὸν πρῶτον σταθμὸν παρὰ Ἀριαῖον καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου στρατιὰν ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας· καὶ ἐν τάξει θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρὰ Ἀριαῖον· καὶ ὥμοσαν οἱ τε Ἕλληνες καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ κρῦτιστοι μῆτε προδώσειν ἀλλήλους σύμμαχοι τε ἔσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ βύρβαροι προσώμοσαν καὶ ἡγήσεσθαι ἀδόλως. 9. ταῦτα δ' ὥμοσαν, σφάξαντες ταῦρον καὶ λύκον καὶ κύπρον καὶ κριὸν εἰς ἀσπίδα, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες βύπτουντες ξίφος, οἱ δὲ βύρβαροι λόγχην. 10. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἐγένετο, εἶπεν ὁ Κλέαρχος, Ἄγε δὴ, ὦ Ἀριαῖε, ἐπεί-

περ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν στόλος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡμῖν, εἰπὲ τίνα γνώμην ἔχεις περὶ τῆς πορείας, πότερον ἄπιμεν ἢνπερ ἤλθομεν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐννενοηκέναι δοκεῖς ὁδὸν κρείττω. **11.** ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἦν μὲν ἤλθομεν ἀπιόντες παντελῶς ἂν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἀπολοίμεθα· ὑπάρχει γὰρ νῦν ἡμῖν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. ἐπτακαίδεκα γὰρ σταθμῶν τῶν ἐγγυτάτω οὐδὲ δεῦρο ἰόντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν εἶχομεν λαμβάνειν· ἔνθα δ' εἴ τι ἦν, ἡμεῖς διαπορευόμενοι κατεδαπανήσαμεν. νῦν δ' ἐπινοοῦμεν πορεύεσθαι μακροτέραν μὲν, τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν.

12. πορευτίον δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς πρώτους σταθμοὺς ὡς ἂν δυνάμεθα μακροτάτους, ἵνα ὡς πλείστον ἀποσπασθῶμεν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος· ἦν γὰρ ἅπαξ δύο ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπόσχωμεν, οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν. ὀλίγη μὲν γὰρ στρατεύματι οὐ τολμήσει ἐφέπεσθαι· πολὺν δ' ἔχων στόλον οὐ δύνησεται ταχέως πορεύεσθαι· ἴσως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανιεῖ. ταύτην, ἔφη, τὴν γνώμην ἔχω ἔγωγε.

13. Ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἡ στρατηγία οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένη ἢ ἀποδρᾶναι ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν· ἡ δὲ τύχη ἐστρατήγησε κάλλιον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐπορεύοντο ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ἥλιον, λογιζόμενοι ἥξειν ἅμα ἡλίῳ δύνοντι εἰς κώμας τῆς Βαβυλωνίας χώρας· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν.

14. ἔτι δὲ ἀμφὶ δείλην ἔδοξαν πολεμίους ὀρᾶν ἱππέας· καὶ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὴ ἔτυχον ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν ὄντες εἰς τὰς τάξεις ἔθεον, καὶ Ἀριαῖος, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἐφ' ἀμάξης πορευόμενος διότι ἐτέτρωτο, καταβάς ἐθωρακίζετο καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ.

15. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὠπλίζοντο ἤκουον λέγοντες οἱ προπεμφθέντες σκοποὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἱππεῖς εἰσιν ἀλλ' ὑποζύγια νέμοιτο. καὶ εὐθὺς ἔγνωσαν πάντες ὅτι ἐγγὺς που ἐστρατοπεδεύετο βασιλεὺς· καὶ γὰρ καὶ καπνὸς ἐφαίνετο ἐν κώμας οὐ πρόσω.

16. Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγεν· ἦδει γὰρ καὶ ἀπειρηκότας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἀσίτους ὄντας· ἦδη δὲ καὶ ὧφε ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἀπέκλινε, φυλαττόμενος

μὴ δοκοίῃ φεύγειν, ἀλλ' εὐθύωρον ἄγων ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ δυσ-
 μένῳ εἰς τὰς ἐγγυτάτω κώμας τοὺς πρῶτους ἔχων κατεσκή-
 νωσεν, ἐξ ὧν διήρπαστο ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος
 καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ξύλα. 17. οἱ μὲν οὖν πρῶτοι
 ὁμῶς τρόπῳ τινὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, οἱ δὲ ὕστεροι σκοταῖοι
 προσιώντες ὡς ἐτύγχανον ἕκαστοι ἠυλίζοντο, καὶ κραυγὴν
 πολλὴν ἐπυοῖον καλοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πολε-
 μίους ἀκούειν· ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἐγγύτατα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ
 ἔφυγον ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων. 18. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο τῇ ὕστε-
 ραίᾳ ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ὑποζύγιον ἔτ' οὐδὲν ἐφάνη οὔτε
 στρατόπεδον οὔτε καπνὸς οὐδαμοῦ πλησίον. ἐξεπλάγῃ δέ,
 ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῇ ἐφόδῳ τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἐδή-
 λωσε δὲ τοῦτο οἷς τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ ἔπραττε. 19. προΐούσης
 μέντοι τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησι φόβος ἐμπίπτει,
 καὶ θόρυβος καὶ δούπος ἦν οἷον εἰκὸς φόβου ἐμπεσόντος γίγ-
 νεσθαι. 20. Κλέαρχος δὲ Τολμίδην Ἡλείον, ὃν ἐτύγχανεν
 ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτῷ κήρυκα ἄριστον τῶν τότε, τοῦτον ἀνειπεῖν
 ἐκέλευσε σιγὴν κατακρύψαντα ὅτι προαγορεύουσιν οἱ ἄρχον-
 τες, ὅς ἂν τὸν ἀφέντα τὸν ὄνον εἰς τὰ ὄπλα μὴνύσῃ, ὅτι λήψε-
 ται μισθὸν τάλαντον ἀργυρίου. 21. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκηρύχθη,
 ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατιῶται ὅτι κενὸς ὁ φόβος εἶη καὶ οἱ ἄρχον-
 τες σώοι. ἅμα δὲ ὀρθρῶ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Κλέαρχος εἰς τάξιν
 τὰ ὄπλα τίθεσθαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἥπερ εἶχον ὅτε ἦν ἡ μάχη.

III. Ὁ δὲ δὴ ἔγραψα ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐξεπλάγῃ τῇ ἐφόδῳ,
 τῷδε δῆλον ἦν. τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρόσθεν ἡμέρᾳ πέμπων τὰ
 ὄπλα παραδιδόναι ἐκέλευε, τότε δὲ ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνατέλλοντι
 κήρυκας ἔπεμψε περὶ σπονδῶν. 2. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦλθον πρὸς
 τοὺς προφύλακας, ἐζήτουν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπήγγ-
 γελλον οἱ προφύλακες, Κλέαρχος τυχὼν τότε τὰς τάξεις
 ἐπισκοπῶν εἶπε τοῖς προφύλαξι κελεύειν τοὺς κήρυκας περι-
 μένειν ἄχρι ἂν σχολάσῃ. 3. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησε τὸ στρά-
 τευμα ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν ὁρᾶσθαι πάντῃ φάλαγγα πυκνὴν,

τῶν δὲ ἀόπλων μηδένα καταφανῆ εἶναι, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ αὐτὸς τε προῆλθε τοὺς τε εὐοπλοτάτους ἔχων καὶ εὐειδεστάτους τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔφρασεν. 4. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν πρὸς τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, ἀνθρώπα τί βούλονται. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι περὶ σπονδῶν ἤκοιεν. ἄνδρες ρίτινες ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται τὰ τε παρὰ βασιλείῳ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀπαγγεῖλαι καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλεῖ. 5. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἀπαγγέλλετε τοῖνυν αὐτῷ ὅτι μάχης δεῖ πρῶτον· ἄριστον γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδ' ὁ τολμήσων περὶ σπονδῶν λέγειν τοῖς Ἑλλησι μὴ πορίσας ἄριστον. 6. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀπήλυνον, καὶ ἦκον ταχύ· ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἦν ὅτι ἐγγὺς που βασιλεὺς ἦν ἢ ἄλλος τις ᾧ ἐπετέτακτο ταῦτα πράττειν· ἔλεγον δὲ ὅτι εἰκότα δοκοῖεν λέγειν βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἦκοιεν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες οἱ αὐτοὺς, ἐὰν σπονδαὶ γένωνται, ἄξουσιν ἔνθεν ἔξουσιν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. 7. ὁ δὲ ἡρώτα εἰ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι σπένδοιτο ἰοῦσι καὶ ἀπιούσιν, ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσονται σπονδαί. οἱ δὲ, Ἀπασιν, ἔφασαν, μέχρι ἂν βασιλεῖ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν διαγγελθῇ. 8. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπον, μεταστησάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο· καὶ ἐδόκει ταχὺ τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ καθ' ἥσυχίαν ἔλθειν τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ λαβεῖν. 9. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπε, Δοκεῖ μὲν καὶ μοι ταῦτα· οὐ μέντοι ταχύ γε ἀπαγγελῶ, ἀλλὰ διατρίψω ἔστ' ἂν ὀκνήσωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι μὴ ἀποδόξῃ ἡμῖν τὰς σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι· οἴμαι γε μέντοι, ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις στρατιώταις τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον παρέσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει καιρὸς εἶναι, ἀπήγγελλεν ὅτι σπένδοιτο, καὶ εὐθὺς ἡγείσθαι ἐκέλευε πρὸς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. 10. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡγούντο, Κλέαρχος μέντοι ἐπορεύετο τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς ποιησόμενος, τὸ δὲ στρατεύμα ἔχων ἐν τάξει, καὶ αὐτὸς ὡπισθοφυλάκει. καὶ ἐνετύγχανον τάφροις καὶ ἀλῶσιν ὕδατος πλήρεσιν ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι διαβαίνειν ἄνευ γεφυρῶν· ἀλλ' ἐποιοῦντο ἐκ τῶν φοινίκων οἱ ἦσαν ἐκπεπτω-

κότες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξέκοπτον. **11.** καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦν Κλέαρχον καταμαθεῖν ὡς ἐπεστάτει, ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔχων, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ βακτηρίαν· καὶ εἴ τις αὐτῷ δοκοίη τῶν πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένων βλακεύειν, ἐκλεγόμενος τὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἔπαισεν ἄν, καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς προσελάμβανεν εἰς τὸν πηλὸν ἐμβαίνων· ὥστε πᾶσιν αἰσχύνην εἶναι μὴ οὐ συσπουδάξειν. **12.** καὶ ἐτάχθησαν μὲν πρὸς αὐτοῦ οἱ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότες· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Κλέαρχον ἐώρων σπουδύζοντα, προσελάμβανον καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. **13.** πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέαρχος ἔσπευδεν, ὑποπτεύων μὴ αἰεὶ οὕτω πλήρεις εἶναι τὰς τάφρους ὕδατος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὥρα οἷα τὸ πεδίον ἄρδεν· ἀλλ' ἵνα ἤδη πολλὰ προφαίνοιτο τοῖς Ἑλλήσι δεινὰ εἰς τὴν πορείαν, τούτου ἕνεκα βασιλέα ὑπώπτευν ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφεικέναι. **14.** πορευόμενοι δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς κώμας ὅθεν ἀπέδειξαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐνῆν δὲ σίτος πολὺς καὶ οἶνος φοινίκων καὶ ὄξος ἐψητὸν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν. **15.** αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων οἷας μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπέκειντο, αἱ δὲ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἀποκείμεναι ἦσαν ἀπόλεκτοι, θαυμάσιαι τοῦ κάλους καὶ μεγέθους, ἥ δὲ ὄψις ἡλέκτρον οὐδὲν διέφερε· τὰς δὲ τινὰς ξηραίνοντες τραγήματα ἀπετίθεσαν. καὶ ἦν καὶ παρὰ πότον ἡδὺ μὲν, κεφαλαλγὲς δέ. **16.** ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοίνικος πρῶτον ἔφαγον οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ἐθαύμασαν τό τε εἶδος καὶ τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς ἡδονῆς. ἦν δὲ σφόδρα καὶ τοῦτο κεφαλαλγὲς. ὁ δὲ φοῖνιξ ὅθεν ἐξαιρεθεῖη ὁ ἐγκέφαλος ὅλος αὐαίνειτο.

17. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τρεῖς· δοῦλοι δὲ πολλοὶ εἶποντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοί, ἔλεγε πρῶτος Τισσαφέρνης δι' ἑρμηνέως τοιαύδε. **18.** Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἑλληνες, γείτων οἰκῶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ ἐπεὶ ὑμᾶς

εἶδον εἰς πολλὰ κάμήχανα πεπτωκότας, εὖρημα ἐποίησάμην εἰ πως δυναίμην παρὰ βασιλέως αἰτήσασθαι δοῦναι ἐμοὶ ἀποσῶσαι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν οὐκ ἀχαρίστως μοι ἔχειν οὔτε πρὸς ὑμῶν οὔτε πρὸς τῆς πάσης Ἑλλάδος. **19.** ταῦτα δὲ γνούς ἡτούμην βασιλέα, λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι δικαίως ἂν μοι χαρίζοιτο, ὅτι αὐτῷ Κῦρόν τε ἐπιστρατεύοντα πρῶτος ἡγγεῖλα καὶ βοήθειαν ἔχων ἅμα τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ ἀφικόμην, καὶ μόνος τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλληνας τεταγμένων οὐκ ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ διήλασα καὶ συνέμιξα βασιλεῖ ἐν τῷ ὑμέτερῳ στρατοπέδῳ, ἔνθα βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο, ἐπεὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τοὺς σὺν Κύρῳ βαρβάρους ἐδίωξα σὺν τοῖσδε τοῖς παρούσι νῦν μετ' ἐμοῦ, οἵπερ αὐτῷ εἰσι πιστότατοι. **20.** καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπέσχετό μοι βουλευέσθαι· ἐρέσθαι δέ με ὑμᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθόντα τίνος ἔνεκεν ἐστρατεύσατε ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ συμβουλευῶ ὑμῖν μετρίως ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἵνα μοι εὐπρακτότερον ᾖ ἢ εἰάν τι δύνωμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ διαπράξασθαι. **21.** πρὸς ταῦτα μεταστάντες οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐβουλευόντο· καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεγεν· Ἡμεῖς οὔτε συνήλθομεν ὡς βασιλεῖ πολεμήσοντες οὔτ' ἐπορευόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλέα, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις Κῦρος εὕρισκεν, ὡς καὶ σὺ εὖ οἶσθα, ἵνα ὑμᾶς τε ἀπαρασκεύους λάβοι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε ἀναγάγοι. **22.** ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἤδη αὐτὸν ἐωρῶμεν ἐν δεινῷ ὄντα, ἡσχύνθημεν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους προδοῦναι αὐτόν, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ παρέχοντες ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εὖ ποιεῖν. **23.** ἐπεὶ δὲ Κῦρος τέθνηκεν, οὔτε βασιλεῖ ἀντιποιούμεθα τῆς ἀρχῆς οὔτ' ἔστιν ὅτου ἔνεκα βουλοίμεθ' ἂν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν, οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι ἂν ἐθέλοιμεν, πορευοίμεθα δ' ἂν οἴκαδε, εἴ τις ἡμᾶς μὴ λυποίῃ· ἀδικούντα μέντοι πειρασόμεθα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμύνασθαι· εἰ μὲντοι τις ἡμᾶς καὶ εὖ ποιῶν ὑπάρχη, καὶ τούτου εἰς γε δύναμιν οὐχ ἡττησόμεθα εὖ ποιούντες. **24.** ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης

ἔφη, Ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἀπαγγελῶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὑμῖν πάλιν τὲ παρ' ἐκείνου· μέχρι δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἦκω αἱ σπονδαὶ μενόντων· ἀγορὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς παρέξομεν. **25.** καὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν ὑστεραίαν οὐχ ἦκεν· ὥσθ' οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐφρόντιζον· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἦκων ἔλεγεν ὅτι διαπεπραγμένος ἦκοι παρὰ βασιλέως δοθῆναι αὐτῷ σώζειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καίπερ πᾶν πολλῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον εἶη βασιλεῖ ἀφείναι τοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν στρατευσαμένους. **26.** τέλος δὲ εἶπε, Καὶ νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν πίστὰ λαβεῖν παρ' ἡμῶν ἢ μὴν φιλίαν παρέξειν ὑμῖν τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀδόλως ἀπάξειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀγορὰν παρέχοντας· ὅπου δ' ἂν μὴ ᾖ πρίασθαι, λαμβάνειν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἑάσομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. **27.** ὑμᾶς δ' αὖ ἡμῖν δεήσει ὁμόσαι ἢ μὴν πορεύεσθαι ὡς διὰ φιλίας ἀσινῶς σῖτα καὶ ποτὶ λαμβάνοντας ὁπόταν μὴ ἀγορὰν παρέχωμεν· ἦν δὲ παρέχωμεν ἀγορὰν, ὠνουμένους ἔξειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. **28.** ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ὤμοσαν καὶ δεξιὰς ἔδοσαν Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. **29.** μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης εἶπε, Νῦν μὲν δὴ ἄπειμι ὡς βασιλέα· ἐπειδὴν δὲ διαπράξωμαι ἃ δέομαι, ἦξω συσκευασάμενος ὡς ἀπάξων ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ ἀρχήν.

IV. Μετὰ ταῦτα περιέμενον Τισσαφέρνην οἱ τε Ἕλληνες καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι ἡμέρας πλείους ἢ εἴκοσιν. ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς Ἀριαῖον καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαῖοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ Περσῶν τινες, παρεθάρρυνόν τε καὶ δεξιὰς ἐνίοις παρὰ βασιλέως ἔφερον μὴ μνησικακήσειν βασιλέα αὐτοῖς τῆς σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπιστρατείας μηδὲ ἄλλου μηδενὸς τῶν παροιχομένων. **2.** τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ἐνδηλοὶ ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Ἀριαῖον ἦτον προσέχοντες τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸν νοῦν· ὥστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἤρρεσκον, ἀλλὰ προσιόντες τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἔλεγον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς. **3.** Τί

μένομεν; ἢ οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς ἀπολεσαι ἂν περὶ παντὸς ποιήσαιτο, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι φόβος ᾗ ἐπὶ βασιλέα μέγαν στρατεύειν; καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπάγεται μένειν διὰ τὸ διεσπάρθαι αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα· ἐπὴν δὲ πάλιν ἀλίσθῃ αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιὰ, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται ἡμῖν. 4. ἴσως δέ που ἡ ἀποσκάπτει τι ἢ ἀποτειχίζει, ὥς ἄπορος ἢ ἡ ὁδός· οὐ γάρ ποτε ἐκὼν γε βουλήσεται ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπαγγέλλαι ὥς ἡμεῖς τοσούδε ὄντες ἐνικῶμεν βασιλέα ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ καὶ καταγελάσαντες ἀπήλθομεν. 5. Κλέαρχος δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς ταῦτα λέγουσιν, Ἐγὼ ἐνθυμούμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα πάντα· ἐννοῶ δ' ὅτι εἰ νῦν ἄπιμεν, δόξομεν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἀπιέναι καὶ παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖν. ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν ἀγορὰν οὐδεὶς παρέξει ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ὅθεν ἐπισιτινόμεθα· αὐθις δὲ ὁ ἡγήσόμενος οὐδεὶς ἔσται· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα ποιούντων ἡμῶν εὐθὺς Ἀριαῖος ἀφεστήξει· ὥστε φίλος ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς λελεῖψεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρόσθεν ὄντες πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἔσονται. 6. ποταμὸς δ' εἰ μὲν τις καὶ ἄλλος ἄρα ἡμῖν ἔστι διαβατέος οὐκ οἶδα· τὸν δ' οὖν Εὐφράτην ἴσμεν ὅτι ἀδύνατον διαβῆναι κωλύόντων πολεμίων. οὐ μὲν δὴ ἂν μάχεσθαι γε δέη ἱππεῖς εἰσιν ἡμῖν σύμμαχοι, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἱππεῖς εἰσιν οἱ πλείστοι καὶ πλείστου ἄξιοι· ὥστε νικῶντες μὲν τίνα ἂν ὑποκτείναιμεν; ἡττωμένων δὲ οὐδένα οἶόν τε σωθῆναι. 7. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν βασιλέα, ᾧ οὕτω πολλά ἔστι τὰ σύμμαχα, εἴπερ προθυμεῖται ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι δεῖ αὐτὸν ὁμῶσαι καὶ δεξιὰν δοῦναι καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιορκῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πιστὰ ἄπιστα ποιῆσαι Ἑλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάρους. τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἔλεγεν.

8. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ὥς εἰς οἶκον ἀπιὼν καὶ Ὀρόντας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν· ἦγε δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν βασιλέως ἐπὶ γάμφ. 9. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἤδη Τισσαφέρνους ἡγουμένον καὶ ἀγορὰν παρέ-

χοντος ἐπορεύοντο· ἐπορεύετο δὲ καὶ Ἀριαῖος τὸ Κύρου βαρβαρικὸν ἔχων στράτευμα ἅμα Τισσαφέρνει καὶ Ὀρόντῃ καὶ συνεστρατοπεδεύετο σὺν ἐκείνοις. **10.** οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὑφορώντες τούτους αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐχώρουν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀπέχοντες ἀλλήλων παρασάγγην καὶ μείον· ἐφυλάττοντο δὲ ἀμφοτέροι ὥσπερ πολεμίους ἀλλήλους, καὶ εὐθὺς τοῦτο ὑποψίαν παρείχεν. **11.** ἐνίστε δὲ καὶ ξυλιζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ χόρτον καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα συλλέγοντες πληγὰς ἐνέτεινον ἀλλήλοις· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο ἔχθραν παρείχε. **12.** διελθόντες δὲ τρεῖς σταθμοὺς ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας καλούμενον τεῖχος, καὶ παρήλθον εἰσὼ αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ ὠκοδομημένον πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς ἐν ἀσφύλτῃ κειμέναις, εὖρος εἴκοσι ποδῶν, ὕψος δὲ ἑκατόν· μῆκος δ' ἐλέγετο εἶναι εἴκοσι παρασαγγῶν· ἀπέχει δὲ Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολὺ. **13.** ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας ὀκτώ· καὶ διέβησαν διώρυχας δύο, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ γεφύρας, τὴν δ' ἐξευγμένην πλοίοις ἐπτά· αὗται δ' ἦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ· κατετέμνητο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τύφροι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, αἱ μὲν πρῶται μεγάλαι, ἔπειτα δ' ἐλάττους· τέλος δὲ καὶ μικροὶ ὀχετοὶ, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπὶ τὰς μελίνας· καὶ ἀφικνούνται ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν· πρὸς ᾧ πόλις ἦν μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος ἢ ὄνομα Σιττάκη, ἀπέχουσα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σταδίους πεντεκαίδεκα. **14.** οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνες παρ' αὐτὴν ἐσκήνησαν ἐγγὺς παραδείσου μεγάλου καὶ καλοῦ καὶ δασέος παντοίων δένδρων· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι διαβεβηκότες τὸν Τίγρητα, οὐ μέντοι καταφανεῖς ἦσαν. **15.** μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ἔτυχον ἐν περιπάτῳ ὄντες πρὸ τῶν ὀπλῶν Πρόξενος καὶ Ξενοφῶν· καὶ προσελθὼν ἄνθρωπός τις ἡρώτησε τοὺς προφύλακας ποῦ ἂν ἴδοι Πρόξενον ἢ Κλέαρχον· Μένωνα δὲ οὐκ ἐξήτει, καὶ ταῦτα παρ' Ἀριαίου ὧν τοῦ Μένωνος ξένου. **16.** ἐπεὶ δὲ Πρόξενος εἶπεν ὅτι αὐτός εἰμι ὃν ζητεῖς, εἶπεν

ὁ ἄνθρωπος τάδε. Ἐπεμψέ με Ἀριαῖος καὶ Ἀρτάξος, πιστοὶ ὄντες Κύρῳ καὶ ὑμῖν εὖνοι, καὶ κελεύουσι φυλάττεσθαι μὴ ὑμῖν ἐπιθῶνται τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ βάρβαροι· ἔστι δὲ στράτευμα πολὺ ἐν τῷ πλησίον παραδείσῳ. **17.** καὶ παρὰ τὴν γέφυραν τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ πέμψαι κελεύουσι φυλακὴν, ὡς διανοεῖται αὐτὴν λύσαι Τισσαφέρνης τῆς νυκτὸς, εἰάν δύνῃται, ὡς μὴ διαβῇτε ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ ἀποληφθῇτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. **18.** ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Κλέαρχον καὶ φράζουσιν ἃ λέγει. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἀκούσας ἐταράχθη σφόδρα καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο. **19.** νεανίσκος δέ τις τῶν παρόντων ἐννοήσας εἶπεν ὡς οὐκ ἀκόλουθα εἶη τό τε ἐπιθήσεσθαι καὶ λύσειν τὴν γέφυραν. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐπιτιθεμένους ἢ νικᾶν δεήσει ἢ ἡττᾶσθαι. εἰάν μὲν οὖν νικῶσι, τί δεῖ αὐτοὺς λύειν τὴν γέφυραν; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν πολλὰι γέφυραι ὦσιν, ἔχοιμεν ἂν ὅποι φυγόντες ἡμεῖς σωθῶμεν. **20.** εἰάν δὲ ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν, λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας οὐχ ἔξουσιν ἐκείνοι ὅποι φύγωσιν· οὐδὲ μὲν βοηθήσαι πολλῶν ὄντων πέραν οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς δυνήσεται λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας. **21.** ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ἤρετο τὸν ἄγγελον πόση τις εἴη χώρα ἢ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Τίγρητος καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι πολλὴ καὶ κῶμαι ἔνεισι καὶ πόλεις πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι. **22.** τότε δὴ καὶ ἐγνώσθη ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑποπέμψειαν, ὁκνοῦντες μὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες διελόντες τὴν γέφυραν μείνειαν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐρύματα ἔχοντες ἔνθεν μὲν τὸν Τίγρητα, ἔνθεν δὲ τὴν διώρυχα· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἔχοιεν ἐκ τῆς ἐν μέσῳ χώρας πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς οὔσης καὶ τῶν ἐργασομένων ἐνότων· εἶτα δὲ καὶ ἀποστροφὴ γένοιτο εἴ τις βούλοιτο βασιλέα κακῶς ποιεῖν. **23.** μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνεπαύοντο· ἐπὶ μέντοι τὴν γέφυραν ὅμως φυλακὴν ἐπεμψαν· καὶ οὔτε ἐπέθετο οὐδεὶς οὐδαμόθεν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν οὐδεὶς ἦλθε τῶν πολεμίων ὡς οἱ φυλάττοντες ἀπήγγελλον. **24.** ἐπειδὴ δ' ἕως ἐγένετο, διέβαινον τὴν γέ-

φυραν ἔξευγμένην πλοίοις τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ ὡς οἶόν τε μάλιστα πεφυλαγμένως· ἐξήγγελλον γάρ τινες τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους Ἑλλήνων ὡς διαβαινόντων μέλλοιεν ἐπιθήσεται. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ψευδῇ ἦν· διαβαινόντων μέντοι ὁ Γλοῦς αὐτοῖς ἐπεφάνη μετ' ἄλλων σκοπῶν εἰ διαβαίνουεν τὸν ποταμόν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶδεν, ὥχετο ἀπελαύνων.

25. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Φύσκον ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου· ἐπὴν δὲ γέφυρα. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὥκεῖτο πόλις μεγάλη ἢ ὄνομα Ὡπιδ· πρὸς ἣν ἀπήντησε τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὁ Κύρου καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου νόθος ἀδελφὸς ἀπὸ Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων στρατιῶν πολλὴν ἄγων ὡς βοηθήσων βασιλεῖ· καὶ ἐπιστήσας τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα παρερχομένους τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐθεώρει. **26.** ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἡγεῖτο μὲν εἰς δύο, ἐπορεύετο δὲ ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐφιστάμενος. ὅσον δὲ χρόνον τὸ ἡγούμενον τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπιστήσσειε, τοσοῦτον ἦν ἀνάγκη χρόνον δι' ὅλου τοῦ στρατεύματος γίνεσθαι τὴν ἐπίστασιν· ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἑλλησι δόξαι πάμπλου εἶναι, καὶ τὸν Πέρσῃν ἐκπεπληχθαι θεωροῦντα. **27.** ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Μηδίας σταθμοὺς ἑρήμους ἕξ παρασάγγας τριάκοντα εἰς τὰς Παρυσάτιδος κώμας τῆς Κύρου καὶ βασιλέως μητρός. ταύτας Τισσαφέρνης, Κύρῳ ἐπεγγελῶν, διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπέτρεψε πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων. ἐνὴν δὲ σίτος πολὺς καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα. **28.** ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπαρεύθησαν σταθμοὺς ἑρήμους τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν ἐν ἁριστερᾷ ἔχοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ σταθμῷ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλις ὥκεῖτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων ὄνομα Καιναί, ἕξ ἧς οἱ Βύρβαροι διήγον ἐπὶ σχεδίαις διφθερίναις ἄρτους, τυροὺς, οἶνον.

V. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀφικνουῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Ζαπίταν ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν δὲ ταύταις ὑποψίαί μὲν ἦσαν, φανερά δὲ οὐδεμία

ἐφαίνετο ἐπιβουλή. 2. ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Κλεάρχῳ συγγενέσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει, εἴ πως δύναίτο παῦσαι τὰς ὑποψίας πρὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν πόλεμον γενέσθαι· καὶ ἔπεμψε τινα ἐροῦντα ὅτι συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ χρήζοι. ὁ δὲ ἐτοίμως ἐκέλευεν ἦκειν. 3. ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνῆλθον, λέγει ὁ Κλέαρχος τάδε. Ἐγὼ, ὦ Τισσαφέρνη, οἶδα μὲν ἡμῖν ὄρκους γεγενημένους καὶ δεξιὰς δεδομένας μὴ ἀδικήσιν ἀλλήλους· φυλαττόμενον δὲ σέ τε ὁρῶ ὡς πολεμίους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁρῶντες ταῦτα ἀντιφυλατόμεθα. 4. ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοπῶν οὐ δύναμαι οὔτε σέ αἰσθέσθαι πειρώμενον ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐγὼ τε σαφῶς οἶδα ὅτι ἡμεῖς γε οὐδ' ἐπινοοῦμεν τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἔδοξε μοι εἰς λόγους σοι ἄλθεῖν, ὅπως εἰ δυναίμεθα ἐξέλοιμεν ἀλλήλων τὴν ἀπιστίαν. 5. καὶ γὰρ οἶδα ἀνθρώπους ἤδη, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ διαβολῆς τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὑποψίας, οἱ φοβηθέντες ἀλλήλους φθᾶσαι βουλόμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν ἐποίησαν ἀνῆκεστα κακὰ τοὺς οὔτε μέλλοντας οὔτ' αὖ βουλομένους τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. 6. τὰς οὖν τοιαύτας ἀγνωμοσύνας νομίζων συνουσίαις μάλιστα ἂν παύεσθαι ἤκω καὶ διδάσκειν σε βούλομαι ὡς σὺ ἡμῖν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπιστεῖς. 7. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καὶ μέγιστον οἱ θεῶν ἡμᾶς ὄρκοι κωλύουσι πολεμίους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις· ὅστις δὲ τούτων σύνοιδεν αὐτῷ παρημεληκῶς, τοῦτον ἐγὼ οὔποτ' ἂν εὐδαιμονίσαιμι. τὸν γὰρ θεῶν πόλεμον οὐκ οἶδα οὔτ' ἀπὸ ποίου ἂν τάχους φεύγων τις ἀποφύγοι οὔτ' εἰς ποῖον ἂν σκότος ἀποδραΐῃ οὔθ' ὅπως ἂν εἰς ἐχυρὸν χωρίον ἀποσταίῃ. πάντῃ γὰρ πάντα τοῖς θεοῖς ὑποχα καὶ πανταχῇ πάντων ἴσόν οἱ θεοὶ κρατοῦσι. 8. περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν τε καὶ τῶν ὄρκων οὔτω γιγνώσκω, παρ' οὓς ἡμεῖς τὴν φιλίαν συνθέμενοι κατεθέμεθα· τῶν δ' ἀνθρωπίνων σέ ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ παρόντι νομίζω μέγιστον εἶναι ἡμῖν ἀγαθόν. 9. σὺν μὲν γὰρ σοὶ πᾶσα μὲν ὁδὸς εὐπορος, πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς διαβατὸς, τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορία· ἄνευ δὲ σοῦ πᾶσα μὲν διὰ σκότους ἡ ὁδός· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐπιστάμεθα· πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς δύσπορος,

πᾶς δὲ ὄχλος φοβερὸς, φοβερώτατον δ' ἐρηνμία· μεστὴ γὰρ πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἐστίν. **10.** εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ μανέντες σε κατακτείναιμεν, ἄλλο τι ἂν ἢ τὸν εὐεργέτην κατακτείναντες πρὸς βασιλέα τὸν μέγιστον ἔφεδρον ἀγωνιζοίμεθα; ὅσων δὲ δὴ καὶ οἶων ἂν ἐλπίδων ἐμαυτὸν στερήσαιμι, εἰ σέ τι κακὸν ἐπιχειρήσαιμι ποιεῖν, ταῦτα λέξω. **11.** ἐγὼ γὰρ Κύρον ἐπεθύμησά μοι φίλον γενέσθαι, νομίζων τῶν τότε ἱκανώτατον εἶναι εὖ ποιεῖν ὃν βούλοιο· σέ δὲ νῦν ὁρῶ τὴν τε Κύρου δύναμιν καὶ χώραν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀρχὴν σώζοντα, τὴν δὲ βασιλείως δύναμιν, ἣ Κῦρος πολεμία ἐχρήτο, σοὶ ταύτην σύμμαχον οὖσαν. **12.** τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων τίς οὕτω μαίνεται ὅστις οὐ βούλεταί σοι φίλος εἶναι; ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐρῶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ὧν ἔχω ἐλπίδας καὶ σέ βουλήσασθαι φίλον ἡμῖν εἶναι. **13.** οἶδα μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν Μυσοὺς λυπηροὺς ὄντας, οὓς νομίζω ἂν σὺν τῇ παρουσίᾳ δυνάμει ταπεινοὺς ὑμῖν παρασχεῖν· οἶδα δὲ καὶ Πισίδας· ἀκούω δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι, ἃ οἶμαι ἂν παῦσαι ἐνοχλοῦντα αἰεὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐδαιμονίᾳ. Αἰγυπτίους δὲ, οἷς μάλιστα ὑμᾶς νῦν γιγνώσκω τεθυμωμένους, οὐχ ὁρῶ ποία δυνάμει συμμαχῶ χρησάμενοι μᾶλλον ἂν κολάσαισθε τῆς νῦν σὺν ἐμοὶ οὔσης. **14.** ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔν γε τοῖς πέριξ οἰκοῦσι σὺ εἰ μὲν βούλοιο τῷ φίλος εἶναι, ὥς μέγιστος ἂν εἴης, εἰ δὲ τίς σε λυποίῃ, ὥς δεσπότης ἂν ἀναστρέφοιο, ἔχων ἡμᾶς ὑπηρέτας, οἷ σοι οὐκ ἂν τοῦ μισθοῦ ἕνεκα μόνον ὑπηρετοῖμεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς χάριτος ἣν σωθέντες ὑπὸ σοῦ σοὶ ἂν ἔχοιμεν δικαίως. **15.** ἐμοὶ μὲν ταῦτα πάντα ἐνθυμουμένῳ οὕτω δοκεῖ θαυμάσιον εἶναι τὸ σέ ἡμῖν ἀπιστεῖν ὥστε καὶ ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀκούσαιμι τοῦνομα τίς οὕτως ἐστὶ δεινὸς λέγειν ὥστε σε πείσαι λέγων ὥς ἡμεῖς σοι ἐπιβουλευόμεν. Κλέαρχος μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτα εἶπε· Τισσαφέρνης δὲ ὧδε ἀπημείφθη.

16. Ἄλλ' ἥδομαι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀκούων σου φρονίμους λόγους· ταῦτα γὰρ γιγνώσκων εἴ τι ἐμοὶ κακὸν βου-

λεύοις, ἅμα ἂν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ σταντῷ κακόνους εἶναι. ὥς δ' ἂν μάθῃς ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ὑμεῖς δικαίως οὔτε βασιλεῖ οὔτ' ἐμοὶ ἀπιστοίητε, ἀντάκουσον. **17.** εἰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐβουλόμεθα ἀπολέσαι, πότερά σοι δοκοῦμεν ἱππέων πλήθους ἀπορεῖν ἢ πεζῶν ἢ ὀπλίσεως ἐν ᾗ ὑμᾶς μὲν βλάπτειν ἱκανοὶ εἴημεν ἂν, ἀντιπιάσχειν δὲ οὐδεὶς κίνδυνος; **18.** ἀλλὰ χωρίων ἐπιτηδείων ὑμῖν ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἀπορεῖν ἂν σοι δοκοῦμεν; οὐ τοσαῦτα μὲν πεδία ἃ ὑμεῖς φίλια ὄντα σὺν πολλῷ πόνῳ διαπορεύεσθε, τοσαῦτα δὲ ὄρη ὑμῖν ὁράτε ὄντα πορευτέα, ἃ ἡμῖν ἔξεστι προκαταλαβοῦσιν ἄπορα ὑμῖν παρέχειν, τοσοῦτοι δ' εἰσὶ ποταμοὶ ἐφ' ὧν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν ταμιεύεσθαι, ὅποσους ἂν ὑμῶν βουλόμεθα μάχεσθαι; εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν οὓς οὐδ' ἂν παντάπασιν διαβαίητε, εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς διαπορεύοιμεν. **19.** εἰ δ' ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἡττώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τό γέ τοι πῦρ κρείττον τοῦ καρποῦ ἐστιν· ὃν ἡμεῖς δυναίμεθ' ἂν κατακαύσαντες λιμὸν ὑμῖν ἀντιτάξαι, ᾧ ὑμεῖς οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ ἀγαθοὶ εἴητε μάχεσθαι ἂν δύναισθε. **20.** πῶς ἂν οὖν ἔχοντες τοσοῦτους πόρους πρὸς τὸ ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν, καὶ τούτων μηδένα ἡμῖν ἐπικίνδυνον, ἔπειτα ἐκ τούτων πάντων τοῦτον ἂν τὸν τρόπον ἐξελοίμεθα ὃς μόνος μὲν πρὸς θεῶν ἀσεβῆς, μόνος δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων αἰσχρὸς; **21.** παντάπασιν δὲ ἀπόρων ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμηχάνων καὶ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ἐχομένων, καὶ τούτων πονηρῶν, οἵτινες ἐθέλουσι δι' ἐπιτορκίας τε πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ ἀπιστίας πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πράττειν τι. οὐχ οὕτως ἡμεῖς, ᾧ Κλέαρχε, οὔτε ἀλόγιστοι οὔτε ἡλίθιοι ἐσμεν. **22.** ἀλλὰ τί δὴ ὑμᾶς ἐξὸν ἀπολέσαι οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἡλθομεν; εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρωσ τοῦτου αἴτιος τὸ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐμὲ πιστὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ ᾧ Κύρος ἀνέβη ξυικῶ διὰ μισθοδοσίας πιστεύων τούτῳ ἐμὲ καταβῆναι δι' εὐεργεσίας ἰσχυρόν. **23.** ὅσα δ' ἐμοὶ χρήσιμοι ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὰ μὲν καὶ σὺ εἶπας, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἐγὼ οἶδα· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τιάραν βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἔξεστιν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἴσως ἂν ὑμῶν παρόντων καὶ ἕτερος εὐπετῶς ἔχοι.

24. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἔδοξε τῷ Κλέαρχῳ ἀληθῆ λέγειν· καὶ εἶπεν, Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, οἵτινες τοιούτων ἡμῖν εἰς φιλίαν ὑπαρχόντων πειρῶνται διαβύλλοντες ποιῆσαι πολεμίους ἡμᾶς ἄξιοί εἰσι τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν; 25. Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν γε, ἔφη ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, εἰ βούλεσθέ μοι οἷ τε στρατῆγοι καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐλθεῖν ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεί, λέξω τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγοντας ὡς σὺ ἐμοὶ ἐπιβουλεύεις καὶ τῇ σὺν ἐμοὶ στρατιᾷ. 26. Ἐγὼ δὲ, ἔφη ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἄξω πάντας, καὶ σοὶ αὖ δηλώσω ὅθεν ἐγὼ περὶ σοῦ ἀκούω. 27. ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν λόγων ὁ Τισσαφέρνης φιλοφρονούμενος τότε μὲν μένειν τε αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε καὶ σύνδειπνον ἐποιήσατο. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον δηλὸς τ' ἦν πάννυ φιλικῶς οἰόμενος διακεῖσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ ἃ ἔλεγεν ἐκείνος ἀπήγγελλεν, ἔφη τε χρῆναι ἵεναι παρὰ Τισσαφέρνην οὗς ἐκέλευσε, καὶ οἱ ἂν ἐλεγχθῶσι διαβύλλοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς προδότας αὐτοὺς καὶ κακόνους τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὄντας τιμωρηθῆναι. 28. ὑπώπτετε δὲ εἶναι τὸν διαβάλλοντα Μένωνα, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν καὶ συγγεγεννημένον Τισσαφέρνει μετ' Ἀριαίον καὶ στασιάζοντα αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντα, ὅπως τὸ στράτευμα ἅπαν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λαβὼν φίλος ᾖ Τισσαφέρνει. 29. ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κλέαρχος ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην καὶ τοὺς παραλυποῦντας ἐκποδᾶν εἶναι. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀντέλεγον τινες αὐτῷ μὴ ἵεναι πάντας τοὺς λοχαγούς καὶ στρατηγούς μηδὲ πιστεύειν Τισσαφέρνει. 30. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἰσχυρῶς κατέτεινεν, ἕστε διεπρύξατο πέντε μὲν στρατηγούς ἵεναι, εἴκοσι δὲ λοχαγούς· συνηκολούθησαν δὲ ὡς εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ὡς διακόσιοι.

31. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς Τισσαφέρνους, οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ παρεκλήθησαν εἶσω, Πρόξενος Βοιωτίας, Μένων Θετταλὸς, Ἀγίας Ἀρκὰς, Κλέαρχος Λάκων, Σωκράτης Ἀχαιοῦ· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἔμενον. 32. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου οἷ τ' ἔνδον συν-

ελαμβάνοντο καὶ οἱ ἔξω κατεκόπησαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἱππέων διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐλαύνοντες ὥτινι ἐν-
 τυγχάνοιεν Ἑλληνι ἢ δούλῳ ἢ ἐλευθέρῳ πάντας ἔκτεινον.
33. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες τὴν τε ἱππασίαν αὐτῶν ἐθαύμαζον ἐκ τοῦ
 στρατοπέδου ὁρῶντες καὶ ὅ τι ἐποιοῦν ἡμφεγνόουν, πρὶν Νί-
 κάρχος Ἀρκὰς ἦκε φεύγων τετρωμένους εἰς τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰ
 ἔντερα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων, καὶ εἶπε πάντα τὰ γεγενημένα.
34. ἐκ τούτου δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα πάντες
 ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ νομίζοντες αὐτίκα ἥξειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ
 στρατόπεδον. **35.** οἱ δὲ πάντες μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, Ἀριαῖος δὲ
 καὶ Ἀρτάοζος καὶ Μιθριδάτης, οἳ ἦσαν Κύρῳ πιστότατοι·
 ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐρμηνεὺς ἔφη καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρνους ἀδελ-
 φὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς ὁρᾶν καὶ γινώσκειν· συνηκολούθουν δὲ καὶ
 ἄλλοι Περσῶν τεθωρακισμένοι εἰς τριακοσίους. **36.** οὗτοι
 ἐπεὶ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, προσελθεῖν ἐκέλευαν εἴ τις εἴη τῶν Ἑλλή-
 νων ἢ στρατηγὸς ἢ λοχαγὸς, ἵνα ἀπαγγείλωσι τὰ παρὰ βασι-
 λέως. **37.** μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆλθον φυλαττόμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 στρατηγοὶ μὲν Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος καὶ Σοφαίνετος Στυμ-
 φάλιος, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὅπως μάθοι τὰ
 περὶ Προξένου· Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐτύγγανεν ἀπὸν ἐν κόμῃ τινὶ
 σὺν ἄλλοις ἐπισιτιζόμενος. **38.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔστησαν εἰς ἐπήκοον,
 εἶπεν Ἀριαῖος τῷδε. Κλέαρχος μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ
 ἐπιορκῶν τε ἐφάνη καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύων, ἔχει τὴν δίκην καὶ
 τέθνηκε, Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων, ὅτι κατήγγειλαν αὐτοῦ τὴν
 ἐπιβουλὴν, ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ εἰσιν. ὑμᾶς δὲ βασιλεὺς τὰ ὄπλα
 ἀπαιτεῖ· ἑαυτοῦ γὰρ εἰναί φησιν, ἐπεὶ Κύρου ἦσαν τοῦ
 ἐκείνου δούλου. **39.** πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ Ἕλληνες,
 ἔλεγε δὲ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος· ὦ κάκιστε ἀνθρώπων
 Ἀριαῖε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅσοι ἦτε Κύρου φίλοι, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε
 οὔτε θεοὺς οὔτ' ἀνθρώπους, οἵτινες ὁμόσαντες ἡμῖν τοὺς αὐ-
 τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐχθροὺς νομεῖν, προδόντες ἡμᾶς σὺν Τισ-
 σαφέρνει τῷ ἀθεωτάτῳ τε καὶ πανουργοτάτῳ τούτῳ τε ἄνδρας

αὐτοὺς οἷς ὤμνυτε ἀπολωλέκατε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡμᾶς προ-
 δεδωκότες σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἔρχεσθε; 40. ὁ δὲ
 Ἀριαῖος εἶπε, Κλέαρχος γὰρ πρόσθεν ἐπιβουλευῶν φανερὸς
 ἐγένετο Τισσαφέρνει τε καὶ Ὀρόντα, καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς σὺν
 τούτοις. 41. ἐπὶ τούτοις Ξενοφὼν τὰδε εἶπε. Κλέαρχος μὲν
 τοῖνυν εἰ παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους ἔλνε τὰς σπονδάς, τὴν δίκην ἔχει·
 δίκαιον γὰρ ἀπόλλυσθαι τοὺς ἐπιорκοῦντας. Πρόξενος δὲ
 καὶ Μένων ἐπείπερ εἰσὶν ὑμέτεροι μὲν εὐεργέται, ἡμέτεροι δὲ
 στρατηγοὶ, πέμψατε αὐτοὺς δεῦρο· δηλὸν γὰρ ὅτι φίλοι γε
 ὄντες ἀμφοτέροις πειράσσονται καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα
 συμβουλευσαί. 42. πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι πολὺν χρόνον
 διαλεχθέντες ἀλλήλοις ἀπήλθον οὐδὲν ἀποκρινάμενοι.

VI. Οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατηγοὶ οὕτω ληφθέντες ἀνήχθησαν
 ὡς βασιλέα καὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐτελεύτησαν, εἰς
 μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐμπεί-
 ρως αὐτοῦ ἐχόντων δόξας γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ καὶ πολεμικὸς καὶ
 φιλοπόλεμος ἐσχάτως. 2. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἕως μὲν πόλεμος ἦν
 τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρέμενεν, ἐπεὶ
 δὲ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, πείσας τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν ὡς οἱ Θρᾷκες ἀδι-
 κοῦσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ διαπραξάμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο παρὰ τῶν
 ἐφόρων ἐξέπλει ὡς πολεμήσων τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χερρονήσου καὶ
 Περίνθου Θραξίν. 3. ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταγνόντες πως οἱ ἔφοροι ἤδη
 ἔξω ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἀποστρέφειν αὐτὸν ἐπειρῶντο ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ,
 ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι πείθεται, ἀλλ' ἔρχετο πλέων εἰς Ἑλλήσπον-
 τον. 4. ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ
 τελῶν ὡς ἀπειθῶν. ἤδη δὲ φυγὰς ὦν ἔρχεται πρὸς Κύρον,
 καὶ ὁποίοις μὲν λόγοις ἔπεισε Κύρον ἄλλη γέγραπται, δίδωσι
 δὲ αὐτῷ Κύρος μυρίους δαρεικούς. 5. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν οὐκ ἐπὶ
 ῥαθυμίᾳ ἐτράπετο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων συλλέ-
 ξας στράτευμα ἐπολέμει τοῖς Θραξί, καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε καὶ
 ὑπὸ τούτου δὴ ἔφερε καὶ ἤγε τούτους καὶ πολεμῶν διεγένετο
 μέχρι Κύρος ἐδεήθη τοῦ στρατεύματος· τότε δὲ ἀπήλθεν ὡς

σὺν ἐκείνῳ αὐτὸν πολεμήσων. 6. ταῦτα οὖν φιλοπολέμου μοι δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα εἶναι, ὅστις ἔξον μὲν εἰρήνην ἔχειν ἀνευ αἰσχύνης καὶ βλάβης αἰρεῖται πολεμεῖν, ἔξον δὲ ῥαθυμείν βούλεται πονεῖν ὥστε πολεμεῖν, ἔξον δὲ χρήματα ἔχειν ἀκινδύνως αἰρεῖται πολεμῶν μείονα ταῦτα ποιεῖν· ἐκείνος δὲ ὥσπερ εἰς παιδικὰ ἢ εἰς ἄλλην τινα ἡδονὴν ἤθελε δαπανᾶν εἰς πόλεμον. οὕτω μὲν φιλοπόλεμος ἦν. 7. πολεμικὸς δὲ αὐτῇ τῇ δόξει εἶναι ὅτι φιλοκίνδυνός τε ἦν καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἄγων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς φρόνιμος, ὡς οἱ παρόντες πανταχοῦ πάντες ὡμολόγουν. 8. καὶ ἀρχικὸς δ' ἐλέγετο εἶναι ὡς δυνατὸν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου οἶον κάκεῖνος εἶχεν. ἱκανὸς μὲν γὰρ ὥς τις καὶ ἄλλος φροντίζων ἦν ὅπως ἔχοι ἢ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ παρασκευάζειν ταῦτα, ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς παρούσιν ὡς πευστέον εἴη Κλεάρχῳ. 9. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίει ἐκ τοῦ χαλεπὸς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ὁρᾶν στυγνὸς ἦν καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τραχὺς, ἐκόλαζε τε αἰεὶ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ὀργῇ ἐνίοτε, ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ μεταμέλειν ἔσθ' ὅτε. καὶ γνώμῃ δ' ἐκόλαζεν· ἀκολάστου γὰρ στρατεύματος οὐδὲν ἡγεῖτο ὄφελος εἶναι, 10. ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν ὡς δέοι τὸν στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν ἄρχοντα ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰ μέλλοι ἢ φυλακὰς φυλάξειν ἢ φίλων ἀφέξεσθαι ἢ ἀπροφασίστως ἵναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. 11. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἤθελον αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν σφόδρα καὶ οὐκ ἄλλον ἡροῦντο οἱ στρατιῶται· καὶ γὰρ τὸ στυγνὸν τότε φαιδρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς προσώποις ἔφασαν φαίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν ἐρρωμένον πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὥστε σωτήριον, οὐκέτι χαλεπὸν ἐφαίνετο. 12. ὅτε δ' ἔξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γένοιτο καὶ ἐξείη πρὸς ἄλλον ἀρχομένους ἀπιέναι, πολλοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον· τὸ γὰρ ἐπίχαρι οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ ὠμός· ὥστε δέκεντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται ὥσπερ παῖδες πρὸς διδάσκαλον. 13. καὶ γὰρ οὖν φιλία μὲν καὶ εὐνοία ἐπομένους οὐδέποτε εἶχεν· οὔτινες δὲ ἢ

ὑπὸ πόλεως τεταγμένοι ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ κατεχόμενοι παρείησαν αὐτῷ, σφόδρα πειθόμενοις ἐχρήτο, 14. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο νικᾶν σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἤδη μεγάλη ἦν τὰ χρησίμους ποιοῦντα εἶναι τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας· τό τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους θαρραλέως ἔχειν παρῆν καὶ τὸ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου τιμωρίαν φοβεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς εὐτάκτους ἐποίει. 15. τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ ἄρχων ἦν· ἄρχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ ἄλλων οὐ μάλ' ἐθέλειν ἐλέγετο. ἦν δὲ ὅτε ἐτελεύτα ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη.

16. Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Βοιωτίας εὐθύς μὲν μεिरάκιον ὧν ἐπεθύμει γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ τὰ μεγάλα πράττειν ἱκανός· καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔδωκε Γοργία ἀργύριον τῷ Λεοντίνῳ. 17. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένετο ἐκείνῳ, ἱκανὸς νομίσας ἤδη εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ φίλος ὧν τοῖς πρώτοις μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι εὐεργετῶν, ἦλθεν εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺν Κύρῳ πράξεις· καὶ ᾤετο κτήσεσθαι ἐκ τούτων ὄνομα μέγα καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην καὶ χρήματα πολλά· 18. τοσούτων δ' ἐπιθυμῶν σφόδρα ἔνδελον αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦτο εἶχεν ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν θέλοι κτᾶσθαι μετὰ ἀδικίας, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ ᾤετο δεῖν τούτων τυγχάνειν, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων μή. 19. ἄρχειν δὲ καλῶν μὲν καγαθῶν δυνατὸς ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὐτ' αἰδῶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε φόβον ἱκανὸς ἐμποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡσχύνετο μᾶλλον τοὺς στρατιώτας ἢ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἐκείνων· καὶ φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἦν φανερόν τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἢ οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ἐκείνῳ. 20. ᾤετο δὲ ἀρκεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀρχικὸν εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν τὸν μὲν καλῶς ποιοῦντα ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἀδικοῦντα μὴ ἐπαινεῖν. τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν καλοί τε καγαθοὶ τῶν συνόντων εὖνοι ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι ἐπεβούλευον ὥς εὐμεταχειρίσασθαι. ὅτε δὲ ἀπέθνησκεν ἦν ἐτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα.

21. Μένων δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς δηλὸς ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πλουτεῖν ἰσχυρῶς, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅπως πλείω λαμβάνοι, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ τιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα πλείω κερδαῖνοι· φίλος τε ἐβούλετο εἶναι τοῖς μέγιστον δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ διδοίη

δίκην. 22. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ὧν ἐπιθυμοίη συντομω-
 τάτην ᾤετο ὁδὸν εἶναι διὰ τοῦ ἐπιορκεῖν τε καὶ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ
 ἔξαπατᾶν· τὸ δ' ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀληθὲς τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἡλιθίῳ εἶναι.
 23. στέργων δὲ φανερὸς μὲν ἦν οὐδένα, ὅτῳ δὲ φαίη φίλος
 εἶναι, τούτῳ ἔνδηλος ἐγίνετο ἐπιβουλεύων. καὶ πολεμίου
 μὲν οὐδενὸς κατεγέλα, τῶν δὲ συνόντων πάντων ὡς κατα-
 γελῶν αἰεὶ διελέγετο. 24. καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν πολεμίων κτή-
 μασιν οὐκ ἐπεβούλευε· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ᾤετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν
 φυλαττομένων λαμβάνειν· τὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων μόνος ᾤετο εἶ-
 δέναι ῥᾶστον ὃν ἀφύλακτα λαμβάνειν. 25. καὶ ὅσους μὲν
 αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιόρκους καὶ ἀδίκους ὡς εὖ ὠπλισμένους ἐφο-
 βεῖτο, τοῖς δ' ὁσίους καὶ ἀληθείαν ἀσκοῦσιν ὡς ἀνάνδρους
 ἐπειρᾶτο χρῆσθαι. 26. ὥσπερ δέ τις ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ θεο-
 σεβείᾳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, οὕτω Μένων ἡγάλλετο
 τῷ ἔξαπατᾶν δύνασθαι, τῷ πλάσασθαι ψευδῇ, τῷ φίλους
 διαγαλᾶν· τὸν δὲ μὴ πανούργον τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν αἰεὶ ἐνόμι-
 ζεν εἶναι. καὶ παρ' οἷς μὲν ἐπεχείρει πρωτεύειν φιλία, δια-
 βάλλων τοὺς πρώτους τούτους ᾤετο δεῖν κτήσασθαι. 27. τὸ
 δὲ πειθομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας παρέχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συναδι-
 κεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμχανᾶτο. τιμᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι ἡξίου
 ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι πλείστα δύναιτο καὶ ἐθέλοι ἂν ἀδικεῖν.
 εὐεργεσίαν δὲ κατέλεγεν, ὅποτε τις αὐτοῦ ἀφίστατο, ὅτι
 χρώμενος αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτόν. 28. καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ
 ἀφανῆ ἔξεστι περὶ αὐτοῦ ψεύδεσθαι, ἃ δὲ πάντες ἴσασι τὰδ'
 ἐστί. παρὰ Ἀριστίππῳ μὲν ἔτι ὥραϊος ὧν στρατηγεῖν διε-
 πράξατο τῶν ξένων, Ἀριαίῳ δὲ βαρβάρῳ ὄντι, ὅτι μεираκίοις
 καλοῖς ᾔδετο, οἰκειότατος ἔτι ὥραϊος ὧν ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς δὲ παι-
 δικὰ εἶχε Θαρύπαν ἀγένειος ὧν γενειῶντα. 29. ἀποθησκόν-
 των δὲ τῶν συστρατῆγων ὅτι ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ βασιλέα σὺν
 Κύρῳ, ταῦτα πεποικῶς οὐκ ἀπέθανε, μετὰ δὲ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων
 θάνατον στρατηγῶν τιμωρηθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀπέθανεν, οὐχ
 ὥσπερ Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς

κεφαλὰς, ὅσπερ τάχιστος θάνατος δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ζῶν αἰκισθεὶς ἑναιυτὸν ὡς πονηρὸς λέγεται τῆς τελευτῆς τυχεῖν.

30. Ἀγίας δὲ ὁ Ἀρκυὺς καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ τούτω ἀπεθανέτην. τούτων δὲ οὐθ' ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν οὐδεὶς κατεγέλα οὐτ' εἰς φιλίαν αὐτοὺς ἐμίμφετο. ἦστην δὲ ἄμφω ἄμφι τὰ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς.

BOOK THIRD.

I. Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου οἱ Ἑλληνες ἔπραξαν μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα ἔπει Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησεν ἐγένετο ἀπιόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων σὺν Τισσαφέρνει ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδῆλωται. 2. ἔπει δὲ οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ συνεπόμενοι ἀπωλώλεσαν, ἐν πολλῇ δὲ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ Ἑλληνες, ἐννοοῦμενοι μὲν ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις ἦσαν, κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντα πολλὰ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις πολέμιοι ἦσαν, ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι παρέξειν ἔμελλεν, ἀπείχον δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ μείον ἢ μύρια στάδια, ἡγεμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦν, ποταμοὶ δὲ διείργον ἀδιάβατοι ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ, προὔδεδώκεσαν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες βάρβαροι, μόνοι δὲ καταλειμμένοι ἦσαν, οὐδὲ ἵππεα οὐδένα σύμμαχον ἔχοντες· ὥστε εὐδηλον ἦν ὅτι νικῶντες μὲν οὐδένα ἂν κατακάνοιεν, ἡττηθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἂν λειφθείη. 3. ταῦτα ἐννοοῦμενοι καὶ ἀθύμως ἔχοντες, ὀλίγοι μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἐσπέραν σίτου ἐγεύσαντο, ὀλίγοι δὲ πῦρ ἀνέκαυσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ὅπλα πολλοὶ οὐκ ἤλθον ταύτην τὴν νύκτα, ἀνεπαύοντο δὲ ὅπου ἐτύγχανεν ἕκαστος, οὐ δυνάμενοι καθεύδειν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πόθου πατρίδων, γονέων, γυναικῶν, παίδων, οὓς οὐποτ' ἐνόμιζον ἔτι ὄψεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν δὴ διακείμενοι πάντες ἀνεπαύοντο.

4. Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς οὔτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε λοχαγὸς οὔτε στρατιώτης ὢν συνηκολούθει, ἀλλὰ Πρόξενος αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο οἰκοθεν, ξένος ὢν ἀρχαῖος· ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ ἔλθοι, φίλον αὐτὸν Κύρῳ ποιήσειν, ὃν αὐτὸς ἔφη κρείττω ἑαυτῷ νομίζειν τῆς πατρίδος. 5. ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν ἀναγνούς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνακοινοῦται Σωκράτει τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ περὶ τῆς πορείας. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑποπτέυσας μή τι πρὸς τῆς πόλεως ἐπαίτιον εἴη Κύρῳ φίλον γενέσθαι, ὅτι ἐδόκει ὁ Κύρος προθύμως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας συμπολεμήσαι, συμβουλεύει τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνακοινῶσαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς πορείας. 6. ἐλθὼν δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρετο τὸν Ἀπόλλω, τίνοι ἂν θεῶν θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν ἐπινοεῖ, καὶ καλῶς πράξας σωθείη. καὶ ἀνείλεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων θεοῖς οἷς ἔδει θύειν. 7. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦλθε, λέγει τὴν μαντείαν τῷ Σωκράτει. ὁ δ' ἀκούσας ἡτιάτο αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἡρώτα, πότερον λῶον εἴη αὐτῷ πορεύεσθαι ἢ μένειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κρίνας ἰτέον εἶναι τοῦτ' ἐπυνθάνετο, ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα πορευθείη. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτως ἤρου, ταῦτ', ἔφη, χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσεν. 8. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ξενοφῶν οὕτω θυσάμενος οἷς ἀνείλεν ὁ θεὸς, ἐξέπλει καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Σάρδεσι Πρόξενον καὶ Κύρον μέλλοντας ἤδη ὁρμᾶν τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν, καὶ συνεστάθη Κύρῳ. 9. προθυμουμένου δὲ τοῦ Προξένου, καὶ ὁ Κύρος συμπροθύμειτο μέιναι αὐτόν· εἶπε δὲ ὅτι, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα ἡ στρατεία λήξῃ, εὐθὺς ἀποπέμψει αὐτόν. ἐλέγετο δὲ ὁ στόλος εἶναι εἰς Πισιδας. 10. ἐστρατεύετο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐξαπατηθεῖς, οὐχ ὑπὸ Προξένου· οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ ὁρμῇ, οὐδὲ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλὴν Κλεάρχου· ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς Κιλικίαν ἦλθον, σαφὲς πᾶσιν ἦδη ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι

ὁ στόλος εἴη ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ. φοβούμενοι δὲ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ ἄκοντες, ὅμως οἱ πολλοὶ δι' αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀλλήλων καὶ Κύρου συνηκολούθησαν· ὧν εἷς καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἦν. **11.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπορία ἦν, ἐλυπεῖτο μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο καθεύδειν. μικρὸν δ' ὕπνου λαχὼν εἶδεν ὄναρ· ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ βροντῆς γενομένης σκηπτὸς πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρῶαν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαι πᾶσαν. **12.** περίφοβος δ' εὐθὺς ἀνηγέρθη, καὶ τὸ ὄναρ πῇ μὲν ἔκρινεν ἀγαθόν, ὅτι ἐν πόνοις ὧν καὶ κινδύνοις φῶς μέγα ἐκ Διὸς ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε· πῇ δὲ καὶ ἐφοβείτο, ὅτι ἀπὸ Διὸς μὲν βασιλέως τὸ ὄναρ ἔδοκει αὐτῷ εἶναι, κύκλω δὲ ἔδοκει λάμπεσθαι τὸ πῦρ, μὴ οὐ δύναιτο ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξελθεῖν τῆς βασιλείως, ἀλλ' εἵργοιτο πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τινων ἀποριῶν. **13.** ὁποῖόν τι μέντοι ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄναρ ἰδεῖν, ἔξεστι σκοπεῖν ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων μετὰ τὸ ὄναρ. γίγνεται γὰρ ταῦδε. εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ ἀνηγέρθη, πρῶτον μὲν ἔννοια αὐτῷ ἐμπίπτει· *Τί κατάκειμαι; ἡ δὲ νύξ προβαίνει· ἄμ* δε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἦξειν. εἰ δὲ γενησόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ, τί ἐμποδὼν μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπιδόντας, πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινότερα παθόντας, ὑβριζομένους ἀποθανεῖν; **14.** ὅπως δ' ἀμννούμεθα οὐδεὶς παρασκευάζεται οὐδὲ ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀλλὰ κατακείμεθα ὥσπερ ἐξὸν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν. ἐγὼ οὖν τὸν ἐκ ποίας πόλεως στρατηγὸν προσδοκῶ ταῦτα πράξειν; ποίαν δ' ἡλικίαν ἐμαυτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἀναμένω; οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι πρεσβύτερος ἔσομαι, εἰάν τήμερον προδῶ ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις.

15. Ἐκ τούτου ἀνίσταται, καὶ συγκαλεῖ τοὺς Προξένου πρῶτον λοχαγούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἔλεξεν· Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες λοχαγοί, οὔτε καθεύδειν δύναμαι, ὥσπερ οἶμαι οὐδ' ὑμεῖς, οὔτε κατακείσθαι ἔτι, ὁρῶν ἐν οἷσις ἐσμέν. **16.** οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολέμοι δηλὸν ὅτι οὐ πρότερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν

πόλεμον ἐξέφηναν, πρὶν ἐνόμισαν καλῶς τὰ ἑαυτῶν παρεσκευάσθαι· ἡμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἀντεπιμελείται ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. 17. καὶ μὴν εἰ ὑψησόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ γενησόμεθα, τί οἰόμεθα πείσεσθαι; ὃς καὶ τοῦ ὁμομητρίου καὶ ὁμοπατρίου ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τεθνηκότος ἤδη ἀποτεμῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀνεσταύρωσεν· ἡμᾶς δὲ, οἷς κηδεμῶν μὲν οὐδεὶς πάρεστιν, ἐστρατεύσαμεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὡς δούλον ἀντὶ βασιλέως ποιήσοντας, καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες εἰ δυναίμεθα, τί ἂν οἰόμεθα παθεῖν; 18. ἀρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔλθοι, ὡς ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔσχατα αἰκισάμενος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φόβον παράσχοι τοῦ στρατεύσαι ποτε ἐπ' αὐτόν; ἀλλ' ὅπως τοι μὴ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γενησόμεθα πάντα ποιητέον. 19. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ἔστε μὲν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἦσαν, οὐποτε ἐπαυόμην ἡμᾶς μὲν οἰκτεῖρων, βασιλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μακαρίζων, διαθεώμενος αὐτῶν ὅσῃ μὲν χώραν καὶ οἶαν ἔχοιεν, ὡς δὲ ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσους δὲ θεράποντας, ὅσα δὲ κτήνη, χρυσὸν δὲ, ἐσθήτα δέ. 20. τὰ δ' αὖ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁπότε ἐνθυμοίμην, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν πάντων οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν μετεῖη, εἰ μὴ πριαίμεθα, ὅτου δ' ὠνησόμεθα ἦδειν ἔτι ὀλίγους ἔχοντας, ἄλλως δὲ πως πορίζεσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἢ ὠνουμένους ὄρκους ἤδη κατέχοντας ἡμᾶς· ταῦτ' οὖν λογιζόμενος, ἐνίστε τὰς σπονδὰς μᾶλλον ἐφοβούμην ἢ νῦν τὸν πόλεμον. 21. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐκείνοι ἔλυσαν τὰς σπονδὰς, λελύσθαι μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ ἐκείνων ὕβρις καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα ὑποψία. ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ ἤδη κείται ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ἅθλα ὁπότεροι ἂν ἡμῶν ἄνδρες ἀμείνουσιν ὧσιν, ἀγνοοῦνται δ' οἱ θεοὶ εἶσιν, οἳ σὺν ἡμῖν, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, ἔσονται. 22. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπιωρκήκασιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλὰ ὀρῶντες ἀγαθὰ, στεργῶς αὐτῶν ἀπειχόμεθα διὰ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὄρκους· ὥστε ἐξεῖναι μοι δοκεῖ ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα πολὺ σὺν φρονήματι μείζονι ἢ τούτοις.

23. Ἔτι δ' ἔχομεν σώματα ἱκανώτερα τούτων καὶ ψυχὴ καὶ θάληπῃ καὶ πόνοὺς φέρειν· ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ ψυχὰς σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμείνονας· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ τρωτοὶ καὶ θνητοὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῶν, ἣν οἱ θεοὶ ὥσπερ τὸ πρόσθεν νίκην ἡμῖν διδῶσιν. **24.** ἀλλ' ἴσως γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ταῦτ' ἐνθυμοῦνται, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, μὴ ἀναμένωμεν ἄλλους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ἔργα, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρξωμεν τοῦ ἐξορμῆσαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν. φάνητε τῶν λοχαγῶν ἄριστοι καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀξιοστρατηγότεροι. **25.** κἀγὼ δὲ, εἰ μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐθέλετε ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα, ἔπεισθαι ὑμῖν βούλομαι, εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς τάττετέ με ἡγεῖσθαι, οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμάζειν ἡγοῦμαι ἐρύκειν ἀπ' ἐμαντοῦ τὰ κακά.

26. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεξεν· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἀκούσαντες ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον πάντες, πλὴν Ἀπολλωνίδης τις ἦν, βοιωτιάζων τῇ φωνῇ· οὗτος δ' εἶπεν ὅτι φλυαροίη ὅστις λέγοι ἄλλως πῶς σωτηρίας ἂν τυχεῖν ἢ βασιλέα πείσας, εἰ δύναίτο, καὶ ἅμα ἤρχετο λέγειν τὰς ἀπορίας. **27.** ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν μεταξὺ ὑπολαβὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Ὡ θαυμασιώτατε ἄνθρωπε, σύ γε οὐδὲ ὁρῶν γινώσκεις οὐδὲ ἀκούων μέμνησαι. ἐν ταῦτῳ γε μέντοι ἦσθα τούτοις, ὅτε βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἀπέθανε, μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ, πέμπων ἐκέλευε παραδιδόναι τὰ ὄπλα. **28.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐ παρὰ δόντες, ἀλλ' ἐξοπλισάμενοι, ἐλθόντες παρεσκευήσαμεν αὐτῷ, τί οὐκ ἐποίησε πρέσβεις πέμπων καὶ σπονδὰς αὐτῶν καὶ παρέχων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἔσπε σπονδῶν ἔτυχεν; **29.** ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ, ὥσπερ δὴ σὺ κελεύεις, εἰς λόγους αὐτοῖς ἄνευ ὄπλων ἦλθον, πιστεύσαντες ταῖς σπονδαῖς, οὐ νῦν ἐκείνοι παιόμενοι, κεντούμενοι, ὑβριζόμενοι, οὐδὲ ἀποθανεῖν οἱ τλήμονες δύνανται, καὶ μάλ' οἶμαι ἐρῶντες τούτου; ἂν σὺ πάντα εἰδὼς, τοὺς μὲν ἀμύνεσθαι

κελεύοντας φλυαρεῖν φῆς, πείθειν δὲ πάλιν κελεύεις ἰόντας ; **30.** ἐμοὶ δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον μήτε προσίεσθαι εἰς ταῦτ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀφελομένους τε τὴν λοχαγίαν σκεύη ἀναθέντας ὡς τοιοῦτ' ἄν χρησθαι. οὗτος γὰρ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καταισχύνει καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὅτι Ἕλληνας ὡς τοιοῦτός ἐστιν. **31.** Ἐντεῦθεν ὑπολαβὼν Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' γε οὔτε τῆς Βοιωτίας προσήκει οὐδὲν, οὔτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος παντάπασιν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν εἶδον, ὥσπερ Λυδὸν, ἀμφοτέρω τὰ ὄντα τετυρπημένον. καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως. **32.** τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἀπήλασαν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ἰόντες, ὅπου μὲν στρατηγὸς σῶς εἴη, τὸν στρατηγὸν παρεκάλουν, ὅπου δὲ οἴχοιτο, τὸν ὑποστράτηγον, ὅπου δ' αὖ λοχαγὸς σῶς εἴη, τὸν λοχαγόν.

33. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνήλθον, εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν ὀπλων ἐκαθέζοντο· καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ συνελθόντες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατόν. ὅτε δὲ ταῦτα ἦν, σχεδὸν μέσαι ἦσαν νύκτες. **34.** ἐνταῦθα Ἱερώνυμος Ἡλείος, πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν Προξένου λοχαγῶν, ἤρχετο λέγειν ὧδε. Ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ, ὁρώσι τὰ παρόντα ἔδοξε καὶ αὐτοῖς συνελθεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς παρακαλέσαι, ὅπως βουλευσαίμεθα εἴ τι δυναίμεθα ἀγαθόν. λέξον δ', ἔφη, καὶ σὺ, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. **35.** ἐκ τούτου λέγει τάδε Ξενοφῶν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι βασιλεὺς καὶ Τισσαφέρνης οὓς μὲν ἐδυνήθησαν συνειλίσφασιν ἡμῶν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις δῆλον ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, ὡς ἦν δύνωνται ἀπολέσσωσιν. ἡμῖν δέ γε οἶμαι πάντα ποιητέα ὡς μήποτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις γενώμεθα, ἀλλὰ μάλλον, ἦν δυνώμεθα, ἐκεῖνοι ἐφ' ἡμῖν. **36.** εὖ τοίνυν ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ὑμεῖς τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ὅσοι νῦν συνεληλύθατε μέγιστον ἔχετε καιρόν. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται

οἱτοὶ πάντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς βλέπουσι, κἂν μὲν ὑμᾶς ὁρῶσιν ἀθύμους, πάντες κακοὶ ἔσονται, ἣν δὲ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ τε παρασκευαζόμενοι φανεροὶ ᾗτε ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλῆτε, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι ἔψονται ὑμῖν καὶ πειράσονται μιμεῖσθαι. **37.** ἴσως δέ τοι καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς διαφέρειν τι τούτων. ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐστε στρατηγοί, ὑμεῖς ταξίαρχοι καὶ λοχαγοί· καὶ ὅτε εἰρήνη ᾗν ὑμεῖς καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς τούτων ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε· καὶ νῦν τοίνυν, ἐπεὶ πόλεμός ἐστιν, ἀξιούν δεῖ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους τε τοῦ πλήθους εἶναι καὶ προβουλεύειν τούτων καὶ προπονεῖν, ᾗν που δέη. **38.** καὶ νῦν πρῶτον μὲν οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς μέγα ὀνῆσαι τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ ἐπιμεληθεῖητε ὅπως ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ὡς τύχιστα στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀντικατασταθῶσιν. ἄνευ γὰρ ἀρχόντων οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν γένοιτο, ὡς μὲν συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, οὐδαμοῦ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς παντάπασιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐταξία σώζειν δοκεῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀταξία πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀπολώλεκεν. **39.** ἐπειδὴν δὲ καταστήσῃσθε τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὅσους δεῖ, ἣν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας συλλέγητε καὶ παραθαρρύνετε, οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς πᾶν ἐν καιρῷ ποιῆσαι. **40.** νῦν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ ὑμεῖς αἰσθάνεσθε ὡς ἀθύμως μὲν ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, ἀθύμως δὲ πρὸς τὰς φυλακὰς· ὥστε οὕτω γ' ἐχόντων οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι ἂν τις χρήσαιτο αὐτοῖς εἴτε νυκτὸς δέοι τι εἴτε καὶ ἡμέρας. **41.** ἣν δὲ τις αὐτῶν τρέψῃ τὰς γνώμας, ὡς μὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἐννοῶνται τί πείσονται ἀλλὰ καὶ τί ποιήσουσι, πολὺ εὐθυμότεροι ἔσονται. **42.** ἐπίστασθε γὰρ δὴ ὅτι οὔτε πλήθός ἐστιν οὔτε ἰσχύς ἡ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὰς νίκας ποιούσα, ἀλλ' ὁπότεροι ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τούτους ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἀντίοι οὐ δέχονται. **43.** ἐντεθύμῃμαι δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὅποσοι

μὲν μαστεύουσι ζῆν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, οὗτοι μὲν κακῶς τε καὶ αἰσχροῦς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ὅποσοι δὲ τὸν μὲν θάνατον ἐγνώκασι πᾶσι κοινὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώποις, περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθνήσκειν ἀγωνίζονται, τούτους ὁρῶ μᾶλλον πῶς εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀφικνουμένους, καὶ ἕως ἂν ζῶσι εὐδαιμονέστερον διάγοντας. 44. ἃ καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ νῦν καταμαθόντας, ἐν τοιούτῳ γὰρ καιρῷ ἐσμεν, αὐτούς τε ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν.

45. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον εἶπε Χειρίσοφος. Ἀλλὰ πρόσθεν μὲν, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, τοσοῦτον μόνον σε ἐγίγνωσκον ὅσον ἤκουον Ἀθηναίων εἶναι, νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐπαινῶ σε ἐφ' οἷς λέγεις τε καὶ πράττεις, καὶ βουλοίμην ἂν ὅτι πλείστους εἶναι τοιούτους· κοινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη τὸ ἀγαθόν. 46. καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, μὴ μέλλωμεν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντες ἤδη αἰρεῖσθε οἱ δεόμενοι ἄρχοντας, καὶ ἐλόμενοι ἤκετε εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ἄγετε· ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖ συγκαλοῦμεν τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας. παρέστω δ' ἡμῖν, ἔφη, καὶ Τολμίδης ὁ κῆρυξ. 47. καὶ ἄμα ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνέστη, ὡς μὴ μέλλοιτο ἀλλὰ περαίνοιτο τὰ δέοντα. ἐκ τούτου ἡρέθησαν ἄρχοντες ἀντὶ μὲν Κλεάρχου Τιμασίῳν Δαρδανεὺς, ἀντὶ δὲ Σωκράτους Ξανθικλῆς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀγίου Κλεάνωρ Ἀρκὰς, ἀντὶ δὲ Μένωνος Φιλῆσιος Ἀχαιοὺς, ἀντὶ δὲ Προξένου Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναίος.

II. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρηντο, ἡμέρα τε σχεδὸν ὑπέφαινε, καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἦκον οἱ ἄρχοντες. καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς προφυλακὰς καταστήσαντας συγκαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται συνῆλθον, ἀνέστη πρῶτον μὲν Χειρίσοφος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. 2. Ὡς ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, χαλεπὰ μὲν τὰ παρόντα, ὅποτε ἀνδρῶν στρατηγῶν τοιούτων στερόμεθα καὶ λοχαγῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν,

πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ οἱ ὑμῖν Ἀριαῖον οἱ πρόσθεν σύμμαχοι ὄντες προδεδώκασιν ἡμᾶς· 3. ὅμως δὲ δεῖ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τελέθειν καὶ μὴ ὑφίεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πειρᾶσθαι ὅπως ἦν μὲν δυνώμεθα καλῶς νικῶντες σωζώμεθα· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλὰ καλῶς γε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, ὑποχείριοι δὲ μηδέποτε γενώμεθα ζῶντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν ἡμᾶς τοιαῦτα παθεῖν οἷα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οἱ θεοὶ ποιήσειαν. 4. ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Ἀλλ' ὁράτε μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὴν βασιλέως ἐπιτοκίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν, ὁράτε δὲ τὴν Τισσαφέρνους ἀπιστίαν, ὅστις λέγων ὡς γείτων τε εἴη τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ περὶ πλείστου ἂν ποιήσαιο σῶσαι ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς ὁμόσας ἡμῖν, αὐτὸς δεξιὰς δούς, αὐτὸς ἐξαπατήσας συνέλαβε τοὺς στρατηγούς, καὶ οὐδὲ Δία ξένιον ἡδέσθη, ἀλλὰ Κλεάρχῳ καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος γενόμενος αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἐξαπατήσας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολώλεκεν. 5. Ἀριαῖος δὲ, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἠθέλομεν βασιλέα καθιστάναι, καὶ ἐδώκαμεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν πιστὰ μὴ προδώσειν ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὗτος οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς δείσας οὔτε Κύρον τεθηκοτα αἰδεσθεὶς, τιμώμενος μάλιστα ὑπὸ Κύρου ζώντος, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐχθίστους ἀποστὰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς Κύρου φίλους κακῶς ποιεῖν πειρᾶται. 6. ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἀποτίσαιντο· ἡμᾶς δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα ὀρώντας μήποτε ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἔτι ὑπὸ τούτων, ἀλλὰ μαχομένους ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα, τοῦτο ὃ τι ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς θεοῖς πάσχειν.

7. Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἀνίσταται ἐσταλμένος ἐπὶ πόλεμον ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα, νομίζων, εἴτε νίκην διδοίεν οἱ θεοί, τὸν κάλλιστον κόσμον τῷ νικᾷν πρόπειν, εἴτε τελευτᾶν δέοι, ὀρθῶς ἔχειν τῶν καλλίστων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιόσαντα ἐν τούτοις τῆς τελευτῆς τυγχάνειν· τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἤρχετο ὧδε. 8. Τῇ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιτοκίαν τε καὶ ἀπιστίαν

λέγει μὲν Κλεάνωρ, ἐπίστασθε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, οἶμαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν βουλευόμεθα πάλιν αὐτοῖς διὰ φιλίας ἰέναι, ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔχειν, ὁρῶντας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, οἳ διὰ πίστεως αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν, οἷα πεπόνθασιν· εἰ μὲντοι διανοούμεθα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὧν τε πεποικῆσθαι δίκην ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διὰ πάντος πολέμου αὐτοῖς ἰέναι, σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς πολλὰ ἡμῖν καὶ καλὰ ἐλπίδες εἰσὶ σωτηρίας. 9. Τοῦτο δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ πτάρνυταί τις· ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες μᾶ ὀρμῇ προσεκύνησαν τὸν θεόν. καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε· Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν λεγόντων οἰωνὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐφάνη, εὐξασθαι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ θύσειν σωτήρια ὅπου ἂν πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν χώραν ἀφικώμεθα, συνεπεύξασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς θύσειν κατὰ δύναμιν. καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτ', ἔφη, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. Καὶ ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. ἐκ τούτου ἠΰξαντο καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλῶς εἶχεν, ἤρχετο πάλιν ὧδε.

10. Ἐτύγχανον λέγων ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐλπίδες ἡμῖν εἰεν σωτηρίας. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐμπεδοῦμεν τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὅρκους, οἳ δὲ πολέμοι ἐπιωρκήκασιν τε καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λελύκασιν. οὕτω δ' ἐχόντων, εἰκὸς τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐναντίους εἶναι τοὺς θεούς, ἡμῖν δὲ συμμάχους, οἵπερ ἱκανοὶ εἰσι καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ταχὺ μικροὺς ποιεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς, κἂν ἐν δεινοῖς ὧσι, σώζειν εὐπετῶς, ὅταν βούλωνται. 11. ἔπειτα δὲ ἀναμνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων κινδύνους, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὡς ἀγαθοῖς τε ὑμῖν προσήκει εἶναι, σώζονται τε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐκ πάνυ δεινῶν οἱ ἀγαθοί. ἐλθόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς παμπληθεὶ στόλῳ ὡς ἀφανιούντων αὐθις τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑποστῆναι αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσαντες ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς.

12. καὶ εὐξάμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ὁπόσους κατακάνοιεν τῶν πολεμίων τοσαύτας χιμαῖρας καταθύσειν τῇ θεῷ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον ἱκανὰς εὐρεῖν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πεντακοσίας θύειν, καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποθύουσιν. 13. ἔπειτα ὅτε Ξέρξης ὕστερον ἀγείρας τὴν ἀναρίθμητον στρατιὰν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τότε ἐνίκων οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι τοὺς τούτων προγόνους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. ὧν ἔστι μὲν τεκμήρια ὁρᾶν τὰ τρόπαια, μέγιστον δὲ μαρτύριον ἡ ἐλευθερία τῶν πόλεων ἐν αἷς ὑμεῖς ἐγένεσθε καὶ ἐτράφητε· οὐδένα γὰρ ἄνθρωπον δεσπότην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖτε. τοιούτων μὲν ἔστε προγόνων. 14. Οὐ μὲν δὴ τοῦτό γε ἐρῶ, ὥς ὑμεῖς κατασχύνετε αὐτούς· ἀλλ' οὐπω πολλαὶ ἡμέραι ἀφ' οὗ ἀντιταξάμενοι τούτοις τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐκγόνοις πολλαπλασίους ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνικᾶτε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς. 15. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἄνδρες ἦτε ἀγαθοί· νῦν δ', ὁπότε περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὁ ἀγὼν ἔστι, πολὺ δήπου ὑμᾶς προσήκει καὶ ἀμείνονας καὶ προθυμότερους εἶναι. 16. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θαρραλεωτέρους νῦν πρέπει εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. τότε μὲν γὰρ ἄπειροι ὄντες αὐτῶν τό τε πλῆθος ἄμετρον ὁρῶντες, ὅμως ἐτολμήσατε σὺν τῷ πατρίῳ φρονήματι ἵεναι εἰς αὐτούς· νῦν δέ, ὁπότε καὶ πείραν ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτῶν, ὅτι θέλουσι καὶ πολλαπλάσιοι ὄντες μὴ δέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς, τί ἔτι ὑμῖν προσήκει τούτους φοβεῖσθαι; 17. Μηδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο μείον δόξετε ἔχειν, εἰ οἱ Κύριοι πρόσθεν σὺν ἡμῖν ταττόμενοι νῦν ἀφεστήκασιν. ἔτι γὰρ οὗτοι κακίονές εἰσι τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἡττημένων· ἔφευγον γοῦν πρὸς ἐκείνους καταλιπόντες ἡμᾶς. τοὺς δ' ἐθέλοντας φυγῆς ἄρχειν πολὺ κρεῖττον σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ταττομένους ἢ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τάξει ὁρᾶν. 18. Εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ἀθυμεῖ ὅτι ἡμῖν μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν ἱππεῖς, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις πολλοὶ πάρευσιν, ἐνθυμή-

θητε ὅτι οἱ μύριοι ἱππεῖς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ μύριοί εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι· ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἵππου ἐν μάχῃ οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε δηχθεὶς οὔτε λακτισθεὶς ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἱ ποιοῦντες ὅ τι ἂν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις γίγνηται. 19. οὐκ οὖν τῶν ἱππέων πολὺ ἡμεῖς ἐπ' ἀσφαλεστέρου ὀχήματός ἐσμεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππων κρέμονται, φοβούμενοι οὐχ ἡμᾶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καταπεσεῖν· ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ γῆς βεβηκότες πολὺ μὲν ἰσχυρότερον παίσομεν, ἢν τις προσίῃ, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὅτου ἂν βουλόμεθα τευξόμεθα. ἐνὶ μόνῃ προέχουσιν οἱ ἱππεῖς ἡμᾶς· φεύγειν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλέστερόν ἐστιν ἢ ἡμῖν. 20. Εἰ δὲ δὴ τὰς μὲν μάχας θαρρεῖτε, ὅτι δὲ οὐκέτι ἡμῖν Τισσαφέρηνς ἡγήσεται οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς ἀγορὰν παρέξει, τοῦτο ἄχθεσθε, σκέψασθε πότερον κρείττον Τισσαφέρην ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν, ὃς ἐπιβουλεύων ἡμῖν φανερός ἐστιν, ἢ οὓς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἄνδρας λαβόντες ἡγήσθαι κελεύωμεν, οἳ εἰσονται ὅτι, ἢν τι περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀμαρτάνωσι, περὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα ἀμαρτάνουσι. 21. τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πότερον ὠνεῖσθαι κρείττον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἢς οὗτοι παρέιχον, μικρὰ μέτρα πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου, μηδὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἔχοντας, ἢ αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν, ἢν περ κρατῶμεν, μέτρον χρωμένους ὅπόσῳ ἂν ἕκαστος βούληται. 22. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν γινώσκετε ὅτι κρείττονα, τοὺς δὲ ποταμοὺς ἀπόρον νομίζετε εἶναι, καὶ μεγάλως ἡγείσθε ἐξαπατηθῆναι διαβάντες, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ μωρότατον πεποιήκασιν οἱ βάρβαροι. πάντες γὰρ ποταμοὶ, ἢν καὶ πρόσω τῶν πηγῶν ἀποροὶ ὦσι, προῖοῦσι πρὸς τὰς πηγὰς διαβατοὶ γίγνονται, οὐδὲ τὸ γόνυ βρέχοντες. 23. Εἰ δὲ μήθ' οἱ ποταμοὶ διήσουσιν ἡγεμόν τε μηδεὶς ἡμῖν φανέται, οὐδ' ὥς ἡμῖν γε ἀθυμητέον. ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ Μυσοὺς, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἡμῶν φαίμεν βελτίους εἶναι, οἳ βασιλέως ἄκοιτος ἐν τῇ βασιλέως χώρᾳ πολλὰς τε καὶ εὐδαίμονας καὶ μεγάλας

πόλεις οἰκοῖσιν, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ Πισίδας ὡσαύτως, Λυκάονας
 δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ εἶδομεν, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τὰ ἐρυμνὰ κατα-
 λαβόντες τὴν τούτων χώραν καρποῦνται. **24.** καὶ ἡμᾶς δ'
 ἂν ἔφην ἔγωγε χρῆναι μήπω φανεροὺς εἶναι οἷκαδε ὥρμη-
 μένους, ἀλλὰ κατασκευάζεσθαι ὡς αὐτοῦ που οἰκήσοντας·
 οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Μυσοῖς βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνους
 ἂν δοίη, πολλοὺς δ' ἂν ὁμήρους τοῦ ἀδόλως ἐκπέμψειν, καὶ
 ὁδοποιήσειέ γ' ἂν αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἰ σὺν τεθρίπποις βούλονται
 ὑπίνειν. καὶ ἡμῖν γ' ἂν οἶδ' ὅτι τρισάσμενος ταῦτ' ἐποίει,
 εἰ ἑώρα ἡμᾶς μένειν παρασκευαζομένους. **25.** ἀλλὰ γὰρ
 δέδοικα μὴ, ἂν ἅπαξ μάθωμεν ἄργοι ζῆν καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις
 βιοτεύειν, καὶ Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις
 γυναιξὶ καὶ παρθένοις ὁμιλεῖν, μὴ ὥσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι
 ἐπιλαθόμεθα τῆς οἷκαδε ὁδοῦ. **26.** δοκεῖ οὖν μοι εἰκὸς
 καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι, πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς
 οἰκείους πειρᾶσθαι ἀφικνεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐπιδεῖξαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν
 ὅτι ἐκόντες πένονται, ἔξον αὐτοῖς τοὺς νῦν οἶκοι ἀκλήρους
 πολιτεύοντας ἐνθάδε κομισαμένους πλουσίους ὁρᾶν. ἀλλὰ
 γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, πάντα ταῦτα τὰγαθὰ δῆλον ὅτι τῶν κρατούν-
 των ἐστί. **27.** Τοῦτο δὴ δεῖ λέγειν, πῶς ἂν πορευοίμεθά
 τε ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα, καὶ εἰ μάχεσθαι δέοι, ὡς κράτιστα
 μαχοίμεθα. πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι κατακαῦσαι
 τὰς ἀμάξας ἃς ἔχομεν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ ζεύγη ἡμῶν στρατηγῇ,
 ἀλλὰ πορευόμεθα ὅπῃ ἂν τῇ στρατιᾷ συμφέρῃ· ἔπειτα
 καὶ τὰς σκηναὺς συγκατακαῦσαι. αὐταὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ὄχλον μὲν
 παρέχουσιν ἄγειν, συνωφελοῦσι δ' οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰς τὸ μάχε-
 σθαι οὐτ' εἰς τὸ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν. **28.** ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων σκευῶν τὰ περιττὰ ἀπαλλάξωμεν, πλὴν ὅσα πολέ-
 μου ἔνεκεν ἢ σίτων ἢ ποτῶν ἔχομεν, ἵν' ὡς πλείστοι μὲν
 ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὦσιν, ὡς ἐλάχιστοι δὲ σκευοφορῶσι.
 κρατουμένων μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι πάντα ἀλλότρια·

ἦν δε κρατῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δεῖ σκευοφόρους ἡμετέρους νομίζειν. **29.** Λοιπὸν μοι εἰπεῖν ὅπερ καὶ μέγιστον νομίζω εἶναι. ὁρᾶτε γὰρ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὅτι οὐ πρόσθεν ἐξευεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πόλεμον, πρὶν τοὺς στρατηγούς ἡμῶν συνέλαβον, νομίζοντες ὄντων μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἡμῶν πειθομένων, ἱκανοὺς εἶναι ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ· λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀναρχία ἂν καὶ ὑτάξια ἐνόμιζον ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσθαι. **30.** δεῖ οὖν πολὺ μὲν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπιμελεστέρους γενέσθαι τοὺς νῦν τῶν πρόσθεν, πολὺ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχομένους εὐτακτοτέρους καὶ πειθομένους μᾶλλον τοῖς ἄρχουσι νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν. **31.** ἦν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ, ἦν ψηφίσθησθε τὸν αἰεὶ ὑμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα σὺν τῷ ἄρχοντι κολάζειν, οὕτως οἱ πολέμοι πλείστον ἐψευσμένοι ἔσονται· τῇδε γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μυρίους ὄψονται ἀνθ' ἑνὸς Κλεάρχους, τοὺς οὐδενὶ ἐπιτρέψοντας κακῷ εἶναι. **32.** Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περαίνειν ἤδη ὥρα· ἴσως γὰρ οἱ πολέμοι αὐτίκα παρέσονται. ὅτῳ οὖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐπικυρωσάτω ὡς τάχιστα, ἢ ἔργῳ περαίνεται. εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο βέλτιον ἢ ταύτη, τολμάτω καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης διδάσκειν· πάντες γὰρ κοινῆς σωτηρίας δεόμεθα.

33. Μετὰ ταῦτα Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τινος ἄλλου δεῖ πρὸς τούτοις οἷς λέγει Ξενοφῶν, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐξέσται ποιεῖν· ἃ δὲ νῦν εἴρηκε δοκεῖ μοι ὡς τάχιστα ψηφίσασθαι ἄριστον εἶναι· καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. **34.** Ἀναστὰς δὲ πάλιν εἶπε Ξενοφῶν. ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀκούσατε ὧν προσδεῖν δοκεῖ μοι. δῆλον ὅτι πορεύεσθαι ἡμᾶς δεῖ ὅπου ἐξομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἀκούω δὲ κόμας εἶναι καλὰς οὐ πλέον εἴκοσι σταδίων ἀπεχούσας. **35.** οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάζοιμι εἰ οἱ πολέμοι — ὥσπερ οἱ δειλοὶ κύνες τοὺς μὲν παριόντας διώκουσιν τε καὶ δάκνουσιν, ἦν δύνωνται, τοὺς δὲ διώκοντας

φεύγουσιν — εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡμῖν ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπακολουθοῦεν.
36. ἴσως οὖν ἀσφαλέστερον ἡμῖν πορεύεσθαι πλαίσιον
 ποιησαμένους τῶν ὅπλων, ἵνα τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ ὁ πολὺς
 ὄχλος ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ ᾗ. εἰ οὖν νῦν ἀποδειχθεῖη τίνα
 χρὴ ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ πλαισίου καὶ τὰ πρόσθεν κοσμεῖν, καὶ
 τίνας ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκατέρων εἶναι, τίνας δ' ὀπισθοφυ-
 λακεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ὁπότε οἱ πολέμιοι ἔλθοιεν βουλευέσθαι
 ἡμᾶς δέοι, ἀλλὰ χροῦμεθ' ἂν εὐθύς τοῖς τεταγμένοις. **37.** εἰ
 μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τις βέλτιον ὁρᾷ, ἄλλως ἐχέτω· εἰ δὲ μὴ,
 Χειρίσσοφος μὲν ἡγοῖτο, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίος ἔστι·
 τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν ἐκατέρων δύο τῶ πρεσβυτάτῳ στρατηγῷ
 ἐπιμελοῖσθην· ὀπισθοφυλακοῖμεν δ' ἡμεῖς οἱ νεώτατοι, ἐγώ
 τε καὶ Τιμασίῳν, τὸ νῦν εἶναι. **38.** τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πειρώμε-
 νοι ταύτης τῆς τάξεως, βουλευσόμεθα ὃ τι ἂν αἰεὶ κράτι-
 στον δοκῇ εἶναι. εἰ δὲ τις ἄλλο ὁρᾷ βέλτιον, λεξάτω.
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγεν, εἶπεν· Ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνα-
 τεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. ἔδοξε ταῦτα. **39.** Νῦν τοίνυν, ἔφη,
 ἀπionτας ποιεῖν δεῖ τὰ δεδογμένα. καὶ ὅστις τε ὑμῶν
 τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπιθυμεῖ ἰδεῖν, μεμνήσθω ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι·
 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλως τούτου τυχεῖν· ὅστις τε ζῆν ἐπιθυμεῖ,
 πειράσθω νικᾶν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ νικόντων τὸ κατακαίνειν,
 τῶν δὲ ἡττωμένων τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν ἔστι· καὶ εἴ τις δὲ
 χρημάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ, κρατεῖν πειράσθω· τῶν γὰρ νικόντων
 ἔστι καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώζειν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡττωμένων λαμ-
 βάνειν.

III. Τούτων λεχθέντων ἀνέστησαν, καὶ ἀπελθόντες
 κατέκαον τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰς σκηνάς, τῶν δὲ περιπτῶν
 ὅτου μὲν δέοιτό τις μετεδίδωσαν ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἰς
 τὸ πῦρ ἐρρίπτουν. ταῦτα ποιήσαντες ἡριστοποιοῦντο.
 ἀριστοποιοιμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔρχεται Μιθριδάτης σὺν ἱππεῦ-
 σιν ὡς τριάκοντα, καὶ καλεσόμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἰς

ἐπήκοον, λέγει ὧδε. 2. Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, καὶ Κύρῳ πιστὸς ἦν, ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν εὖνους· καὶ ἐνθάδε εἰμὶ σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ διάγων. εἰ οὖν ὁρώην ὑμᾶς σωτήριόν τι βουλευομένους, ἔλθοιμι ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας πάντας ἔχων. λέξατε οὖν πρὸς με τί ἐν νῷ ἔχετε, ὡς φίλον τε καὶ εὖνουν καὶ βουλόμενον κοινῇ σὺν ὑμῖν τὸν στόλον ποιεῖσθαι. 3. Βουλευομένοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀποκρίνασθαι τάδε· καὶ ἔλεγε Χειρίσοφος· Ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, εἰ μὲν τις ἐξ ἡμᾶς ἀπίεναί οἴκαδε, διαπορεύεσθαι τὴν χώραν ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα ἀσινέστατα· ἦν δέ τις ἡμᾶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀποκωλύῃ, διαπολεμεῖν τούτῳ ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράγιστα. 4. Ἐκ τούτου ἐπειράτο Μιθριδάτης διδάσκειν ὡς ἄπορον εἶη βασιλέως ἄκοντος σωθῆναι. ἔνθα δὴ ἐγγινώσκετο ὅτι ὑπόπεμπτos εἶη· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Τισσαφέρνηους τις οἰκείων παρηκολούθει πίστεως ἕνεκα. 5. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἔδόκει τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βέλτιον εἶναι δόγμα ποιήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι ἔστ' ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ εἶεν· διέφθειρον γὰρ προσιώντες τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἓνα γε λοχαγὸν διέφθειραν, Νίκαρχον Ἀρκάδα, καὶ ὄχρετο ἀπὼν νυκτὸς σὺν ἀνθρώποις ὡς εἴκοσι.

6. Μετὰ ταῦτα, ἀριστήσαντες καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμὸν, ἐπορεύοντο τεταγμένοι τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ ἔχοντες. οὐ πολὺ δὲ προεληλυθόντων αὐτῶν, ἐπιφαίνεται πάλιν ὁ Μιθριδάτης, ἱππείας ἔχων ὡς διακοσίους, καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας ὡς τετρακοσίους, μάλα ἐλαφροὺς καὶ εὐζώνους. 7. καὶ προσῆι μὲν ὡς φίλος ὢν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο, ἔξαπίνης οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐτόξευον, καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὶ, οἱ δ' ἐσφενδόνων καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον. οἱ δὲ ὀπισθοφύλακες τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς, ἀντεποιοῦν δ' οὐδέν· οἳ τε γὰρ Κρήτες βραχύτερα τῶν Περσῶν ἐτόξευον, καὶ ἅμα ψιλοὶ ὄντες

εἶσω τῶν ὄπλων κατεκέκλειντο, οἳ τε ἀκοντισταὶ βραχύ-
 τερα ἡκόντιζον ἢ ὥς ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῶν σφενδονητῶν. **8.** ἐκ
 τούτου Ξενοφῶντι ἐδόκει διωκτέον εἶναι· καὶ ἐδίωκον τῶν
 τε ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν οἱ ἔτυχον σὺν αὐτῷ ὀπι-
 σθοφυλακοῦντες· διώκοντες δὲ οὐδένα κατελάμβανον τῶν
 πολεμίων. **9.** οὔτε γὰρ ἱππεῖς ἦσαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὔτε
 οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐκ πολλοῦ φεύγοντας ἐδύναντο κατα-
 λαμβίνειν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χωρίῳ· πολὺ γὰρ οὐχ οἶόν τε ἦν ἀπὸ
 τοῦ ἄλλου στρατεύματος διώκειν. **10.** οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι
 ἱππεῖς, καὶ φεύγοντες ἅμα ἐτίτρωσκον εἰς τοῦπισθεν τοξεύ-
 οντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, ὅποσον δὲ διώξειαν οἱ Ἕλληνες,
 τοσοῦτον πύλιν ἐπαναχωρεῖν μαχομένους ἔδει. **11.** ὥστε
 τῆς ἡμέρας ὅλης διῆλθον οὐ πλέον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι στα-
 δίων, ἀλλὰ δείλης ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κόμας. Ἐνθα δὲ πάλιν
 ἀθυμία ἦν. καὶ Χειρίσοφος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρα-
 τηγῶν Ξενοφῶντα ἡτιῶντο, ὅτι ἐδίωκεν ἀπὸ τῆς φύλαγγος
 καὶ αὐτός τε ἐκινδύνευε, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδὲν μᾶλλον
 ἐδύνατο βλάπτειν. **12.** ἀκούσας δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν ὅτι
 ὀρθῶς ἡτιῶντο, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς μαρτυροίη. Ἄλλ'
 ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ἠναγκάσθην διώκειν, ἐπειδὴ ἐώρων ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ
 μένειν κακῶς μὲν πάσχοντας, ἀντιποιεῖν δὲ οὐ δυναμένους.
13. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδίωκομεν, ἀληθῆ, ἔφη, ὑμεῖς λέγετε· κακῶς
 μὲν γὰρ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδυνάμεθα τοὺς πολεμίους,
 ἀνεχωροῦμεν δὲ πάνυ χαλεπῶς. **14.** τοῖς οὖν θεοῖς χάρις
 ὅτι οὐ σὺν πολλῇ ῥώμῃ ἀλλὰ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἦλθον, ὥστε
 βλάψαι μὲν μὴ μεγάλα, δηλώσαι δὲ ὧν δεόμεθα. **15.** νῦν
 γὰρ οἱ μὲν πολέμοιοι τοξεύουσι καὶ σφενδονῶσιν ὅσον οὔτε
 οἱ Κρήτες ἀντιτοξεύειν δύνανται, οὔτε οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλον-
 τες ἐξικνεῖσθαι. ὅταν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωμεν, πολὺ μὲν οὐχ
 οἶόν τε χωρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος διώκειν, ἐν ὀλίγῳ
 δὲ, οὐδ' εἰ ταχὺς εἴη, πεζος πεζὸν ἂν διώκων καταλάβοι ἐκ

τόξου ρύματος. 16. Ἡμεῖς οὖν εἰ μέλλομεν τούτους εἶργειν ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι βλάπτειν ἡμᾶς πορευομένους, σφενδονητῶν τὴν ταχίστην δεῖ καὶ ἱππέων. ἀκούω δ' εἶναι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡμῶν Ῥοδίους, ὧν τοὺς πολλοὺς φασιν ἐπίστασθαι σφενδονᾶν, καὶ τὸ βέλος αὐτῶν καὶ διπλάσιον φέρεσθαι τῶν Περσικῶν σφενδονῶν. 17. ἐκεῖναι γὰρ, διὰ τὸ χειροπληθέσι τοῖς λίθοις σφενδονᾶν, ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἐξικνούνται, οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι καὶ ταῖς μολυβδίσις ἐπίστανται χρῆσθαι. 18. ἦν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐπισκεψώμεθα τίνες πέπανται σφενδόνας, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν δώμεν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον, τῷ δὲ ἄλλας πλέκειν ἐθέλοντι ἄλλο ἀργύριον τελῶμεν, καὶ τῷ σφενδονᾶν ἐντεταγμένῳ ἐθέλοντι ἄλλην τινὰ ἀτέλειαν εὐρίσκωμεν, ἴσως τινὲς φανοῦνται ἱκανοὶ ἡμᾶς ὠφελεῖν. 19. Ὅρῳ δὲ ἵππους ὄντας ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς παρ' ἐμοί, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Κλεάρχου καταλελειμμένους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους σκευοφοροῦντας. ἂν οὖν τούτους πάντας ἐκλέξαντες σκευοφόρα μὲν ἀντιδῶμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἵππους εἰς ἱππέας κατασκευάσωμεν, ἴσως καὶ οὗτοί τι τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνιάσουσιν. ἔδοξε ταῦτα. 20. Καὶ ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς σφενδονῆται μὲν εἰς διακοσίους ἐγένοντο, ἵπποι δὲ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐδοκιμάσθησαν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς πεντήκοντα, καὶ σπολάδες καὶ θώρακες αὐτοῖς ἐπορίσθησαν, καὶ ἵππαρχος δὲ ἐπεστάθη Λύκιος ὁ Πολυστράτου Ἀθηναῖος.

IV. Μείναντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπορεύοντο προφαίτερον ἀναστάντες· χαράδραν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔδει διαβῆναι, ἐφ' ἣ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἐπιβοῦντο αὐτοῖς διαβαίνουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. 2. διαβεβηκόσι δὲ αὐτοῖς πάλιν φαίνεται ὁ Μιθριδάτης, ἔχων ἱππέας χιλίους, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους· τοσοῦτους γὰρ ἤτησε Τισσαφέρην, καὶ ἔλαβεν ὑποσχόμενος, ἂν τούτους λάβῃ, παραδώσειν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἑλληνας, καταφρονήσας, ὅτι ἐν τῇ

πρόσθεν προσβολῇ ὀλίγους ἔχων ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδὲν, πολλὰ
 δὲ κακὰ ἐνόμιζε ποιῆσαι. 3. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες διαβε-
 βηκότες ἀπείχον τῆς χαράδρας ὅσον ὀκτὼ σταδίους, διέ-
 βαινε καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν. παρήγγελτο
 δὲ τῶν τε πελταστῶν οὓς ἔδει διώκειν, καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν,
 καὶ τοῖς ἱππεύσιν εἴρητο θαρροῦσι διώκειν ὡς ἐφευρομένης
 ἱκανῆς δυνάμεως. 4. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Μιθριδάτης κατειλήφει,
 καὶ ἤδη σφενδόναι καὶ τοξεύματα ἐξικνούντο, ἐσήμνη τοῖς
 Ἕλλησι τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ εὐθύς ἔθεον ὁμόσε οἷς εἴρητο,
 καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἤλαννον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἐφευγον
 ἐπὶ τὴν χαράδραν. 5. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διώξει τοῖς βαρβάροις
 τῶν τε πεζῶν ἀπέθανον πολλοὶ, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐν τῇ
 χαράδρᾳ ζωοὶ ἐλήφθησαν εἰς ὀκτωκαίδεκα. τοὺς δὲ ἀπο-
 θανόντας αὐτοκέλευστοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἠκίσαντο, ὡς ὅτι
 φοβερώτατον τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶη ὁρᾶν. 6. Καὶ οἱ μὲν
 πολέμιοι οὕτω πύξαντες ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀσφα-
 λῶς πορευόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν
 Τύγρητα ποταμόν. 7. ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἦν ἐρήμη μεγάλη,
 ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ ἦν Λάρισσα· ᾤκουν δ' αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν
 Μῆδοι. τοῦ δὲ τείχους αὐτῆς ἦν τὸ εὖρος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι
 πόδες, ὕψος δ' ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος δύο παρα-
 σύγγαι· ᾠκοδόμητο δὲ πλίνθοις κεραμεαῖς· κρητὶς δ'
 ὑπὲρ λιθίνῃ, τὸ ὕψος εἴκοσι ποδῶν. 8. ταύτην βασιλεὺς
 ὁ Περσῶν, ὅτε παρὰ Μήδων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανον Πέρσαι,
 πολιορκῶν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο ελεῖν· ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλῃ
 προκαλύψασα ἠφάνισε, μέχρι ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ
 οὕτως ἐάλω. 9. παρὰ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυραμὶς
 λιθίνῃ, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἐνὸς πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλέ-
 θρων. ἐπὶ ταύτης πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦσαν, ἐκ τῶν
 πλησίον κωμῶν ἀποπεφευγότες. 10. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθη-
 σαν σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασύγγας ἑξ, πρὸς τεῖχος ἔρημον μέγα

πρὸς τῇ πόλει κείμενον· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ πόλει Μέσπιλα· Μῆδοι δ' αὐτὴν ποτε ᾤκουν. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν κρητὶς λίθου ξεστοῦ κογχυλιάτου, τὸ εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, καὶ τὸ ὕψος πεντήκοντα. **11.** ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐπφοδόμητο πλίνθινον τεῖχος, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος ἕξ παρασάγγαι. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Μήδεια γυνὴ βασιλέως καταφυγεῖν, ὅτε ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι. **12.** ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιορκῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο οὔτε χρόνῳ ἐλεῖν οὔτε βίᾳ· Ζεὺς δ' ἐμβροντήτους ποιεῖ τοὺς ἐνοικούντας, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω.

13. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας τέτταρας. εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν σταθμὸν Τισσαφέρνης ἐπεφάνη, οὓς τε αὐτὸς ἱππέας ἦλθεν ἔχων καὶ τὴν Ὀρόντα δύναμιν, τοῦ τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα ἔχοντος, καὶ οὓς Κύρος ἔχων ἀνέβη βαρβάρους, καὶ οὓς ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς ἔχων βασιλεῖ ἐβοήθει, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅσους βασιλεὺς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πάμπολυ ἐφάνη. **14.** ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο, τὰς μὲν τῶν τάξεων εἶχεν ὀπισθεν καταστήσας, τὰς δὲ εἰς τὰ πλάγια παραγαγὼν ἐμβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν, οὐδ' ἐβούλετο διακινδυνεύειν, σφενδονᾶν δὲ παρήγγειλε καὶ τοξεύειν. **15.** ἐπεὶ δὲ διαταχθέντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐσφενδόνησαν, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι τοξόται ἐτόξευσαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμάρτανεν ἀνδρὸς, οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάννυ προυθυμῆιτο ῥάδιον ἦν, καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης μάλα ταχέως ἔξω βελῶν ἀπεχώρει, καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τάξεις ἀπεχώρησαν. **16.** Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο, οἱ δ' εἶποντο· καὶ οὐκέτι ἐσίνοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· μακρότερον γὰρ οἱ Ῥόδιοι τῶν τε Περσῶν ἐσφενδόνων καὶ τῶν πλείστων τοξωτῶν. **17.** μεγάλη δὲ καὶ τὰ τόξα τὰ Περσικά ἐστίν· ὥστε χρήσιμα ἦν ὅποσα ἀλίσκοιτο τῶν τοξευμάτων τοῖς

Κρησὶ, καὶ διετέλουν χρώμενοι τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων τοξεύμασι, καὶ ἐμελέτων τοξεύειν ἄνω ἰέντες μακράν. εὐρίσκετο δὲ καὶ νεῦρα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, καὶ μόλυβδος, ὥστε χρῆσθαι εἰς τὰς σφενδόνας.

18. Καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐπεὶ κατεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες κώμαις ἐπιτυχόντες, ἀπῆλθον οἱ βάρβαροι μείον ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· τὴν δ' ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἔμειναν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο· ἦν γὰρ πολὺς σίτος ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. τῇ δ' ὕστεραία ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, καὶ Τισσαφέρης εἶπετο ἀκροβολιζόμενος.

19. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔγνωσαν ὅτι πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον πονηρὰ τίξις εἴη πολεμίων ἐπομένων. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἔστιν, ἣν μὲν συγκύπτῃ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ πλαισίου, ἡ ὁδοῦ στενωτέρας οὔσης, ἡ ὁρέων ἀναγκαζόντων ἡ γεφύρας, ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας, καὶ πορεύεσθαι πονήρως, ἅμα μὲν πιεζομένους, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ταραττομένους· ὥστε δυσχρήστους εἶναι ἀνάγκη ἀτάκτους ὄντας. **20.** ὅταν δ' αὖ διάσχη τὰ κέρατα, ἀνάγκη διασπᾶσθαι τοὺς τότε ἐκθλιβομένους, καὶ κενὸν γίγνεσθαι τὸ μέσον τῶν κεράτων, καὶ ἀθυμεῖν τοὺς ταῦτα πάσχοντας, πολεμίων ἐπομένων. καὶ ὁπότε δέοι γέφυραν διαβαίνειν, ἡ ἄλλην τινὰ διάβασιν, ἔσπευδεν ἕκαστος βουλόμενος φθάσαι πρῶτος· καὶ εὐεπίβητον ἦν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς πολεμίοις. **21.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ, ἐποίησαν ἕξ λόχους ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπέστησαν, καὶ ἄλλους πεντηκοντῆρας, καὶ ἄλλους ἐνωμοτάρχας. οὗτοι δὲ πορευόμενοι, ὁπότε μὲν συγκύπτει τὰ κέρατα, ὑπέμενον ὕστεροι οἱ λοχαγοὶ, ὥστε μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς κέρασι, τότε δὲ παρήγον ἐξῶθεν τῶν κεράτων. **22.** ὁπότε δὲ διάσχοιεν αἱ πλευραὶ τοῦ πλαισίου, τὸ μέσον ἀνεξεπίμπλασαν, — εἰ μὲν στενωτέρον εἴη τὸ διέχον, κατὰ λόχους, εἰ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ πεντη

κοστὺς, εἰ δὲ πάνυ πλατὺ, κατ' ἐνωμοτίας· ὥστε αἰὲ ἐκπλεων εἶναι τὸ μέσον. 23. εἰ δὲ καὶ διαβαίνειν τινὰ δέοι διύβασιν ἢ γέφυραν, οὐκ ἐταράττοντο, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέρει οἱ λοχαγοὶ διέβαινον· καὶ εἴ που δέοι τι τῆς φύλαγος, ἐπιπαρήσαν οὗτοι. τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας.

24. Ἡνίκα δὲ τὸν πέμπτον ἐπορεύοντο, εἶδον βασιλείον τι, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ κώμας πολλὰς, τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν πρὸς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο διὰ γηλόφων ὑψηλῶν γιγνομένην, οἱ καθήκον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ὑφ' ᾧ ἦν ἡ κώμη. καὶ εἶδον μὲν τοὺς λόφους ἄσμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὡς εἰκὸς, τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων ἰππέων· 25. ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον γήλοφον καὶ κατέβαινον, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀναβαίνειν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιγίγνονται οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ εἰς τὸ πρηνὲς ἔβαλλον, ἐσφενδόνων, ἐτόξευον ὑπὸ μαστίγων· 26. καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γυμνῆτων, καὶ κατέκλεισαν αὐτοὺς εἰσὼ τῶν ὀπλων· ὥστε παντάπασι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἄχρηστοι ἦσαν, ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ὄντες, καὶ οἱ σφενδονῆται καὶ οἱ τοξόται. 27. ἐπεὶ δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεχείρησαν διώκειν, σχολῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀφικνούνται ὀπλίται ὄντες, οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ταχὺ ἀπεπήδων. 28. πάλιν δὲ ὁπότε ἀπίοιεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, ταῦτα ἔπασχον, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου γηλόφου ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου γηλόφου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μὴ κινεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας, πρὶν ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τοῦ πλαισίου ἀνήγαγον πελταστὰς πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. 29. ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπομένων πολεμίων, οὐκέτι ἐπετίθεντο οἱ πολέμοι τοῖς καταβαίνουσι, δεδοικότες μὴ ἀποτμηθῆσαν καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτῶν γένοιτο οἱ πολέμοι. 30. Οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας πορευόμενοι, οἱ μὲν τῇ ὁδῷ κατὰ τοὺς γηλόφους, οἱ

δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐπιπαριόντες, ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας καὶ ἰατροὺς κατέστησαν ὀκτώ· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τετρωμένοι. **31.** ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ τῶν τετρωμένων ἕνεκα, καὶ ἅμα ἐπιτιήδεια πολλὰ εἶχον, ἄλευρα, οἶνον, κριθὰς ἵπποις συμβεβλημένας πολλὰς. ταῦτα δὲ συνενηνεγμένα ἦν τῷ σατραπεύοντι τῆς χώρας. τετάρτῃ δ' ἡμέρᾳ καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὸ πεδίον.

32. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς Τισσαφέρνης σὺν τῇ δυνάμει, ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ἡ ἀνάγκη κατασκηνησάμενοι οὐ πρῶτον εἶδον κώμην, καὶ μὴ πορεύεσθαι ἔτι μαχομένους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀπόμαχοι, οἱ τετρωμένοι καὶ οἱ ἐκείνους φέροντες καὶ οἱ τῶν φερόντων τὰ ὄπλα δεξάμενοι. **33.** ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεσκήνησαν, καὶ ἐπεχείρησαν αὐτοῖς ἀκροβολίζεσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς τὴν κώμην προσιόντες, πολὺ περιῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· πολὺ γὰρ διέφερον ἐκ χώρας ὀρμώντες ἀλέξασθαι, ἢ πορευόμενοι ἐπιούσι τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι. **34.** Ἦνίκα δ' ἦν ἤδη δέιλη, ὥρα ἦν ἀπιέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις· οὐποτε γὰρ μείων ἀπεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐξήκοντα σταδίων, φοβούμενοι μὴ τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιθῶνται αὐτοῖς. **35.** πονηρὸν γὰρ νυκτὸς ἐστὶ στράτευμα Περσικόν. οἳ τε γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς δέδενται, καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πεποδισμένοι εἰσὶ, τοῦ μὴ φεύγειν ἕνεκα εἰ λυθείησαν· εἰ δὲ τις θόρυβος γίγνηται, δεῖ ἐπισάξαι τὸν ἵππον Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ χαλινῶσαι δεῖ, καὶ θωρακισθέντα ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα χαλεπὰ νύκτωρ καὶ θορύβου ὄντος. τούτου ἕνεκα πόρρω ἀπεσκήνουν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. **36.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγίγνωσκον αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες βουλομένους ἀπιέναι καὶ διαγγελλομένους, ἐκήρυξε τοῖς Ἕλλησι συσκευάζεσθαι ἀκούοντων τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐπέσχον τῆς πορείας οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὄψε ἐγίγνετο, ἀπήεσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει

λύειν αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς πορεύεσθαι καὶ κατὰγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ
 - στρατόπεδον. **37.** Ἐπειδὴ δὲ σαφῶς ἀπὸνόντας ἦδη ἐώρων
 οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπορεύοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναξεύξαντες, καὶ
 διήλθον ὅσον ἐξήκοντα σταδίους. καὶ γίγνεται τοσούτου
 μεταξὺ τῶν στρατευμάτων, ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οὐκ ἐφά-
 νησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, οὐδὲ τῇ τρίτῃ· τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ νυκτὸς
 προελθόντες καταλαμβάνουσι χωρίον ὑπερδέξιον οἱ βάρ-
 βαροι, ἢ ἔμελλον οἱ Ἕλληνες παρίεναι, ἀκρωνυχίαν ὄρους,
 ὑφ' ἣν ἡ κατάβασις ἦν εἰς τὸ πεδίον.

38. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἑώρα Χειρίσοφος προκατελλημμένην τὴν
 ἀκρωνυχίαν, καλεῖ Ξενοφῶντα ἀπὸ τῆς οὐράς, καὶ κελεύει
 λαβόντα τοὺς πελταστὰς παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν.
39. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφὼν τοὺς μὲν πελταστὰς οὐκ ἤγεν· ἐπιφαι-
 νόμενον γὰρ ἑώρα Τισσαφέρην καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν·
 αὐτὸς δὲ προσελύσας ἡρώτα, Τί καλεῖς; ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ·
 Ἐξεστὶν ὁρᾶν· προκατείληπται γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς
 καταβάσεως λόφος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι παρελθεῖν εἰ μὴ τούτους
 ἀποκόψομεν. ἀλλὰ τί οὐκ ἤγες τοὺς πελταστὰς; **40.** ὁ δὲ
 λέγει ὅτι οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἔρημα καταλιπεῖν τὸ ὅπισθεν,
 πολεμίων ἐπιφαινομένων. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὥρα γ', ἔφη, βου-
 λεύεσθαι πῶς τις τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπελᾷ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου.
41. Ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφὼν ὁρᾷ τοῦ ὄρους τὴν κορυφὴν ὑπὲρ
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατεύματος οὔσαν, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης
 ἐφοδὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ λέγει·
 Κράτιστον, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἡμῖν ἴεσθαι ὡς τύχιστα ἐπὶ τὸ
 ἄκρον· ἦν γὰρ τοῦτο λάβωμεν, οὐ δυνήσονται μένειν οἱ
 ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἀλλὰ, εἰ βούλει, μένε ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι,
 ἐγὼ δ' ἐθέλω πορεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ χρήξεις, πορεύου ἐπὶ τὸ
 ὄρος, ἐγὼ δὲ μενῶ αὐτοῦ. **42.** Ἀλλὰ δίδωμί σοι, ἔφη ὁ
 Χειρίσοφος, ὁπότερον βούλει ἐλέσθαι. εἰπὼν ὁ Ξενοφὼν
 ὅτι νεώτερός ἐστιν, αἰρεῖται πορεύεσθαι, κελεύει δὲ οἱ

συμπέμψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἄνδρας· μακρὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς λαβεῖν.

43. Καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος συμπέμπει τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος πελταστῆς· ἔλαβε δὲ τοὺς κατὰ μέσον τοῦ πλαισίου. συνέπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους, οὓς αὐτὸς εἶχε τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ πλαισίου.

44. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο ὡς ἐδύναντο τάχιστα. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου πολέμιοι, ὡς ἐνόησαν αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, εὐθὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὤρμησαν ἀμιλλᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον.

45. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ μὲν κραυγὴ ἦν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ στρατεύματος διακελευομένων τοῖς ἑαυτῶν, πολλὴ δὲ κραυγὴ τῶν ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρην τοῖς ἑαυτῶν διακελευομένων.

46. Ξενοφῶν δὲ, παρελαύνων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου, παρεκελεύετο· Ἄνδρες, νῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζετε ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, νῦν ὀλίγον πονήσαντες ἀμαχεῖ τὴν λοιπὴν πορευσόμεθα. **47.** Σωτηρίδας δὲ ὁ Σικυώνιος εἶπεν. Οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἐσμέν· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππου ὀχεῖ, ἐγὼ δὲ χαλεπῶς κάμνω, τὴν ἀσπίδα φέρων.

48. καὶ ὃς ἀκούσας ταῦτα, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, ὠθείται αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως, καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀφελόμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἔχων ἐπορεύετο· ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ θώρακα ἔχων τὸν ἱππικόν· ὥστε ἐπιέζετο. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὑπάγειν παρεκελεύετο, τοῖς δὲ ὀπισθεν παρίεναι μόλις ἐπομένοις. **49.** οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατιῶται παίουσι καὶ βύλλουσι καὶ λοιδοροῦσι τὸν Σωτηρίδαν, ἔστε ἠνώγκασαν λαβόντα τὴν ἀσπίδα πορεύεσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἀναβὺς, ἕως μὲν βάσιμα ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἦγεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄβατα ἦν, καταλιπὼν τὸν ἵππον ἔσπευδε πεζῇ· καὶ φθάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ γενόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους.

V. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι στραφέντες ἔφευγον ἢ ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες εἶχον τὸ ἄκρον. οἱ δὲ

ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρην καὶ Ἀριαῖον ἀποτραπόμενοι ἄλλην ὁδὸν ὄχοντο. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον, καταβύντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν κώμῃ μεστῇ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι κῶμαι πολλαὶ πλήρεις πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πεδίῳ παρὰ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν. 2. ἡνίκα δ' ἦν δείλη, ἑξαπίνης οἱ πολέμοιοι ἐπιφαίνονται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέκοψάν τινες τῶν ἐσκεδασμένων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καθ' ἀρπαγὴν· καὶ γὰρ νομαὶ πολλαὶ βοσκημάτων διαβιβαζόμεναι εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελήφθησαν. 3. Ἐνταῦθα Τισσαφέρηνς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κάειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὰς κώμας. καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μάλα ἠθύμησάν τινες, ἐννοοῦμενοι μὴ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ κάοιεν, οὐκ ἔχοιεν ὁπόθεν λαμβάνοιεν. 4. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἀπῆσαν ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐπεὶ κατέβη, παρελθὼν τὰς τάξεις ἡνίκα ἀπὸ τῆς βοηθείας ἀπήντησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔλεγεν· 5. Ὁράτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ὑφίεντας τὴν χώραν ἥδη ἡμετέραν εἶναι; ἃ γὰρ ὅτε ἐσπένδοντο διεπρώττοντο, μὴ κάειν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, νῦν αὐτοὶ κάουσιν ὡς ἄλλοτρίαν. ἀλλ' εἴαν που καταλίπωσί γε αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὄψονται καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα πορευομένους. 6. ἀλλ', ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς κάοντας ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν. Οὐκ οὐν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, κάωμεν, καὶ οὕτω θάττον παύσονται.

7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἀπῆλθον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι περὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν, στρατηγοὶ δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὶ συνῆλθον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ ἀπορία ἦν. ἔνθεν μὲν γὰρ ὄρη ἦν ὑπερύψηλα, ἔνθεν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς τοσοῦτος τὸ βάθος, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ δόρατα ὑπερέχειν πειρωμένοις τοῦ βάθους. 8. ἀπορουμένοις δ' αὐτοῖς προσελθὼν τις ἀνὴρ Ῥόδιος εἶπεν. Ἐγὼ θέλω, ὦ ἄνδρες, διαβιβάσαι ὑμᾶς κατὰ τετρα-

κισχιλίους ὀπλίτας, ἂν ἐμοὶ ὧν δέομαι ὑπηρετήσητε, καὶ τάλαντον μισθὸν πορίσητε. 9. ἐρωτώμενος δὲ οὗτου δέοιτο, Ἀσκῶν, ἔφη, δισχιλίων δεήσομαι· πολλὰ δ' ὁρῶ πρόβατα καὶ αἰγας καὶ βοῦς καὶ ὄνους, ἃ ὑποδαρέντα καὶ φυσηθέντα ῥαδίως ἂν παρέχοι τὴν διάβασιν. 10. δεήσομαι δὲ καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν οἷς χρήσθε περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· τούτοις ζεύξας τοὺς ἀσκούς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὀρμίσας ἕκαστον ἀσκὸν λίθους ἀρτήσας καὶ ἀφείς ὥσπερ ἀγκύρας εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, διαγαγὼν καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν δήσας, ἐπιβαλὼ ὕλην καὶ γῆν ἐπιφορήσω. 11. ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ καταδύσεσθε αὐτίκα μίλα εἴσεσθε· πᾶς γὰρ ἀσκὸς δύο ἄνδρας ἔξει τοῦ μὴ καταδύναι· ὥστε δὲ μὴ ὀλισθάνειν ἢ ὕλη καὶ ἢ γῆ σχήσει. 12. Ἀκούσασι ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα χαρίεν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἔργον ἀδύνατον· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ κωλύσונτες πέραν πολλοὶ ἰππεῖς, οἱ εὐθὺς τοῖς πρῶτοις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐπέτρεπον τούτων ποιεῖν. 13. ἐνταῦθα τὴν μὲν ὑστεραίαν ἐπανεχώρουν εἰς τοῦμπαλιν [ἢ πρὸς Βαρυλῶνα] εἰς τὰς ἀκαύστους κώμας, κατακαύσαντες ἔνθεν ἐξήσαν· ὥστε οἱ πολέμιοι οὐ προσήλαννον, ἀλλὰ ἐθέωντο, καὶ ὅμοιοι ἦσαν θαυμάζειν ὅποι ποτὲ τρέφονται οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ τί ἐν νῶ ἔχουσιν.

14. Ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ πάλιν συνηλθον, καὶ συναγαγόντες τοὺς ἐαλωκότας ἤλεγχον τὴν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν χώραν τίς ἐκάστη εἴη. 15. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι τὰ μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τῆς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα εἴη καὶ Μηδίαν, δι' ἧσπερ ἦκοιεν· ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἑω ἐπὶ Σοῦσά τε καὶ Ἐκβύτανα φέροι, ἔνθα θερίζειν καὶ ἐαρίζειν λέγεται βασιλεὺς· ἡ δὲ διαβάντι τὸν ποταμὸν πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐπὶ Λυδίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν φέροι· ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένη, ὅτι εἰς Καρδούχους ἄγοι. 16. τούτους δὲ ἔφασαν οἰκεῖν ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, καὶ πολεμικοὺς εἶναι, καὶ βασιλέως

οὐκ ἀκούειν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμβαλεῖν ποτε εἰς αὐτοὺς βασιλικὴν στρατιὰν, δώδεκα μυριάδας· τούτων δ' οὐδένα ἀπονοστήσαι διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν. ὁπότε μέντοι πρὸς τὸν σατράπην τὸν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ σπείσαιντο, καὶ ἐπιμυγνύναι σφῶν τε πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ ἐκείνων πρὸς ἑαυτούς. **17.** Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκύθισαν χωρὶς τοὺς ἑκασταχόσε φάσκοντας εἰδέναι, οὐδὲν δῆλον ποιήσαντες ὅποι πορεύεσθαι ἔμελλον. ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι διὰ τῶν ὁρέων εἰς Καρδούχους ἐμβάλλειν· τούτους γὰρ διελθόντας ἔφασαν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἥξειν, ἧς Ὀρόντας ἦρχε πολλῆς καὶ εὐδαίμονος. ἐντεῦθεν δ' εὐπορον ἔφασαν εἶναι ὅποι τις ἐθέλοι πορεύεσθαι. **18.** ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύσαντο, ὅπως ἡνίκα καὶ δοκοίη τῆς ὥρας τὴν πορείαν ποιοῦντο· τὴν γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ὁρέων ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ προκαταληφθεῖν· καὶ παρήγγειλαν, ἐπειδὴ δειπνήσειαν, συσκευασαμένους πάντας ἀναπαύεσθαι, καὶ ἔπεσθαι ἡνίκ' ἂν τις παραγγέλλῃ.

BOOK FOURTH.

1 Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐγένετο μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἃς βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες Ἕλληνες ἐποίησαντο, καὶ ὅσα, παραβάντος τὰς σπονδὰς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνης, ἐπολεμήθη πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπακολουθούντος τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. **2.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἔνθα ὁ μὲν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παντάπασιν ἄπορος ἦν διὰ τὸ βάθος καὶ μέγεθος, πύροδος δὲ οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ τὰ Καρδούχεια ὄρη ἀπότομα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκρέματο, ἐδόκει δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς διὰ τῶν ὁρέων πορευτέον εἶναι. **3.** ἤκουον γὰρ τῶν ἀλίσκομένων

ὅτι, εἰ διέλθοιεν τὰ Καρδούχεια ὄρη, ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ, ἣν μὲν βούλονται, διαβήσονται, ἣν δὲ μὴ βούλονται, περιίασι. καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου δὲ τὰς πηγὰς ἐλέγετο οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Τίγρητος εἶναι, καὶ ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον. 4. τὴν δ' εἰς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἐμβολὴν ὧδε ποιοῦνται, ἅμα μὲν λαθεῖν πειρώμενοι, ἅμα δὲ φθύσαι πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους καταλαβεῖν τὰ ἄκρα.

5. Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν, καὶ ἐλείπετο τῆς νυκτὸς ὅσον σκοταίους διελθεῖν τὸ πεδίον, τηνικαῦτα ἀναστάντες ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως, πορευόμενοι ἀφικνούνται ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. 6. ἔνθα δὲ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγείτο τοῦ στρατεύματος, λαβὼν τὸ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς γυμνήτας πάντας, Ξενοφῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξιν ὀπλίταις εἶπετο, οὐδένα ἔχων γυμνήτα· οὐδεὶς γὰρ κίνδυνος ἐδόκει εἶναι, μή τις ἄνω πορευομένων ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθεν ἐπίσποιτο. 7. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβαίνει Χειρίσοφος, πρὶν τινα αἰσθῆσθαι τῶν πολεμίων· ἔπειτα δ' ὑφηγείτο· ἐφείπετο δὲ αἰεὶ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τοῦ στρατεύματος εἰς τὰς κώμας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄγκεσί τε καὶ μυχοῖς τῶν ὀρέων. 8. Ἐνθα δὲ οἱ μὲν Καρδούχοι ἐκλιπόντες τὰς οἰκίας, ἔχοντες καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη· τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἦν λαμβάνειν, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ χαλκώμασι παμπόλλοις κατεσκευασμένοι αἱ οἰκίαι, ὧν οὐδὲν ἔφερον οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐδίωκον, ὑποφειδόμενοι, εἴ πως ἐθελήσειαν οἱ Καρδούχοι διέναι αὐτοὺς ὡς διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας, ἐπείπερ βασιλεῖ πολέμοι ἦσαν. 9. τὰ μέντοι ἐπιτήδεια ὅτῳ τις ἐπιτυγχάνοι ἐλάμβανον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν. οἱ δὲ Καρδούχοι οὔτε καλούντων ὑπήκουον, οὔτε ἄλλο φιλικὸν οὐδὲν ἐποίουν.

10. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέβαινον εἰς τὰς κώμας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου, ἥδη σκοταῖοι, — διὰ γὰρ τὸ

στενήν εἶναι τὴν ὁδόν, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἢ ἀνάβασις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο καὶ κατάβασις εἰς τὰς κόμας, — τότε δὴ συλλεγόντες τινὲς τῶν Καρδούχων τοῖς τελευταίοις ἐπέθεντο, καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τινας, καὶ λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι κατέτρωσαν, ὀλίγοι ὄντες· ἐξ ἀπροσδοκίτου γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπέπεσε τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. **11.** εἰ μέντοι τότε πλείους συνελέγησαν, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν διαφθαρῆναι πολὺ τοῦ στρατεύματος. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νύκτα οὕτως ἐν ταῖς κόμαις ἡλίσθησαν· οἱ δὲ Καρδούχοι πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαον κύκλῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑρέων, καὶ συνεώρων ἀλλήλους. **12.** Ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθούσι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἴδοξε τῶν τε ὑποζυγίων τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ δυνατώτατα ἔχοντας πορεύεσθαι, καταλιπόντας τᾶλλα, καὶ ὅσα ἦν νεωστὶ αἰχμάλωτα ἀνδράποδα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάντα ἀφεῖναι. **13.** σχολαίαν γὰρ ἐποίουν τὴν πορείαν, πολλὰ ὄντα, τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα· πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄντες ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν, διπλάσιά τε ἐπιτιθήδεια ἔδει πορίζεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι, πολλῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντων. δόξαν δὲ ταῦτα, ἐκήρυξαν οὕτω ποιεῖν.

14. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀριστήσαντες ἐπορεύοντο, ὑποστάντες ἐν στενῷ οἱ στρατηγοὶ, εἴ τι εὐρίσκοιεν τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ ἀφειμένον, ἀφηροῦντο· οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο, πλὴν· εἴ τίς τι ἐκλεψεν, οἶον ἢ παιδὸς ἐπιθυμήσας ἢ γυναικὸς τῶν εὐπρεπῶν. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἐπορεύθησαν, τὰ μὲν τι μαχόμενοι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀναπανόμενοι. **15.** εἰς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν γίγνεται χειμῶν πολλὺς, ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἦν πορεύεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἱκανὰ τὰπιτήδεια. καὶ ἡγείτο μὲν Χειρίσοφος, ὠπισθοφυλάκει δὲ Ξενοφῶν. **16.** καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ στενῶν ὄντων τῶν χωρίων, ἐγγὺς προσιόντες ἐτόξευον καὶ ἐσφενδόνων· ὥστε ἡναγκάζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπιδιώκοντες καὶ πάλιν ἀναχά-

ζοντες, σχολῇ πορεύεσθαι· καὶ θαμινὰ παρήγγελλεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὑπομένειν, ὅτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπικέκοντο.

17. Ἐνθα ὁ Χειρίσοφος ἄλλοτε μὲν ὅτε παρεγγυῶτο ὑπέμενε, τότε δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμενε, ἀλλ' ἤγε ταχέως καὶ παρηγγυάεσθαι, ὥστε δῆλον ἦν ὅτι πρᾶγμα τι εἶη· σχολῇ δ' οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν παρελθόντι τὸ αἴτιον τῆς σπουδῆς· ὥστε ἡ πορεία ὁμοία φυγῇ ἐγίνετο τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι. **18.** καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθνήσκει ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς Λακωνικὸς Κλεώνυμος, τοξευθεὶς διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος καὶ τῆς σπολάδος εἰς τὰς πλευράς, καὶ Βασίᾳς Ἀρκᾶς, διαμπερὲς τὴν κεφαλὴν. **19.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ σταθμῶν, εὐθὺς ὥσπερ εἶχεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον, ᾗτιᾶτο αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐχ ὑπέμενε, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάζοντο φεύγοντες ἅμα μάχεσθαι. καὶ νῦν δύο καλῶ τε καὶ αὐθὺς ἀνδρε τέθνατον, καὶ οὔτε ἀνελεῖσθαι οὔτε θάψαι ἐδυνάμεθα. **20.** ἀποκρίνεται ὁ Χειρίσοφος· Βλέφον, ἔφη, πρὸς τὰ ὄρη, καὶ ἰδὲ ὡς ἄβατα πάντα ἐστί· μία δ' αὕτη ὁδὸς ἦν ὁρᾶς ὀρθία, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾶν ἔξεστί σοι ὄχλον τοσοῦτον, οἱ κατειληφότες φυλάττουσι τὴν ἐκβασιν. **21.** ταῦτ' ἐγὼ ἔσπευδον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτό σε οὐχ ὑπέμενον, εἰ πως δυναίμην φθάσαι πρὶν κατειληφθαι τὴν ὑπερβολήν· οἱ δ' ἡγεμόνες οὓς ἔχομεν οὐ φασιν εἶναι ἄλλην ὁδόν. **22.** ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν λέγει· Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἔχω δύο ἀνδρας. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν πράγματα παρεῖχον, ἐνηδρεύσαμεν, ὅπερ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι ἐποίησε, καὶ ἀπεκτείνανμέν τινας αὐτῶν, καὶ ζῶντας προὔθυμήθημεν λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ τούτου ἔνεκα, ὅπως ἡγεμόσιν εἰδόσι τὴν χώραν χρῆσαιμεθα.

23. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀγαγόντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἤλεγχον διαλαβόντες εἰ τινα εἰδείεν ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἢ τὴν φανεράν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἕτερος οὐκ ἔφη, μάλα πολλῶν φόβων προσαγομένων· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀφέλιμον ἔλεγεν, ὁρῶντος τοῦ ἑτέρου

κατεσφάγη. 24. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ἔλεξεν ὅτι οὗτος μὲν οὐ φαίη διὰ ταῦτα εἰδέναι, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐτύγχανε θυγίτηρ ἐκεῖ παρ' ἀνδρὶ ἐκδεδομένη· αὐτὸς δ' ἔφη ἡγήσεσθαι δυνατὴν καὶ ὑποζυγίοις πορεύεσθαι ὁδόν. 25. ἐρωτώμενος δ' εἰ εἴη τι ἐν αὐτῇ δυσπάριτον χωρίον, ἔφη εἶναι ἄκρον, ὃ εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήψοιτο, ἀδύνατον ἔσεσθαι παρελθεῖν. 26. Ἐν ταῦτα ἑδόκει, συγκαλέσαντας λοχαγούς καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, λέγειν τε τὰ παρόντα, καὶ ἐρωτᾶν εἰ τις αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐθέλοι ἂν γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑποστὰς ἐθελοντῆς πορεύεσθαι. 27. ὑφίσταται τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς Ἀρκὰς καὶ Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος Ἀρκὰς, ἀντιστασιάζων δὲ αὐτοῖς Καλλίμαχος Παρρῆσιος Ἀρκὰς, καὶ οὗτος ἔφη ἐθέλειν πορεύεσθαι, προσλαβὼν ἐθελοντὰς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος· ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, οἶδα ὅτι ἔψονται πολλοὶ τῶν νέων ἐμοῦ ἡγούμενου. 28. ἐκ τούτου ἐρωτῶσιν εἰ τις καὶ τῶν γυμνήτων ταξιάρχων ἐθέλοι συμπορεύεσθαι. ὑφίσταται Ἀριστέας Χίος, ὃς πολλαχοῦ πολλοῦ ἀξίως τῇ στρατιᾷ εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο.

II. Καὶ ἦν μὲν δεῖλη ἡδὴ, οἱ δ' ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ἐμ-
φαγόντας πορεύεσθαι. καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δῆσαντες παρα-
διδόασιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συντίθενται τὴν μὲν νύκτα, ἣν λάβωσι
τὸ ἄκρον, τὸ χωρίον φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ σάλ-
πιγγι σημαίνειν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἦνω ὄντας ἵεναι ἐπὶ τοὺς
κατέχοντας τὴν φανεράν ἑκβασιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ συμβοηθήσειν
ἐκβαίνοντες ὡς ἂν δύνωνται τάχιστα. 2. Ταῦτα συνθέμε-
νοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο πλῆθος ὡς δισχίλιοι· καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ
ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔχων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας
ἡγεῖτο πρὸς τὴν φανεράν ἑκβασιν, ὅπως ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ οἱ
πολέμιοι προσέχοιεν τὸν νοῦν, καὶ ὡς μάλιστα λάθοιεν οἱ
περιμόντες. 3. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ χαράδρᾳ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλα-

κες, ἣν ἔδει διαβάντας πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον ἐκβαίνειν, τῆνικαῦτα ἐκυλίνδουν οἱ βάρβαροι ὁλοιτρόχους ἀμαξιαίους, καὶ μεΐζους καὶ ἐλάττους, οἱ φερόμενοι πρὸς τὰς πέτρας παίοντες διεσφενδονῶντο· καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲ πελάσαι οἶόν τ' ἦν τῇ εἰσόδῳ. 4. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν λοχαγῶν, εἰ μὴ ταύτῃ δύναιντο, ἄλλῃ ἐπειρῶντο· καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίουν μέχρι σκότος ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὤοντο ἀφανεῖς εἶναι ἀπίοντες, τότε ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῦπνον· ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ ἀνύριστοι ὄντες αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφυλακήσαντες. οἱ μέντοι πολέμιοι οὐδὲν ἐπαύσαντο δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς κυλινδούμενους τοὺς λίθους· τεκμαίρεσθαι δ' ἦν τῷ ψόφῳ.

5. Οἱ δ' ἔχοντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα, κύκλῳ περιμόντες, καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς φύλακας ἀμφὶ πῦρ καθήμενους· καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατακανόντες, τοὺς δὲ καταδιώξαντες, αὐτοὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἔμμενον ὡς τὸ ἄκρον κατέχοντες. 6. οἱ δ' οὐ κατεῖχον, ἀλλὰ μαστὸς ἦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, παρ' ὃν ἦν ἡ στενὴ αὕτη ὁδὸς, ἐφ' ἣ ἐκάθηντο οἱ φύλακες. ἔφοδος μέντοι αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦν, οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ φανερᾷ ὁδῷ ἐκάθηντο. 7. Καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἐνταῦθα διήγαγον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ὑπέφαινε, ἐπορεύοντο σιγῇ συντεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ γὰρ ὁμίχλη ἐγένετο, ὥστ' ἔλαθον ἐγγὺς προσελθόντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον ἀλλήλους, ἥ τε σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο, καὶ ἀλαλάξαντες ἔεντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ λιπόντες τὴν ὁδόν, φεύγοντες ὀλίγοι ἀπέθνησκον· εὐζῶνοι γὰρ ἦσαν. 8. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον, ἀκούσαντες τῆς σάλπιγγος, εὐθὺς ἔεντο ἄνω κατὰ τὴν φανεράν ὁδόν· ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατὰ ἀτρυβεῖς ὁδοὺς ἐπορεύοντο, ἣ ἔτυχον ἕκαστοι ὄντες, καὶ ἀναβάντες ὡς ἐδύναντο, ἀνίμων ἀλλήλους τοῖς δόρασι. 9. καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι συνέμιζαν τοῖς προκαταλαβοῦσι τὸ χωρίον. Ξενοφῶν δὲ, ἔχων τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων τοὺς ἡμίσεις, ἐπορεύετο

ἥπερ οἱ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἔχοντες· εὐδωτάτη γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις· τοὺς δὲ ἡμίσεις ὅπισθεν τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἔταξε.

10. Πορευόμενοι δ' ἐντυγχάνουσι λόφῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ, κατειλημμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οὓς ἡ ἀποκόψαι ἀνάγκη ἢ διεξεύχθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀνέπορεύθησαν ἥπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια οὐκ ἦν ἄλλη ἢ ταύτῃ ἐκβῆναι. **11.** ἔνθα δὴ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις, προσβύλλουσι πρὸς τὸν λόφον ὀρθίοις τοῖς λόχοις, οὐ κύκλῳ, ἀλλὰ καταλιπόντες ἄφοδον τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ βούλουτο φεύγειν. **12.** καὶ τέως μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας, ὅπῃ ἐδύναντο ἕκαστος, οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτόξευον καὶ ἔβαλλον, ἐγγὺς δ' οὐ προσίεντο, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ λείπουσι τὸ χωρίον. καὶ τοῦτόν τε παρεληλύθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἕτερον ὁρῶσιν ἔμπροσθεν λόφον κατεχόμενον· ἐπὶ τοῦτον αὐθις ἐδόκει πορεύεσθαι. **13.** Ἐννοήσας δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν, μὴ, εἰ ἔρημον καταλίποι τὸν ἡλωκότα λόφον, καὶ πάλιν λαβόντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιθοῖντο τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις παριούσιν, — ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἦν τὰ ὑποζύγια, ἅτε διὰ στενῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ πορευόμενα, — καταλείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου λοχαγοὺς Κηφισόδωρον Κηφισοφῶντος Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Ἀμφικρίτην Ἀμφιδήμου Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Ἀρχαγόραν Ἀργεῖον φυγάδα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον λόφον, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοῦτον αἰροῦσιν. **14.** Ἔτι δ' αὐτοῖς τρίτος μαστὸς λοιπὸς ἦν, πολὺ ὀρθιώτατος, ὃ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ καταληφθείσης φυλακῆς τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθελούτων. **15.** ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀμαχητὶ τὸν μαστὸν, ὥστε θαυμαστὸν πᾶσι γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑπώπτεον δείσαντας αὐτοὺς μὴ κυκλωθέντες πολιορκοῖντο ἀπολιπεῖν. οἱ δ' ἄρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου καθορῶντες τὰ ὅπισθεν γιγνόμενα, πάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἐχώρουν. **16.** καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν σὺν τοῖς νεω-

τάτοις ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν ὑπάγειν, ὅπως οἱ τελευταῖοι λόχοι προσμίξειαν, καὶ προελθόντας κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα εἶπε.

17. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἦλθεν Ἀρχαγόρας ὁ Ἀργεῖος πεφευγώς, καὶ λέγει ὡς ἀπεκόπησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόφου, καὶ ὅτι τεθνᾷσι Κηφισόδωρος καὶ Ἀμφικράτης, καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι μὴ ἀλλόμενοι κατὰ τῆς πέτρας πρὸς τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἀφίκοντο. **18.** ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξίμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἦκον ἐπ' ἀντίπορον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ· καὶ Ξενοφῶν διελέγετο αὐτοῖς δι' ἑρμηνέως περὶ σπονδῶν, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆτει. **19.** οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ἀποδώσειν ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ κείναι τὰς οἰκίας. συνωμολόγει ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στράτευμα παρῆει, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα διελέγοντο, πάντες οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου συνερρύησαν. **20.** ἐνταῦθα ἴσταντο οἱ πολέμιοι. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἤρξαντο καταβαίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ μαστοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἔνθα τὰ ὄπλα ἔκειντο, ἴεντο δὴ οἱ πολέμιοι πολλῷ πλήθει καὶ θορύβῳ· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ μαστοῦ, ἀφ' οὗ Ξενοφῶν κατέβαινεν, ἐκυλίνδουν πέτρας· καὶ ἐνὸς μὲν κατέαξαν τὸ σκέλος, Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ὁ ὑπασπιστὴς ἔχων τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπέλιπεν. **21.** Εὐρύλοχος δὲ Λουσιεὺς Ἀρκὺς προσέδραμεν αὐτῷ, ὀπλίτης, καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοῖν προβεβλημένος ἀπεχώρει, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς συντεταγμένους ἀπῆλθον. **22.** Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶν ὁμοῦ ἐγένετο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ ἐσκήνησαν αὐτοῦ, ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐπιτηδείοις δαψιλέσι· καὶ γὰρ οἶνος πολὺς ἦν, ὥστε ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς εἶχον. **23.** Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος διεπράξαντο ὥστε λαβόντες τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπέδωκαν τὸν ἡγεμόνα· καὶ πάντα ἐποίησαν τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν, ὥσπερ νομίζεται ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς.

24. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄνευ ἡγεμόνος ἐπορεύοντο· μαχόμενοι δ' οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ ὅπῃ εἴη στενὸν χωρίον προκαταλαμβάνοντες, ἐκώλουν τὰς παρόδους. 25. ὁπότε μὲν οὖν τοὺς πρώτους κωλύοιεν, Ξενοφῶν ὅπισθεν ἐκβαίνων πρὸς τὰ ὄρη ἔλue τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς πρώτοις, ἀνωτέρω πειρώμενος γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλούντων. 26. ὁπότε δὲ τοῖς ὅπισθεν ἐπιθοῖντο, Χειρίσοφος ἐκβαίνων, καὶ πειρώμενος ἀνωτέρω γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλούντων, ἔλue τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς ὅπισθεν· καὶ αἰεὶ οὕτως ἐβοήθουν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἀλλήλων ἐπεμέλοντο. 27. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁπότε αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀναβάσι πολλὰ πράγματα παρεῖχον οἱ βάρβαροι πάλιν καταβαίνουσιν· ἐλαφροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐγγύθεν φεύγοντες ἀποφεύγειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶχον ἄλλο ἢ τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας. 28. ἄριστοι δὲ τοξοταὶ ἦσαν· εἶχον δὲ τόξα ἐγγὺς τριπήχη, τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα πλέον ἢ διπήχη· εἰλκον δὲ τὰς νευρὰς, ὁπότε τοξεύοιεν, πρὸς τὸ κάτω τοῦ τόξου τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προβαίνοντες. τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα ἐχώρει διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωράκων. ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ λάβοιεν, ἀκοντίοις, ἐναγκυλῶντες. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις οἱ Κρήτες χρησιμώτατοι ἐγένοντο. ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Στρατοκλῆς Κρής.

III. Ταύτην δ' αὖ τὴν ἡμέραν ἡγύλισθησαν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Κεντρίτην ποταμόν, εὖρος ὡς δίπλεθρον, ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Καρδούχων χώραν. καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐνταῦθα ἀνεπαύσαντο ἄσμενοι, ἰδόντες πεδίον· ἀπέειχε δὲ τῶν ὁρέων ὁ ποταμὸς ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια τῶν Καρδούχων. 2. τότε μὲν οὖν ἡγύλισθησαν μάλα ἡδέως, καὶ τὰπιτήδεια ἔχοντες καὶ πολλὰ τῶν παρεληλυθότων πόνων μνημονεύοντες. ἑπτὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας, ὅσασπερ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῶν Καρδούχων, πάσας μαχόμενοι διετέλεσαν, καὶ ἔπαθον κακὰ ὅσα οὐδὲ

τὰ σύμπαντα ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους. ὡς οὖν ἀπηλλαγμένοι τούτων, ἡδέως ἐκοιμήθησαν.

3. "Αμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὁρώσιν ἱππέας που πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἐξωπλισμένους ὡς κωλύσοντας διαβαίνειν, πεζοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις παρατεταγμένους ἄνω τῶν ἱππέων, ὡς κωλύσοντας εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐκβαίνειν. 4. ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Ὀρόντα καὶ Ἀρτούχα, Ἀρμένιοι καὶ Μύρδοι καὶ Χαλδαῖοι μισθοφόροι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐλευθεροὶ τε καὶ ἄλκιμοι εἶναι. ὅπλα δ' εἶχον γέρρα μακρὰ καὶ λόγχας. 5. αἱ δὲ ὄχθαι αὗται, ἐφ' ὧν παρατεταγμένοι οὗτοι ἦσαν, τρία ἢ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπέιχον. ὁδὸς δὲ μία ἢ ὀρωμένη ἦν ἄγουσα ἄνω, ὥσπερ χειροποίητος. ταύτῃ ἐπειρῶντο διαβαίνειν οἱ Ἕλληνες. 6. ἐπεὶ δὲ πειρωμένοις τό τε ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν ἐφαίνετο, καὶ τραχὺς ἦν ὁ ποταμὸς μεγάλους λίθοις καὶ ὀλισθηροῖς, — καὶ οὗτ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τὰ ὅπλα ἦν ἔχειν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἥρπαξεν ὁ ποταμός. ἐπὶ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ ὅπλα εἴ τις φέροι, γυμνοὶ ἐγίνοντο πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα καὶ τᾶλλα βέλη, — ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν. 7. Ἐνθα δὲ αὐτοὶ τὴν πρόσθεν νύκτα ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους, ἐώρων τοὺς Καρδούχους πολλοὺς συνειλεγμένους ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ἐνταῦθα δὲ πολλὴ ἀθυμία ἦν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὁρώσι μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν δυσπορίαν, ὁρώσι δὲ τοὺς διαβαίνειν κωλύσοντας, ὁρώσι δὲ τοῖς διαβαίνουσιν ἐπικεισομένους τοὺς Καρδούχους ὀπισθεν. 8. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἔμειναν ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ὄντες. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὄναρ εἶδεν. ἔδοξεν ἐν πέδαις δεδέσθαι, αὗται δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτόμαται περιρρυῆναι, ὥστε λυθῆναι καὶ διαβαίνειν ὅποσον ἐβούλετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄρθρος ἦν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον, καὶ λέγει ὅτι ἐλπίδας ἔχει καλῶς ἔσσεσθαι, καὶ διηγείται αὐτῷ τὸ ὄναρ. 9. ὁ δὲ ἡδεῖς τε καὶ ὡς τά-

χιστα ἕως ὑπέφαιναν, ἐθύοντο πάντες παρόντες οἱ στρατηγοί· καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἦν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου. καὶ ἀπίοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ παρήγγελλον τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι.

10. Καὶ ἀριστῶντι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι προσέτρεχον δύο νεανίσκω· ᾗδεσαν γὰρ πάντες ὅτι ἐξείη αὐτῷ καὶ ἀριστῶντι καὶ δειπνῶντι προσελθεῖν, καὶ εἰ καθεύδοι ἐπεγείραντα εἰπεῖν, εἴ τίς τι ἔχοι τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.

11. καὶ τότε ἔλεγον ὅτι τυγχάνοιεν φρύγανα συλλέγοντες ὥς ἐπὶ πῦρ, κᾶπειτα κατίδοιεν ἐν τῷ πέραν, ἐν πέτραις καθηκούσαις ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν, γέροντά τε καὶ γυναικα καὶ παιδίσκας ὥσπερ μαρσίπους ἱματίων κατατιθεμένους ἐν πέτρᾳ ἀντρώδει. **12.** ἰδοῦσι δέ σφισι δόξαι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διαβῆναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἱππεύσι προσβατὸν εἶναι κατὰ τοῦτο. ἐκδύντες δ' ἔφασαν ἔχοντες τὰ ἐγχειρίδια γυμνοὶ ὥς νευσόμενοι διαβαίνειν· πορευόμενοι δὲ πρόσθεν διαβῆναι πρὶν βρέξαι τὰ αἰδοῖα· καὶ διαβύντες καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ἱμάτια πάλιν ἤκειν. **13.** Εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ Ξενοφὼν αὐτός τε ἔσπενδε, καὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἐγχεῖν ἐκέλευε, καὶ εὐχεσθαι τοῖς φήνασι θεοῖς τά τε ὀνείρατα καὶ τὸν πόρον, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐπιτελέσαι. σπείσας δ' εὐθὺς ἤγε τοὺς νεανίσκους παρὰ τὸν Χειρίσοφον, καὶ διηγοῦνται ταῦτά. **14.** ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος σπονδὰς ἐποίει. σπείσαντες δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παρήγγελλον συσκευάζεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ, συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἐβουλεύοντο ὅπως ἂν κύλλιστα διαβαίεν, καὶ τοὺς τε ἔμπροσθεν νικῶεν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπίσθεν μηδὲν πάσχοιεν κακόν. **15.** καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ διαβαίνειν ἔχοντα τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ ἔτι ὑπομένειν σὺν Ξενοφῶντι, τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσφ' τούτων διαβαίνειν. **16.** ἐπεὶ δὲ

καλῶς ταῦτα εἶχεν, ἐπορεύοντο· ἡγούντο δ' οἱ νεανίσκοι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ποταμόν· ὁδὸς δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν ὡς τέτταρες στάδιοι.

17. Πορευομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἀντιπαρήσαν αἱ τάξεις τῶν ἱππέων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν καὶ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος Χειρίσοφος, στεφανωσάμενος καὶ ἀποδύς, ἐλάμβανε τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλε, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἄγειν τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, τοὺς δ' ἐν δεξιᾷ ἑαυτοῦ. 18. καὶ οἱ μὲν μάντεις ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμόν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐτόξενόν τε καὶ ἐσφενδόνων· ἀλλ' οὐπω ἐξικνούντο. 19. ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ ἦν τὰ σφάγια, ἐπαιάνιζον πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἀνηλάλαζον, συνωλόλυσον δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅπασαι· πολλαὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐταῖραι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι. 20. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἐνέβαινε, καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζωνοτάτους, ἔθει ἀνὰ κράτος πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἑκβασιν τὴν εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρη, προσποιοῦμενος ταύτῃ διαβὰς ἀποκλείσειν τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν ἱππέας. 21. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὀρώντες μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον εὐπετῶς τὸ ὕδωρ περῶντας, ὀρώντες δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα θέοντας εἰς τοῦμπαλιν, δεισάντες μὴ ἀποκλεισθείησαν, φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος, ὡς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄνω ἑκβασιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐγένοντο, ἔτεινον ἄνω πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. 22. Λύκιος δ' ὁ τὴν τάξιν ἔχων τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ Αἰσχίνης ὁ τὴν τάξιν τῶν πελταστῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον, ἐπεὶ ἐώρων ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγοντας, εἵποντο· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐβόων μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συνεκβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος. 23. Χειρίσοφος δ' αὖ ἐπεὶ διέβη, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας οὐκ ἐδίωκεν, εὐθὺς δὲ κατὰ τὰς προσηκούσας ὄχθας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν ἐξέβαινε ἐπὶ τοὺς

ἄνω πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ ἄνω, ὁρῶντες μὲν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἱππέας φεύγοντας, ὁρῶντες δ' ὀπλίτας σφίσιν ἐπιόντας, ἐκλείπουσι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄκρα.

24. Ξενοφῶν δ', ἐπεὶ τὰ πέραν ἑώρα καλῶς γιγνόμενα, ἀπεχώρει τὴν ταχίστην πρὸς τὸ διαβαίνειν στρατεύμα· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καρδούχοι φανεροὶ ἤδη ἦσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καταβαίνοντες, ὡς ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς τελευταίοις. 25. καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν τὰ ἄνω κατείχε, Λύκιος δὲ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπιχειρήσας ἐπιδιώξει ἔλαβε τῶν σκευοφόρων τὰ ὑπολείπόμενα, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἐσθῆτά τε καλὴν καὶ ἐκπώματα.

26. καὶ τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὁ ὄχλος ἀκμὴν διέβαινε· Ξενοφῶν δὲ στρέψας πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἀντία τὰ ὄπλα ἔθετο, καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς λοχαγοῖς κατ' ἐνωμοτίας ποιήσασθαι ἕκαστον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόχον, παρ' ἀσπίδα παραγαγόντας τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἐπὶ φάλαγγος· καὶ τοὺς μὲν λοχαγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐνωμοτάρχους πρὸς τῶν Καρδούχων ἵεναι, οὐραγοὺς δὲ καταστήσασθαι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ. 27. Οἱ δὲ Καρδούχοι ὡς ἐώρων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας τοῦ ὄχλου ψιλουμένους, καὶ ὀλίγους ἤδη φαινομένους, θάττον δὴ ἐπήρσαν ὠδὰς τινὰς ἄδοντες. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπεὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε, πέμπει παρὰ Ξενοφῶντα τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας, καὶ κελεύει ποιεῖν ὅ τι αὐτῷ παραγγέλλῃ. 28. ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς διαβαίνοντας, ὁ Ξενοφῶν πέμψας ἄγγελον κελεύει αὐτοῦ μέναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὴ διαβάντας· ὅταν δ' ἄρξωνται αὐτοὶ διαβαίνειν, ἐναντίους ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν σφῶν ἐμβαίνειν ὡς διαβησομένους, διηγκυλωμένους τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς, καὶ ἐπιβεβλημένους τοὺς τοξότας· μὴ πρόσω δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προβαίνειν. 29. τοῖς δὲ παρ' ἑαυτῷ παρήγγειλεν, ἐπειδὰν σφενδόνῃ ἐξικνήται καὶ ἀσπίς ψοφῇ, παιανίσαντας θεῖν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀναστρέψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ

ὁ σαλπικτῆς σημήνη τὸ πολεμικὸν, ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ δόρυ ἡγεῖσθαι μὲν τοὺς οὐραγούς, θεῖν δὲ πάντας, καὶ διαβαίνειν ὅτι τάχιστα, ἥ ἕκαστος τὴν τάξιν εἶχεν, ὥς μὴ ἐμποδίζειν ἀλλήλους· ὅτι οὗτος ἄριστος ἔσοιτο, ὃς ἂν πρῶτος ἐν τῷ πέραν γένηται. 30. οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι, ὀρώντες ὀλίγους ἤδη τοὺς λοιπούς, — πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν μένουν τεταγμένων ἄχοντο, ἐπιμελησόμενοι οἱ μὲν ὑποζυγίων, οἱ δὲ σκευῶν, οἱ δ' ἑταιρῶν, — ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐπέκειντο θρασέως, καὶ ἤρχοντο σφενδονᾶν καὶ τοξέειν. 31. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες παιανίσαντες ὥρμησαν δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ὀπλισμένοι ὥς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἱκανῶς πρὸς τὸ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ φεύγειν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ εἰς χεῖρας δέχεσθαι οὐχ ἱκανῶς. 32. ἐν τούτῳ σημαίνει ὁ σαλπικτῆς· καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ἔφευγον πολὺ ἔτι θάπτον, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες τῶν ἀντὶα στρέψαντες ἔφευγον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅτι τάχιστα. 33. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οἱ μὲν τινες αἰσθόμενοι πάλιν ἔδραμον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ τοξεύοντες ὀλίγους ἔτρωσαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ πέραν ὄντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔτι φανεροὶ ἦσαν φεύγοντες. 34. οἱ δὲ ὑπαντήσαντες, ἀνδριζόμενοι καὶ προσωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ προϊόντες, ὕστερον τῶν μετὰ Ξενοφώντος διέβησαν πάλιν· καὶ ἐτρώθησάν τινες καὶ τούτων.

IV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν, συνταξάμενοι ἀμφὶ μέσον ἡμέρας, ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας πεδίου ἅπαν καὶ λείους γηλόφους, οὐ μείον ἢ πέντε παρασάγγας· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐγγὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κῶμαι, διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους. 2. εἰς δὲ ἦν ἀφίκοντο κώμην μεγάλη τε ἦν, καὶ βασιλείον εἶχε τῷ σατράπῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πλείσταis οἰκίαιs τύρσεις ἐπήσαν· ἐπιτήδεια δ' ἦν δαψιλῇ. 3. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα, μέχρι ὑπερήλθον τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος

ποταμοῦ. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Τηλεβόαν ποταμόν. οὗτος δ' ἦν καλὸς μὲν, μέγας δ' οὐ· κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ περὶ τὸν ποταμόν ἦσαν. 4. ὁ δὲ τόπος οὗτος Ἀρμενία ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. ὕπαρχος δ' ἦν αὐτῆς Τιρίβαζος, ὁ καὶ βασιλεῖ φίλος γενόμενος, καὶ ὁπότε παρείη, οὐδεὶς ἄλλος βασιλεῖα ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν. 5. οὗτος προσήλασεν ἱππέας ἔχων, καὶ προπέμψας ἑρμηνέα εἶπεν ὅτι βούλοιο διαλεχθῆναι τοῖς ἄρχουσι. τοῖς δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀκούσαι· καὶ προσελθόντες εἰς ἐπήκοον ἡρώτων τί θέλοι. 6. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι σπείσασθαι βούλοιο, ἐφ' ᾧ μήτε αὐτὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἁδικεῖν, μήτε ἐκείνους κάειν τὰς οἰκίας, λαμβάνειν τε τὰπιττήδεια ὅσων δέοιντο. ἔδοξε ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καὶ ἐσπείσαντο ἐπὶ τούτοις.

7. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς τρεῖς διὰ πεδίου, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα· καὶ Τιρίβαζος παρηκολούθει, ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ὑπέχων ὡς δέκα σταδίου· καὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς βασιλεία καὶ κώμας περίξ πολλὰς πολλῶν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων μεστάς. 8. στρατοπεδευομένων δ' αὐτῶν, γίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιὼν πολλή· καὶ ἔωθεν ἔδοξε διασκη- νῆσαι τὰς τάξεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς κατὰ τὰς κώμας· οὐ γὰρ ἐώρων πολέμιον οὐδένα, καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἐδόκει εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χιόνος. 9. ἐνταῦθα εἶχον πάντα τὰ ἐπιτή- δεια ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ, ἱερεῖα, σίτον, οἶνους παλαιούς εὐώ- δεις, ἀσταφίδας, ὅσπρια παντοδαπά. τῶν δὲ ἀποσκευαν- νυμένων τινὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγον ὅτι κατίδοιεν στράτευμα, καὶ νύκτωρ πολλὰ πυρὰ φαίνοιτο. 10. ἐδόκει δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διασκηνοῦν, ἀλλὰ συναγαγεῖν τὸ στρίτευμα πάλιν. ἐντεῦθεν συνήλθον· καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει διαιθριάζειν. 11. νυκτερευόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθ' ἐπιπίπτει χιὼν ἄπλετος, ὥστε ἀπέκρυψε καὶ τὰ

ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατακειμένους· καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια συνεπόδισεν ἡ χιών· καὶ πολλὸς ὄκνος ἦν ἀνίστασθαι· κατακειμένων γὰρ ἁλεινὸν ἦν ἡ χιών ἐπιπεπτωκυῖα, ὅτῳ μὴ παραρρυεῖη. **12.** ἐπεὶ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐτόλμησε γυμνὸς ἀναστὰς σχίζειν ξύλα, τάχ' ἀναστὰς τις καὶ ἄλλος, ἐκείνου ἀφελόμενος, ἔσχιζεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναστάντες πῦρ ἔκαον καὶ ἐχρίοντο. **13.** πολὺ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα εὐρίσκετο χρίμα, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο ἀντ' ἐλαίου, σνείου καὶ σιγᾶμινον καὶ ἀμυγδάλινον ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν καὶ τερεβινθινον. ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ μύρον εὐρίσκετο.

14. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκει πάλιν διασκηνητέον εἶναι εἰς τὰς κώμας εἰς στέγας. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ στρατιῶται σὺν πολλῇ κραυγῇ καὶ ἡδονῇ ἤεσαν ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ὅσοι δὲ, ὅτε τὸ πρότερον ἀπῆσαν, τὰς οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας δίκην ἐδίδουσαν κακῶς σκηνοῦντες. **15.** ἐντεῦθεν ἔπεμψαν νυκτὸς Δημοκράτην Τημνίτην, ἄνδρας δόντες, ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἔνθα ἔφασαν οἱ ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι καθορᾶν τὰ πυρά· οὗτος γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ πρότερον πολλὰ ἤδη ἀληθεῦσαι τοιαῦτα, τὰ ὄντα τε ὡς ὄντα καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς οὐκ ὄντα. **16.** Πορευθεὶς δὲ, τὰ μὲν πυρὰ οὐκ ἔφη ἰδεῖν, ἄνδρα δὲ συλλαβὼν ἤκεν ἄγων, ἔχοντα τόξον Περσικὸν καὶ φαρέτραν καὶ σάγαριν οἶαν περ καὶ Ἀμαζόνες ἔχουσιν. **17.** ἐρωτώμενος δὲ τὸ ποδαπὸς εἶη, Πέρσης μὲν ἔφη εἶναι, πορεύεσθαι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιριβάζου στρατεύματος, ὅπως ἐπιτήδεια λάβοι. οἱ δ' ἡρώτων αὐτὸν τὸ στράτευμα ὅπόσον τε εἶη, καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι συνειλεγμένον. **18.** ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι Τιριβάζος εἶη, ἔχων τήν τε ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ μισθοφόρους Χάλυβας καὶ Ταόχους· παρεσκευάσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφη ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἧπερ μοναχῇ εἶη πορεία, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιθησόμενον τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. **19.** ἀκούσασι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τὸ στράτευμα

συναγαγεῖν· καὶ εὐθὺς φύλακας καταλιπόντες καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς μένουσι Σοφαίνετον Στυμφάλιον, ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα τὸν ὑλόντα ἄνθρωπον. 20. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπερέβαλλον τὰ ὄρη, οἱ πελτασταὶ, προΐοντες καὶ κατιδόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἔμειναν τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἀλλ' ἀνακραγόντες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. 21. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ἀκούσαντες τὸν θόρυβον, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον· ὁμως δὲ καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες τῶν βαρβύρων, καὶ ἵπποι ἤλωσαν εἰς εἴκοσι, καὶ ἡ σκηνὴ ἡ Τιριβάζου ἐάλω, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κλίνει ἀργυρόποδες καὶ ἐκπώματα, καὶ οἱ ἀρτοκόποι καὶ οἱ οἰνοχόοι φάσκοντες εἶναι. 22. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα οἱ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν στρατηγοὶ, ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, μὴ τις ἐπίθεσις γένοιτο τοῖς καταλελειμμένοις. καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀπήρσαν, καὶ ἀφίκοντο αὐθημερὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

V. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐδόκει πορευτέον εἶναι ὅπῃ δύναιτο τάχιστα, πρὶν συλλεγῆναι τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν, καὶ καταλαβεῖν τὰ στενά. συσκευασάμενοι δ' εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς, ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες πολλούς· καὶ αὐθημερὸν ὑπερβαλόντες τὸ ἄκρον ἐφ' ᾧ ἔμελλεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι Τιρίβαζος, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. 2. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρεῖς, παρασύγγας πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν, καὶ διέβαινον αὐτὸν βρεχόμενοι πρὸς τὸν ὀμφαλόν. ἐλέγοντο δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ οὐ πρόσω εἶναι. 3. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς καὶ πεδίου, σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασύγγας πέντε. ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐγένετο χαλεπός, καὶ ἄνεμος βορρᾶς ἐναντίος ἔπνεε, παντάπασιν ἀποκίων πάντα καὶ πηγνύς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. 4. ἔνθα δὴ τῶν μάντεων τις εἶπε σφαγιάσασθαι τῷ ἀνέμῳ, καὶ σφαγιάζεται· καὶ πᾶσι δὴ περιφανῶς ἔδοξε λῆξαι τὸ

χαλεπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος. ἦν δὲ τῆς χιόνος τὸ βάθος ὀργυαί· ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων πολλὰ ἀπώλετο, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα. 5. Διεγένοντο δὲ τὴν νύκτα πῦρ κάοντες· ξύλα δ' ἦν ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ πολλά· οἱ δὲ ὄψε προσιόντες ξύλα οὐκ εἶχον. οἱ οὖν πάλοι ἦκοντες καὶ τὸ πῦρ κάοντες οὐ προσίεσαν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ τοὺς ὀψίζοντας, εἰ μὴ μεταδοίεν αὐτοῖς πυρούς, ἢ ἄλλο τι εἴ τι ἔχοιεν βρωτόν. 6. ἔνθα δὴ μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις ὧν εἶχον ἕκαστοι. ἔνθα δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐκάετο διατηκομένης τῆς χιόνος, βόθροι ἐγίγνοντο μεγάλοι ἕστε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον· οὗ δὴ παρῆν μετρεῖν τὸ βάθος τῆς χιόνος. 7. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐβουλιμίασαν. Ξενοφῶν δ' ὀπισθοφυλακῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων τοὺς πίπτοντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἡγνόει ὅ τι τὸ πάθος εἴη. 8. ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶπε τις αὐτῷ τῶν ἐμπείρων ὅτι σαφῶς βουλιμιῶσι, κἄν τι φάγωσιν ἀναστήσονται, περιὼν περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, εἴ ποῦ τι ὀρώη βρωτόν, διεδίδου, καὶ διέπεμπε διδόντας τοὺς δυνάμενους παρατρέχειν τοῖς βουλιμιῶσιν. ἐπειδὴ δέ τι ἐμφύγιον, ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἐπορεύοντο.

9. Πορευομένων δὲ, Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἀμφὶ κνέφας πρὸς κόμην ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ ὑδροφορούσας ἐκ τῆς κόμης πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ γυναικας καὶ κόρας καταλαμβάνει ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἐρύματος. 10. αὐται ἡρώτων αὐτοὺς τίνες εἶεν. ὁ δ' ἐρμηνεὺς εἶπε περσιιστὶ, ὅτι παρὰ βασιλέως πορεύονται πρὸς τὸν σατρίπην. αἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐκ ἐνταῦθα εἴη, ἀλλ' ἀπέχει ὅσον παρασύγγην. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ὄψε ἦν, πρὸς τὸν κωμάρχην συνεισέρχονται εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα σὺν ταῖς ὑδροφόροις. 11. Χειρίσοφος μὲν οὖν, καὶ ὅσοι ἐδυνήθησαν τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, τῶν δ' ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι διατελέσαι τὴν ὁδὸν

ἐνυκτέρευσαν ἄσιτοι καὶ ἄνευ πυρός· καὶ ἐνταῦθά τινες ἀπώλοντο τῶν στρατιωτῶν. **12.** Ἐφείποντο δὲ τῶν πολεμίων συνειλεγμένοι τινες, καὶ τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἥρπαζον, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐμάχοντο περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐλείποντο δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἳ τε διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς χιόνος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, οἳ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν ποδῶν ἀποσεσηπότες. **13.** ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐπικούρημα τῆς χιόνος, εἴ τις μέλαν τι ἔχων πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπορεύετο, τῶν δὲ ποδῶν εἴ τις κινοῖτο καὶ μηδέποτε ἡσυχίαν ἔχοι καὶ εἰς τὴν νύκτα ὑπολύοιτο. **14.** ὅσοι δὲ ὑποδεδεμένοι ἐκοιμῶντο, εἰσεδύοντο εἰς τοὺς πόδας οἱ ἱμάντες, καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα περιεπήγνυντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπέλιπε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ὑποδήματα, καρβάτιναι πεποιημένοι ἐκ τῶν νεοδάρτων βοῶν. **15.** Διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας οὖν ἀνάγκας ὑπελείποντό τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν· καὶ ἰδόντες μέλαν τι χωρίον διὰ τὸ ἐκλελοιπέναι αὐτόθι τὴν χιόνα, εἵκαζον τετήκεναι· καὶ τετήκει διὰ κρήνην τινὰ ἢ πλησίον ἦν ἀτμίζουσα ἐν νάπη. ἐνταῦθ' ἐκτραπόμενοι ἐκάθηντο, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι. **16.** ὁ δὲ Ξενοφὼν ἔχων ὀπισθοφύλακας ὡς ἦσθετο, ἐδεῖτο αὐτῶν πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, λέγων ὅτι ἔπονται πολλοὶ πολέμιοι συνειλεγμένοι, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐχαλέπαιναν. οἱ δὲ σφάττειν ἐκέλευον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δύνασθαι πορευθῆναι. **17.** ἐνταῦθα ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι τοὺς ἐπομένους πολεμίους φοβῆσαι, εἴ τις δύναιτο, μὴ ἐπίοιεν τοῖς κάμνουσι, καὶ ἦν μὲν σκότος ἤδη, οἱ δὲ προσήεσαν πολλῶ θορύβῳ, ἀμφὶ ὧν εἶχον διαφερόμενοι. **18.** ἔνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ὀπισθοφύλακες, ἅτε ὑγιαίνοντες, ἐξαναστάντες ἔδραμον εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες, ἀνακραγόντες ὅσον ἐδύναντο μέγιστον, τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἔκρουσαν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι δέισαντες ἦκαν ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ τῆς χιόνος εἰς τὴν νάπην, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐφθέγγατο.

19. Καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, εἰπόντες τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν ὅτι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἤξουσί τινες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, πορευόμενοι, πρὶν τέτταρα στάδια διελθεῖν, ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναπανομένοις ἐπὶ τῆς χιόνος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐγκεκαλυμμένοις, καὶ οὐδὲ φυλακὴ οὐδεμία καθειστήκει· καὶ ἀνίστασαν αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι οἱ ἔμπροσθεν οὐχ ὑποχωροῦεν. 20. ὁ δὲ παρὶων, καὶ παραπέμπων τῶν πελταστῶν τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους, ἐκέλευε σκέψασθαι τί εἴη τὸ κωλύον. οἱ δὲ ἀπήγγελλον ὅτι ὅλον οὕτως ἀναπαύοιτο τὸ στρατεύμα. 21. ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἠϋλίσθησαν αὐτοῦ, ἄνευ πυρὸς καὶ ἄδειπνοι, φυλακὰς οἷας ἐδύναντο καταστησάμενοι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἦν, ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας τοὺς νεωτάτους, ἀναστήσαντας ἐκέλευεν ἀναγκάζειν προΐεσθαι. 22. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Χειρίσοφος πέμπει τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης, σκεψομένους πῶς ἔχοιεν οἱ τελευταῖοι. οἱ δὲ, ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες, τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενοῦντας τούτοις παρέδωκαν κομίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ πρὶν εἴκοσι στάδια διεληλυθέναι ἦσαν πρὸς τῇ κώμῃ ἔνθα Χειρίσοφος ἠϋλίζετο. 23. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, ἔδοξε κατὰ τὰς κώμας ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τὰς τάξεις σκηνοῦν. καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι διαλαχόντες ἅς ἐώρων κώμας ἐπορεύοντο ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες. 24. Ἐνθα δὲ Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος λοχαγὸς ἐκέλευσεν ἀφίεσθαι ἑαυτόν· καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζώνους, θέων ἐπὶ τὴν κώμην ἣν εἰλήχει Ξενοφῶν, καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἔνδον τοὺς κωμήτας καὶ τὸν κωμάρχην, καὶ πῶλους εἰς δασμὸν βασιλεῖ τρεφομένους ἑπτακαίδεκα, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ κωμάρχου, ἐνάτην ἡμέραν γεγαμημένην· ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς λαγῶς ὥχετο θηρίων, καὶ οὐχ ἦλθε ἐν ταῖς κώμας. 25. αἱ δ' οἰκίαι ἦσαν κατάγειοι, τὸ μὲν στόμα ὥσπερ φρέατος, κύτῳ δ' εὐρεῖαι· αἱ δὲ

εἴσοδοι τοῖς μὲν ὑποζυγίοις ὀρυκταὶ, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι κατέβαινον ἐπὶ κλίμακος. ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις ἦσαν αἶγες, οἶες, βόες, ὄρνιθες, καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα τούτων· τὰ δὲ κτήνη πάντα χιλῶ ἔνδον ἐτρέφετο. **26.** ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πυροὶ καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ ὄσπρια καὶ οἶνος κρίθινος ἐν κρατήρσιν. ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ κριθαὶ ἰσοχειλεῖς, καὶ κύλαμοι ἐνέκειντο, οἱ μὲν μείζους οἱ δὲ ἐλάττους, γόνατα οὐκ ἔχοντες. **27.** τούτους δ' ἔδει ὅποτε τις διψῶν λαβόντα εἰς τὸ στόμα μύξιν. καὶ πᾶν ἄκρατος ἦν, εἰ μὴ τις ὕδωρ ἐπιχέοι· καὶ πᾶν ἡδὺν συμμαθόντι τὸ πῶμα ἦν. **28.** Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς κώμης ταύτης σύνδειπνον ἐποίησατο, καὶ θαρρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε, λέγων ὅτι οὔτε τῶν τέκνων στερήσοιτο, τὴν τε οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἀντεμπλήσαντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπίασιν, ἣν ἀγαθόν τι τῷ στρατεύματι ἐξηγησάμενος φαίνεται, ἔστ' ἂν ἐν ἄλλῳ ἔθναι γένωνται. **29.** Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπισχνεῖτο, καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος οἶνον ἔφρασεν ἔνθα ἦν κατορωρυγμένος. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα διασκηνήσαντες, οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀφθόνοις πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοντες τὸν κωμάρχην καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς.

30. Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ξενοφῶν λαβὼν τὸν κωμάρχην πρὸς Χειρίσοφον ἐπορεύετο· ὅπου δὲ παρίοι κώμην, ἐτρέπετο πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, καὶ κατελάμβανε πανταχοῦ εὐωχομένους καὶ εὐθυμουμένους, καὶ οὐδαμόθεν ἀφίεσαν πρὶν παραθεῖεν αὐτοῖς ἄριστον. **31.** οὐκ ἦν δ' ὅπου οὐ παρετίθεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τράπεζαν κρέα ἄρνεια, ἐρίφεια, χοίρεια, μόσχεια, ὀρνίθια, σὺν πολλοῖς ἄρτοις τοῖς μὲν πυρίνοις τοῖς δὲ κριθίνοις. **32.** ὅποτε δὲ τις φιλοφρονούμενός τῳ βούλοιτο προπιεῖν, εἶλκεν ἐπὶ τὸν κρατῆρα, ἔνθεν ἐπικύψαντα ἔδει ροφούντα πίνειν ὥσπερ βοῦν. καὶ τῷ κωμάρχῃ ἐδίδοσαν λαμβάνειν ὃ τι βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ ἄλλο

μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέχετο, ὅπου δέ τινα τῶν συγγενῶν ἴδοι, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν αἰεὶ ἐλάμβανεν. **33.** Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον πρὸς Χειρίσοφον, κατελάμβανον κακείνους σκηνοῦντας, ἐστεφανωμένους τοῦ ξηροῦ χιλοῦ στεφάνοις, καὶ διακονοῦντας Ἀρμενίου παιδᾶς σὺν ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς στολαῖς· τοῖς δὲ παισὶν ἐδείκνυσαν ὥσπερ ἑνεοῖς ὃ τι δέοι ποιεῖν. **34.** Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀλλήλους ἐφίλοφρονήσαντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν, κοινῇ δὴ ἀνηρώτων τὸν κωμάρχην διὰ τοῦ περσίζοντος ἐρμηνέως, τίς εἴη ἡ χώρα. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἀρμενία. καὶ πάλιν ἡρώτων τίνοι οἱ ἵπποι τρέφοντο. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι βασιλεῖ δασμός· γῆν δὲ πλησίον χώραν ἔφη εἶναι Χάλυβας, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔφραζεν ἢ εἴη. **35.** καὶ αὐτὸν τότε μὲν ὄρχετο ἄγων Ξενοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκέτας, καὶ ἵππον ὃν εἰλήφει παλαιότερον δίδωσι τῷ κωμάρχει ἀναθρέψαντι καταθύσαι, ὅτι ἤκουσεν αὐτὸν ἱερὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἥλιου, δεδιὼς μὴ ἀποθάνῃ· ἐκεκάκωτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας· αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν πῶλων λαμβάνει, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν καὶ λοχαγῶν ἔδωκεν ἐκάστῳ πῶλον. **36.** ἦσαν δ' οἱ ταύτῃ ἵπποι μείονες μὲν τῶν Περσικῶν, θυμοειδέστεροι δὲ πολὺ. ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ διδάσκει ὁ κωμάρχης περὶ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων σακία περιειλεῖν, ὅταν διὰ τῆς χιόνος ἄγωσιν· ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν σακίων κατεδύνοντο μέχρι τῆς γαστροῦ.

VI. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ἦν ὀγδόη, τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα παραδίδωσι Χειρισόφῳ, τοὺς δ' οἰκέτας καταλείπει τῷ κωμάρχει, πλὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἄρτι ἡβάσκοντος· τοῦτον δ' Ἐπισθένεια Ἀμφιπολίτῃ παραδίδωσι φυλάττειν, ὅπως, εἰ καλῶς ἡγήσοιτο, ἔχων καὶ τοῦτον ἀπίοι. καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ εἰσεφόρησαν ὡς ἐδύναντο πλείστα, καὶ ἀναξεύξαντες ἐπορεύοντο. **2.** ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ κωμάρχης λελυμένος διὰ χιόνος· καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ, καὶ Χειρίσοφος

αὐτῷ ἔχαλεπάνθη, ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κόμας ἤγαγεν. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ εἶεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος αὐτὸν ἔπαισε μὲν, ἔδῃσε δ' οὐ. 3. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκείνος τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποδράς ὄχετο καταλιπὼν τὸν υἱόν. τοῦτό γε δὴ Χειρισόφῳ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι μόνον διάφορον ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἐγένετο, ἡ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος κύκωσις καὶ ἀμέλεια. Ἐπισθένης δὲ ἡράσθη τοῦ παιδὸς, καὶ οἴκαδε κομίσας πιστοτάτῳ ἐχρήτο. 4. Μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπορεύθησαν ἑπτὰ σταθμούς, ἀνὰ πέντε παρασάγγας τῆς ἡμέρας, παρὰ τὸν Φᾶσιν ποταμόν, εὖρος πλεθριαῖον. 5. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὑπερβολῇ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς Χάλυβες καὶ Τάοχοι καὶ Φασιανοί. 6. Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐπεὶ κατεῖδε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ, ἐπαύσατο πορευόμενος, ἀπέχων εἰς τριάκοντα σταδίους, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ κέρας ἄγων πλησιάσῃ τοῖς πολεμίοις· παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παράγειν τοὺς λόχους, ὅπως ἐπὶ φάλαγγος γένοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. 7. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, συνεκάλεσε στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε· Οἱ μὲν πολέμοι, ὡς ὁράτε, κατέχουσι τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ ὄρους· ὧρα δὲ βουλευέσθαι ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. 8. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ παραγγεῖλαι μὲν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἡμᾶς δὲ βουλευέσθαι εἴτε τήμερον εἴτε αὔριον δοκεῖ ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ ὄρος. 9. Ἐμοὶ δέ γε, ἔφη ὁ Κλεάνωρ, δοκεῖ, ἐπὶ τὰ χίιστα ἀριστήσωμεν, ἐξοπλισμένους ὡς τὰ χίιστα ἵεναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας. εἰ γὰρ διατρίψομεν τὴν τήμερον ἡμέραν, οἳ τε νῦν ἡμᾶς ὀρώντες πολέμοι θαρραλεώτεροι ἔσονται, καὶ ἄλλους εἰκὸς τούτων θαρρούντων πλείους προσγενέσθαι. 10. Μετὰ τούτου Ξενοφὼν εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δ' οὕτω γινώσκω. εἰ μὲν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι, τοῦτο δεῖ παρασκευάσθαι, ὅπως ὡς κράτιστα μαχούμεθα· εἰ δὲ βου-

λόμεθα ὡς ῥᾶστα ὑπερβάλλειν, τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ σκεπτέον εἶναι, ὅπως ἐλάχιστα μὲν τραύματα λάβωμεν, ὡς ἐλάχιστα δὲ σώματα ἀνδρῶν ἀποβύλωμεν. **11.** τὸ μὲν οὖν ὅρος ἐστὶ τὸ ὀρώμενον πλεόν ἢ ἐφ' ἐξήκοντα στάδια, ἄνδρες δ' οὐδαμῶς φυλάττοντες ἡμᾶς φανεροί εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ἡ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν· πολὺ οὖν κρεῖττον τοῦ ἐρήμου ὅρους καὶ κλέψαι τι πειρᾶσθαι λαθόντας, καὶ ἀρπάσαι φθύσαντας, ἣν δυνώμεθα, μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἰσχυρὰ χωρία καὶ ἄνδρας παρεσκευασμένους μάχεσθαι. **12.** πολὺ γὰρ ῥᾶον ὄρθιον ἀμαχεῖ ἰέναι ἢ ὁμαλὲς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν πολεμίων ὄντων, καὶ νύκτωρ ἀμαχεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν ὀρή τις ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν μαχόμενος, καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμαχεῖ ἰοῦσιν εὐμενεστέρα ἢ ὁμαλὴ τὰς κεφαλὰς βαλλομένοις. **13.** καὶ κλέψαι δ' οὐκ ἀδύνατόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἔξον μὲν νυκτὸς ἰέναι, ὡς μὴ ὀρᾶσθαι, ἔξον δὲ ἀπελθεῖν τοσοῦτον ὡς μὴ αἰσθησιν παρέχειν. δοκοῦμεν δ' ἂν μοι ταύτῃ προσποιούμενοι προσβαλεῖν ἐρημοτέρῳ ἢ τῷ ἄλλῳ ὅρει χρῆσθαι· μένοιεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἀθρόοι οἱ πολέμιοι. **14.** ἀτὰρ τί ἐγὼ περὶ κλοπῆς συμβάλλομαι; ὑμᾶς γὰρ ἔγωγε, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἀκούω τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅσοι ἐστὲ τῶν ὁμοίων, εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων κλέπτειν μελετᾶν, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι ἀλλὰ καλὸν κλέπτειν ὅσα μὴ κωλύει νόμος. **15.** ὅπως δὲ ὡς κράτιστα κλέπτητε καὶ πειρᾶσθε λανθάνειν, νόμιμον ἄρα ὑμῖν ἐστίν, ἔαν ληφθῇτε κλέπτοντες, μαστιγοῦσθαι. νῦν οὖν μάλα σοι καιρὸς ἐστὶν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν παιδείαν, καὶ φυλάξασθαι μὴ ληφθῶμεν κλέπτοντες τοῦ ὅρους, ὡς μὴ πληγὰς λάβωμεν.

16. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ἀγὰρ ὑμᾶς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀκούω δεινούς εἶναι κλέπτειν τὰ δημόσια, καὶ μάλα ὄντος δεινοῦ τοῦ κινδύνου τῷ κλέπτοντι, καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους μέντοι μάλιστα, εἴπερ ὑμῖν οἱ κράτιστοι ἄρχειν

ἀξιοῦνται· ὥστε ὥρα καὶ σοὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν παιδείαν. **17.** Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἑτοιμός εἰμι τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἔχων, ἐπειδὰν δειπνήσωμεν, ἵεναι καταληφόμενος τὸ ὄρος. ἔχω δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνας· οἱ γὰρ γυμνήτες τῶν ἐπομένων ἡμῖν κλωπῶν ἔλαβόν τινὰς ἐνεδρεύσαντες· τούτων καὶ πυνθάνομαι ὅτι οὐκ ἄβατόν ἐστι τὸ ὄρος, ἀλλὰ νέμεται αἰξὶ καὶ βουσίν· ὥστε ἑάνπερ ἄπαξ λάβωμέν τι τοῦ ὄρους, βατὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔσται.

18. ἐλπίζω δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς πολεμίους μενεῖν ἐτι, ἐπειδὰν ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων· οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν ἐθέλουσι καταβαίνειν ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ ἴσον. **19.** Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπε. Καὶ τί δεῖ σὲ ἵεναι καὶ λιπεῖν τὴν ὀπισθοφυλακίαν; ἀλλὰ ἄλλους πέμψον, ἂν μὴ τινες ἐθελούσιοι φαίνωνται. **20.** Ἐκ τούτου Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς ἔρχεται ὀπλίτας ἔχων, καὶ Ἀριστέας Χῖος γυμνήτας, καὶ Νικόμαχος Οἰταῖος γυμνήτας· καὶ σύνθημα ἐποίησαντο, ὅποτε ἔχοιεν τὰ ἄκρα, πυρὰ κάειν πολλά. **21.** ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἡρίστων· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀρίστου προήγαγεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ὡς δέκα σταδίου πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα δοκοίη αὐτῇ προσάξειν.

22. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδείπνησαν καὶ νύξ ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν ταχθέντες ὥχοντο, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ ὄρος, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι αὐτοῦ ἀνεπαύοντο. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο ἐχόμενον τὸ ὄρος, ἐγρηγόρεσαν καὶ ἔκαον πυρὰ πολλά διὰ νυκτός. **23.** ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, Χειρίσοφος μὲν θυσάμενος ἦγε κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, οἱ δὲ τὸ ὄρος καταλαβόντες κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἐπῆσαν. **24.** τῶν δ' αὖ πολεμίων τὸ μὲν πολὺ ἔμενεν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους, μέρος δ' αὐτῶν ἀπήντα τοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα. πρὶν δὲ ὁμοῦ εἶναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀλλήλων, συμμιγνύασιν οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα, καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ διώκουσιν. **25.** ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου

οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δρόμῳ ἔθεον πρὸς τοὺς παρατεταγμένους, Χειρίσοφος δὲ βάδην ταχὺ ἐφείπετο σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις. 26. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄνω ἑώρων ἡττώμενον, φεύγουσι· καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οὐ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, γέρρα δὲ πάμπολλα ἐλήφθη· ἃ οἱ Ἕλληνες ταῖς μαχαίραις κόπτοντες ἀχρεῖα ἐποίουν. 27. ὥς δ' ἀνέβησαν, θύσαντες καὶ τρόπαιον στησάμενοι, κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον, καὶ εἰς κώμας πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν γεμούσας ἦλθον.

VII. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Τυόχους, σταθμοὺς πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα· καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλιπε· χωρία γὰρ ᾤκουν ἰσχυρὰ οἱ Τάοχοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πάντα εἶχον ἀνακεκομισμένοι. 2. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο πρὸς χωρίον ὃ πόλιν μὲν οὐκ εἶχεν οὐδ' οἰκίας, συνελθυθότες δ' ἦσαν αὐτόσε καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ κτήνη πολλὰ, Χειρίσοφος μὲν πρὸς τοῦτο προσέβαλλεν εὐθὺς ἦκων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ πρώτη τάξις ἀπέκαμνεν, ἄλλη προσῆι καὶ αὐθις ἄλλη· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀθρόοις περιστῆναι, ἀλλὰ ποταμὸς ἦν κύκλῳ. 3. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἦλθε σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι καὶ πελτασταῖς καὶ ὀπλίταις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει Χειρίσοφος· Εἰς καλὸν ἤκετε· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον αἰρετέον· τῇ γὰρ στρατιᾷ οὐκ ἔστι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ μὴ ληψόμεθα τὸ χωρίον. 4. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ κοινῇ ἐβουλεύοντο· καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφώντος ἐρωτῶντος τί τὸ κωλύει εἶη εἰσελθεῖν, εἶπεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος· Μία αὕτη πάροδος ἐστίν ἡν ὀρᾷς· ὅταν δέ τις ταύτῃ πειρᾶται παριέναι, κυλίνδουσι λίθους ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς ὑπερεχούσης πέτρας· ὅς δ' αὖ καταληφθῇ, οὕτω διατίθεται. ἅμς δ' ἔδειξε συντετριμμένους ἀνθρώπους καὶ σκέλη καὶ πλευράς. 5. Ἦν δὲ τοὺς λίθους ἀναλώσωσιν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφών, ἄλλο τι ἢ οὐδὲν κωλύει παριέναι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὀρῶμεν εἰ μὴ

ὀλίγους τούτους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τούτων δύο ἢ τρεῖς ὥπλισμένους. 6. τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ὡς καὶ σὺ ὄρᾳς, σχεδὸν τρία ἡμίπλεθρά ἐστιν, ὃ δὲ βαλλομένους διελθεῖν. τούτου δὲ ὅσον πλέθρον δασὺ πίτυσι διαλειπούσαις μεγάλαις, ἀνθ' ὧν ἐστηκότες ἄνδρες τί ἂν πάσχοιεν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν φερομένων λίθων ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν κυλινδομένων; τὸ λοιπὸν οὖν ἤδη γίγνεται ὡς ἡμίπλεθρον, ὃ δὲ ὅταν λωφῆσώσιν οἱ λίθοι παραδραμεῖν. 7. Ἀλλὰ εὐθύς, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπειδὴν ἀρξώμεθα εἰς τὸ δασὺ προσιέναι, φέρονται οἱ λίθοι πολλοί. Αὐτὸ ἂν, ἔφη, τὸ δέον εἴη· θάττον γὰρ ἀναλώσουσι τοὺς λίθους. ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα ἔνθεν ἡμῖν μικρόν τι παραδραμεῖν ἔσται, ἣν δυνώμεθα, καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ῥάδιον, ἣν βουλώμεθα.

8. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ Καλλιμάχος Παρράσιος λοχαγός· τούτου γὰρ ἡ ἡγεμονία ἦν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγῶν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι λοχαγοὶ ἔμενον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ. μετὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἀπῆλθον ὑπὸ τὰ δένδρα ἄνθρωποι ὡς ἐβδομήκοντα, οὐκ ἀθρόοι ἀλλὰ καθ' ἕνα, ἕκαστος φυλαττόμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο. 9. Ἀγασίας δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος καὶ Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεύς, καὶ οὗτοι τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγοὶ ὄντες, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ, ἐφέστασαν ἔξω τῶν δένδρων· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς ἐν τοῖς δένδροις ἐστάναι πλέον ἢ τὸν ἕνα λόχον. 10. ἔνθα δὴ Καλλιμάχος μηχανᾷται τι· προέτρεχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δένδρου ὑφ' ᾧ ἦν αὐτὸς δύο ἢ τρία βήματα· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ λίθοι φέροντο, ἀνεχάζετο εὐπετῶς· ἐφ' ἐκάστης δὲ προδρομῆς πλέον ἢ δέκα ἄμαξαι πετρῶν ἀνηλίσκοντο. 11. ὁ δὲ Ἀγασίας, ὡς ὄρᾳ τὸν Καλλιμάχον ἃ ἐποίει, καὶ τὸ στρατεύμα πᾶν θεώμενον, δείσας μὴ οὐ πρῶτος παραδράμοι εἰς τὸ χωρίον, οὔτε τὸν Ἀριστώνυμον πλησίον ὄντα παρακαλέσας, οὔτε Εὐρύλοχον τὸν Λουσιέα, ἐταίρους ὄντας, οὔτε

ἄλλον οὐδένα, χωρεῖ αὐτὸς, καὶ παρέρχεται πάντας.
12. ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος, ὡς ὁρᾷ αὐτὸν παριόντα, ἐπιλαμβάνεται αὐτοῦ τῆς ἴτιος· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ παραθεῖ αὐτοὺς Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεύς, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Εὐρύλοχος Λουσικεύς· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι ἀντεποιοῦντο ἀρετῆς, καὶ διηγωνίζοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ οὕτως ἐρίζοντες αἰροῦσι τὸ χωρίον. ὡς γὰρ ἄπαξ εἰσέδραμον, οὐδεὶς πέτρος ἄνωθεν ἤνέχθη.
13. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ δεινὸν ἦν θέαμα. αἱ γὰρ γυναῖκες, ρίπτουσαι τὰ παιδία, εἶτα καὶ ἑαυτὰς ἐπικατερρίπτουν, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὡσαύτως. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Αἰνέας Στυμφάλιος λοχαγὸς ἰδὼν τινα θέοντα ὡς ρίψοντα ἑαυτὸν, στολὴν ἔχοντα καλὴν, ἐπιλαμβάνεται ὡς κωλύσων· **14.** ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπισπᾶται, καὶ ἀμφοτέροι ὥχοντο κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν φερόμενοι καὶ ἀπέθανον. ἐντεῦθεν ἄνθρωποι μὲν πάνυ ὀλίγοι ἐλήφθησαν, βόες δὲ καὶ ὄνοι πολλοὶ, καὶ πρόβατα.

15. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Χαλύβων, σταθμοὺς ἑπτὰ παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα. οὗτοι ἦσαν ὧν διήλθον ἀλκιμώτατοι, καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ᾗσαν. εἶχον δὲ θώρακας λινοὺς μέχρι τοῦ ἥτρου, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πτερύγων σπύρτα πυκνὰ ἐστραμμένα. **16.** εἶχον δὲ καὶ κνημίδας καὶ κράνη, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ζώνην μαχαίριον ὅσον ξυήλην Λακωνικὴν, ᾧ ἔσφαττον ὧν κρατεῖν δύναιντο, καὶ ἀποτέμνοντες ἂν τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔχοντες ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ ἦδον καὶ ἐχόρευον ὅποτε οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτοὺς ὄψεσθαι ἔμελλον. εἶχον δὲ καὶ δόρυ ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα πήχεων, μίαν λόγχην ἔχον. οὗτοι ἐνέμενον ἐν τοῖς πολιύμασιν· **17.** ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέλθοιεν οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶποντο αἰεὶ μαχόμενοι. ᾤκουν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὀχυροῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τούτοις ἀνακεκομισμένοι ἦσαν· ὥστε μηδὲν λαμβάνειν αὐτόθεν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλὰ διετράφησαν τοῖς κτήνεσιν ἃ ἐκ τῶν Ταόχων ἔλαβον.

18. Ἐκ τούτου οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ Ἀρπασον

ποταμὸν, εὖρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Σκυθινῶν, σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασύγγας εἴκοσι, διὰ πεδίου εἰς κώμας· ἐν αἷς ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο. **19.** ἐντεῦθεν διήλθον σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασύγγας εἴκοσι, πρὸς πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ οἰκουμένην, ἣ ἐκαλεῖτο Γυμνιάς. ἐκ ταύτης ὁ τῆς χώρας ἄρχων τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἡγεμόνα πέμπει, ὅπως διὰ τῆς ἐν τῶν πολεμίας χώρας ἄγοι αὐτούς. **20.** ἐλθὼν δ' ἐκείνος λέγει ὅτι ἄξει αὐτοὺς πέντε ἡμερῶν εἰς χωρίον ὅθεν ὄψονται θάλατταν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τεθνῦναι ἐπηγγείλατο. καὶ ἡγούμενος, ἐπειδὴ ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πολεμίαν, παρεκελεύετο αἶθειν καὶ φθείρειν τὴν χώραν· ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι τούτου ἕνεκα ἔλθοι, οὐ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίας.

21. Καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ὄνομα δὲ τῷ ὄρει ἦν Θήχης. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους καὶ κατείδον τὴν θύλατταν, κραυγὴ πολλὴ ἐγένετο. **22.** ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ᾤκηθησαν ἔμπροσθεν ἄλλους ἐπιτίθεσθαι πολεμίους· εἶποντο γὰρ καὶ ὀπισθεν οἱ ἐκ τῆς καομένης χώρας, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ἀπέκτεινάν τέ τινας καὶ ἐξώγησαν ἐνέδραν ποιησάμενοι, καὶ γέρρα ἔλαβον δασειῶν βοῶν ὠμβόεια ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν. **23.** ἐπειδὴ δὲ βοὴ πλείων τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐγγύτερον, καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ ἐπιόντες ἔθεον δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰεὶ βοῶντας, καὶ πολλῶ μείζων ἐγίγνετο ἡ βοὴ ὅσῳ δὴ πλείους ἐγίγνοντο, ἐδόκει δὴ μείζον τι εἶναι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι. **24.** καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐφ' ἵππον, καὶ Λύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἀναλαβὼν, παρεβόηθει· καὶ τάχα δὴ ἀκούουσι βοῶντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν Θύλαττα, Θάλαττα, καὶ παρεγγυόντων. ἔνθα δὴ ἔθεον πάντες καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἠλαύνετο καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. **25.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφ᾽ ἑκόντο πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ περιέβαλλον ἄλλε

λους καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς δακρύοντες. καὶ ἑξαπί-
νης, ὅτου δὴ παρεγγυήσαντος, οἱ στρατιῶται φέρουσι λίθους
καὶ ποιοῦσι κολωνὸν μέγαν. 26. ἐνταῦθα ἀνέτιθεσαν δερ-
μάτων πλήθος ὠμοβοείων, καὶ βακτηρίας, καὶ τὰ αἰχμύλωτα
γέρρα, καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτός τε κατέτεμνε τὰ γέρρα καὶ τοῖς
ἄλλοις διεκελεύετο. 27. μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ἑλ-
ληνες ἀποπέμπουσι, δῶρα δόντες ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, ἵππον καὶ
φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν καὶ σκευὴν Περσικὴν καὶ δαρεικὸν δέκα·
ἥτις δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς δακτυλίους, καὶ ἔλαβε πολλοὺς παρὰ
τῶν στρατιωτῶν. κώμην δὲ δείξας αὐτοῖς οὐ σκηνήσουσι,
καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν πορεύονται εἰς Μάκρωνας, ἐπεὶ ἐσπέρα
ἐγένετο, ὥχετο τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπίων.

VIII. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες διὰ Μα-
κρώνων, σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασύγγας δέκα. τῇ πρώτῃ δὲ
ἡμέρᾳ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὃς ὠρίζε τὴν τῶν Μακρώ-
νων καὶ τὴν τῶν Σκυθινῶν. 2. εἶχον δ' ὑπερδέξιον χωρίον
οἶον χαλεπώτατον, καὶ ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς ἄλλον ποταμὸν, εἰς ὃν
ἐνέβαλλεν ὁ ὀρίζων, δι' οὗ ἔδει διαβῆναι. ἦν δὲ οὗτος
δασὺς δένδρεσι, παχέσι μὲν οὐ, πυκνοῖς δέ. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ
προσῆλθον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔκοπτον, σπεύδοντες ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου
ὡς τάχιστα ἐξελθεῖν. 3. οἱ δὲ Μάκρωνες, ἔχοντες γέρρα
καὶ λόγχας καὶ τριχίνους χιτῶνας, καταντιπέρας τῆς δια-
βάσεως παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἀλλήλοις διεκελεύοντο
καὶ λίθους εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρρίπτουν· ἐξικνούντο δὲ οὐ,
οὐδ' ἐβλαπτον οὐδέν.

4. Ἐνθι δὴ προσέρχεται τῷ Ξενοφῶντι τῶν πελτα-
στῶν τις ἀνὴρ, Ἀθήνησι φάσκων δεδουλευκέναι, λέγων ὅτι
γυγνώσκω τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ οἶμαι, ἔφη,
ἐμὴν ταύτην πατρίδα εἶναι· καὶ εἰ μὴ τι κωλύει, ἐθέλω
αὐτοῖς διαλεχθῆναι. 5. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν κωλύει, ἔφη, ἀλλὰ
διαλέγου καὶ μάθε πρῶτον τίνες εἰσίν. οἱ δ' εἶπον ἐρωτή-

σαντος ὅτι Μάκρωνες. Ἐρώτα τοίνυν, ἔφη, αὐτοὺς, τί ἀντι-
τετάχεται καὶ χρήσουσιν ἡμῖν πολέμιοι εἶναι. 6. Οἱ δ'
ἀπεκρίναντο· Ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν
ἔρχεσθε. Λέγειν ἐκέλευον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ὅτι οὐ κακῶς γε
ποιήσοντας, ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖ πολεμήσαντες ἀπερχόμεθα εἰς
τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ἐπὶ θάλατταν βουλόμεθα ἀφικέσθαι.
7. ἡρώτων ἐκείνοι εἰ δοῖεν ἂν τούτων τὰ πιστά. οἱ δ'
ἔφασαν καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν ἐθέλειν. ἐντεῦθεν διδόασιν
οἱ Μάκρωνες βαρβαρικὴν λόγχην τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οἱ δὲ
Ἑλληνες ἐκείνοις Ἑλληνικὴν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔφασαν πιστὰ
εἶναι· θεοὺς δὲ ἐπεμαρτύραντο ἀμφοτέρω.

8. Μετὰ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ εὐθύς οἱ Μάκρωνες τὰ δένδρα
συνεξέκοπτον, τὴν τε ὁδὸν ὥδοποιοῦν ὥς διαβιβάσοντες, ἐν
μέσοις ἀναμεμιγμένοι τοῖς Ἑλλησι· καὶ ἀγορὰν οἶαν ἐδύ-
ναντο παρῆχον, καὶ παρήγαγον ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἕως ἐπὶ
τὰ Κόλχων ὄρια κατέστησαν τοὺς Ἑλληνας. 9. ἐνταῦθα
ἦν ὄρος μέγα, προσβατὸν δέ· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου οἱ Κόλχοι
παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Ἕλληνες
ἀντιπαρετάξαντο κατὰ φύλαγγα, ὥς οὕτως ἄζοντες πρὸς
τὸ ὄρος· ἔπειτα δὲ ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βουλευσασθαι
συλλεγείσιν, ὅπως ὥς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιοῦνται. 10. Ἐλεξεν
οὖν Ξενοφῶν, ὅτι δοκεῖ παύσαντας τὴν φύλαγγα λόχους
ὀρθίους ποιῆσαι· ἡ μὲν γὰρ φύλαγξ διασπασθήσεται εὐ-
θύς· τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἄνοδον, τῇ δὲ εὐδοῖν εὐρήσομεν τὸ ὄρος·
καὶ εὐθύς τοῦτο ἀθυμίαν ποιήσει, ὅταν τεταγμένοι εἰς φύ-
λαγγα ταύτην διεσπασμένην ὀρώσιν. 11. ἔπειτα ἦν μὲν
ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τεταγμένοι προσάγωμεν, περιπτεῦσουσιν ἡμῶν
οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ τοῖς περιττοῖς χρήσονται ὅτι ἂν βούλων-
ται· εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγων τεταγμένοι ἴωμεν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη
θαυμαστὸν εἰ διακοπείη ἡμῶν ἢ φύλαγξ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων καὶ
βελῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ἐμπεσόντων· εἰ δὲ πη τοῦτο

ἔσται, τῇ ὅλῃ φάλαγγι κακὸν ἔσται. **12.** ἀλλά μοι δοκεῖ ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιησαμένους, τοσοῦτον χωρίον κατασχεῖν διαλείποντας τοῖς λόχοις, ὅσον ἔξω τοὺς ἐσχάτους λόχους γενέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων κεράτων· καὶ οὕτως ἐσόμεθα τῆς τε τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω οἱ ἔσχατοι λόχοι, καὶ ὀρθίους ἄγοντες οἱ κράτιστοι ἡμῶν πρῶτον προσίσιν, ἢ τε ἂν εὐδοκῶν ἦ, ταύτῃ ἕκαστος ἄξει ὁ λόχος. **13.** καὶ εἴς τε τὸ διαλείπον οὐ ῥάδιον ἔσται τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰσελθεῖν, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν λόχων ὄντων, διακόψαι τε οὐ ῥάδιον ἔσται λόχον ὀρθιον προσιόντα· ἐὰν τέ τις πιέζηται τῶν λόχων, ὁ πλησίον βοηθήσει· ἦν τε εἰς πῃ δυνηθῇ τῶν λόχων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβῆναι, οὐδεὶς μηκέτι μείνῃ τῶν πολεμίων. **14.** ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίουν ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὑπὸν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, ἔλεγε τοῖς στρατιώταις· Ἄνδρες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οὓς ὁράτε μόνοι ἔτι ἡμῖν ἐμποδῶν τὸ μὴ ἤδη εἶναι ἔνθα πάλαί ἐσπεύδομεν· τούτους, ἦν πως δυνώμεθα, καὶ ὤμους δεῖ καταφαγεῖν.

15. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς χώραις ἕκαστοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους ἐποίησαντο, ἐγένοντο μὲν λόχοι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα, ὁ δὲ λόχος ἕκαστος σχεδὸν εἰς τοὺς ἑκατόν· τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας τριχῇ ἐποίησαντο, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔξω, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ μέσον, σχεδὸν ἑξακοσίους ἑκάστους. **16.** Ἐκ τούτου παρηγγύησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εὐχεσθαι· εὐξάμενοι δὲ καὶ παιανίσαντες ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς πελτασταὶ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω γενόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο. **17.** οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ὥς εἶδον αὐτοὺς, ἀντιπαραθέοντες οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον, διεσπάρσθησαν καὶ πολὺ τῆς αὐτῶν φάλαγγος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κενὸν ἐποίησαν. **18.** ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς διαχάζοντας οἱ κατὰ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν πελτασταὶ, ὧν ἦρχεν

Αἰσχίνης ὁ Ἀκαρνῶν, νομίσαντες φεύγειν ἀνὰ κράτος ἔθεον· καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀναβαίνουσι· συνεφείπετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν ὀπλιτικόν, ὃν ἤρχε Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος. **19.** οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὡς ἤρξαντο θεῖν, οὐκέτι ἔστησαν, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ ἄλλος ἄλλη ἐτράπετο. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀναβάντες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν πολλαῖς κώμαις καὶ τὰπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἐχούσαις. **20.** Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν ἦν ὃ τι καὶ ἐθαύμασαν· τὰ δὲ σμήνη πολλὰ ἦν αὐτόθι, καὶ τῶν κηρίων ὅσοι ἔφαγον τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάντες ἄφρονές τε ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ ἤμουν, καὶ κάτω διεχώρει αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὀρθὸς οὐδεὶς ἠδύνατο ἵστασθαι· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὀλίγον ἐδόδοκότες σφόδρα μεθύουσιν ἐφέκσαν, οἱ δὲ πολὺν, μαινομένοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν. **21.** ἔκειντο δὲ οὕτω πολλοὶ ὥσπερ τροπῆς γεγενημένης, καὶ πολλὴ ἦν ἀθυμία. τῇ δ' ὕστεραίᾳ ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδεὶς, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν πον ὥραν ἀνεφρόνουν· τρίτῃ δὲ καὶ τετάρτῃ ἀνίσταντο ὥσπερ ἐκ φαρμακοποσίας.

22. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν δύο σταθμοὺς παρασάγας ἑπτὰ, καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ θάλατταν εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, οἰκουμένην ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, Σινωπέων ἀποικίαν, ἐν τῇ Κόλχων χώρα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τὰς τριάκοντα, ἐν ταῖς τῶν Κόλχων κώμαις· κἀντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι ἐληίζοντο τὴν Κολχίδα. **23.** ἀγορὰν δὲ παρέρχον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Τραπεζοῦντιοι, καὶ ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ ξένια ἔδοσαν βοῦς καὶ ἄλφιτα καὶ οἶνον. **24.** συνδιεπράττοντο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πλησίον Κόλχων τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ μάλιστα οἰκούντων, καὶ ξένια καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἦλθον βόες.

25. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν θυσίαν ἦν εὗξαντο παρεσκευάζοντο· ἦλθον δ' αὐτοῖς ἱκανοὶ βόες ἀποθῦσαι τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι, καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἡγεμόσυνα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς

ἀ εὐξαντο. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἔνθαπερ ἑσκήνου. εἵλοντο δὲ Δρακόντιον Σπαρτιάτην, ὃς ἔφυγε παῖς ὢν οἴκοθεν, παῖδα ἄκων κατακανὼν ξυήλη πατάξας, δρόμου τ' ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος προστατῆσαι. 26. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ θυσία ἐγένετο, τὰ δέρματα παρέδωσαν τῷ Δρακοντίῳ, καὶ ἡγείσθαι ἐκέλευον ὅπου τὸν δρόμον πεποικῶς εἶη. ὁ δὲ δείξας οὐπὲρ ἐστηκότες ἐτύγχανον, Οὗτος ὁ λόφος, ἔφη, κάλλιστος τρέχειν ὅπου ἂν τις βούληται. Πῶς οὖν, ἔφασαν, δυνήσονται παλαίειν ἐν σκληρῷ καὶ δασεῖ οὕτως; ὁ δ' εἶπε, Μᾶλλον τι ἀνιάσεται ὁ καταπεσών. 27. ἡγωνίζοντο δὲ παῖδες μὲν στάδιον τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οἱ πλείστοι, δόλιχον δὲ Κρήτες πλείους ἢ ἐξήκοντα ἔθεον, πάλην δὲ καὶ πυγμὴν καὶ παγκράτιον ἕτεροι. καὶ καλὴ θέα ἐγένετο· πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέβησαν, καὶ, ἅτε θεωμένων τῶν ἐταίρων, πολλὴ φιλονεικία ἐγίγνετο. 28. ἔθεον δὲ καὶ ἵπποι, καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ πρानοῦς ἐλάσαντας, ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ἀναστρέψαντας, πάλιν ἄνω πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ἄγειν. καὶ κάτω μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐκυλινδοῦντο· ἄνω δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἰσχυρῶς ὄρθιον μόλις βάδην ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ἵπποι· ἔνθα πολλὴ κραυγὴ καὶ γέλως καὶ παρακέλευσις ἐγίγνετο αὐτῶν.

II. FALL AND RESTORATION OF ATHENS.

[Hellenica, II.]

Π. 3. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις, τῆς Πυρίλου ἀφικομένης νυκτὸς, ἐλέγετο ἡ ξυμφορὰ, καὶ ἡ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐς ἄστυ διήκεν, ὁ ἕτερος τῷ ἐτέρῳ παραγγέλλων· ὥστ' ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμήθη, οὐ

μόνον τους ἀπολωλότας πενθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οἷα ἐποίησαν Μηλίου τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους ὄντας, κρατήσαντες πολιορκία, καὶ Ἰστιαίας, καὶ Σκιωναίους, καὶ Τορωναίους, καὶ Αἰγινήτας, καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. 4. τῇ δ' ὕστεραία ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἔδοξε τοὺς τε λιμένας ἀποχωῶσαι πλὴν ἐνός, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη εὐτρεπίζειν, καὶ φύλακας ἐφιστάναι, καὶ τὰλλα πάντα ὡς ἐς πολιορκίαν παρασκευάζειν τὴν πόλιν. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν.

5. Δύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ναυσὶ διακοσίαις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Λέσβον, κατεσκευάσατο τὴν τε ἄλλαν πόλιν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ Μιτυλήνην· εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἔπεμψε δέκα τριήρεις ἔχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ὃς τὰ ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετέστησεν. 6. εὐθύς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς ἀφειστήκει Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν, πλὴν Σαμίων. οὗτοι δὲ, σφαγὰς τῶν γνωρίμων ποιήσαντες, κατείχον τὴν πόλιν. 7. Δύσανδρος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἀγίν τε εἰς Δεκέλειαν καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ὅτι προσπλεῖ σὺν διακοσίαις ναυσί. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐξήεσαν πανδημεῖ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι, πλὴν Ἀργείων, παραγγείλαντος τοῦ ἐτέρου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως, Πausανίου. 8. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντες ἠθροίσθησαν, ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς, πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ, τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ. 9. Δύσανδρος δὲ, ἀφικόμενος πρὸς Αἰγίνα, ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν Αἰγινήταις, ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους ἀθροίσας αὐτῶν· ὡς δ' αὐτως καὶ Μηλίοις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῶν ἐστέροντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δηρώσας Σαλαμίνα, ὠρμίσατο πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα εἵργε τοῦ εἰσπλου.

10. Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, ἠπόρουν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὔτε νεῶν οὔτε συμμά-

χων αὐτοῖς ὄντων, οὔτε σίτου· ἐνόμιζον δ' οὐδεμίαν εἶναι σωτηρίαν τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν ἃ οὐ τιμωρούμενοι ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν ἡδίκουν ἀνθρώπους μικροπολίτας, οὐδ' ἐπὶ μὴ αἰτία ἐτέρα ἢ ὅτι ἐκείνοις συνεμάχουν. **11.** διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες, ἐκαρτέρουν· καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῷ πολλῶν, οὐ διελέγοντο περὶ διαλλαγῆς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς ἤδη ὁσίτος ἐπελελοίπει, ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρὰ Ἁγιν, βουλόμενοι ξύμμαχοι εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἔχοντες τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ξυυθήκας ποιεῖσθαι. **12.** ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος αὐτός. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἔπεμψαν αὐτοὺς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. **13.** οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς, καὶ ἐπύθοντο αὐτῶν οἱ Ἐφοροὶ ἃ ἔλεγον, ὄντα οἰᾶ περ καὶ πρὸς Ἁγιν, αὐτόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἀπιέναι, καὶ, εἴ τι δέονται εἰρήνης, κύλλιον ἦκειν βουλευσαμένους. **14.** Οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἤκου οἴκαδε, καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἀθυμία ἐνέπεσε πᾶσιν· ὥντο γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθήσεσθαι, καὶ, ἕως ἂν πέμπωσιν ἐτέρους πρέσβεις, πολλοὺς τῷ λιμῷ ἀπολείσθαι. **15.** περὶ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς καθαιρέσεως οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο συμβουλευεῖν· Ἀρχέστρατος γὰρ, εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ Λακεδαιμονίοις κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς προεκαλοῦντο εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἐδέθη· (προεκαλοῦντο δὲ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίου καθελεῖν ἑκάτερον) ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα μὴ ἐξεῖναι περὶ τούτων συμβουλευεῖν.

16. Τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων, Θηραμένης εἶπεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὅτι, εἰ βούλονται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ Λύσανδρον, εἰδὼς ἥξει Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενοι ἀντέχουσι περὶ τῶν τειχῶν, ἢ πίστεως ἔνεκα. πεμφθεὶς δὲ διέτριβε παρὰ Λυσάνδρῳ τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ

πλείω, ἐπιτηρῶν ὅποτε Ἀθηναῖοι ἔμελλον, διὰ τὸ ἐπιλειπέναι τὸν σῖτον ἅπαντα, ὅτι τις λέγοι ὁμολογήσειν.

17. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκε τῷ τετάρτῳ μηνί, ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος τέως μὲν κατέχοι, εἴτα κελεύει ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἵεναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος ὧν ἐρωτῶτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς Ἐφόρους. μετὰ ταῦτα ἤρέθη πρεσβευτῆς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα αὐτοκράτωρ δέκατος αὐτός.

18. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς Ἐφόροις ἔπεμψεν ἀγγελοῦντα μετ' ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀριστοτέλην, φυγάδα Ἀθηναίων ὄντα, ὅτι ἀποκρίναιτο Θηραμένει ἐκείνους κυρίους εἶναι εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου. **19.** Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις, ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, ἐρωτῶμενοι ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ ἦκοιεν, εἶπον ὅτι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης. μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ Ἐφοροὶ καλεῖν ἐκέλευον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκον, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἀντέλεγον Κορίνθιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι μάλιστα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ' ἐξαιρεῖν. **20.** Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἀνδραποδιεῖν, μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἰργασμένην ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις γενομένοις τῇ Ἑλλάδι· ἀλλ' ἐποιοῦντο εἰρήνην, ἐφ' ᾗ τὰ τε μακρὰ τεῖχος καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθελόντας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλὴν δώδεκα παραδόντας, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καθέντας, τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας, Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔπεσθαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, ὅποι ἂν ἡγῶνται. **21.** Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἐπανεφέροντο ταῦτα ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. εἰσιόντας δ' αὐτοὺς ὄχλος περιεχεῖτο πολλὸς, φοβούμενοι μὴ ἄπρακτοι ἦκοιεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει μένειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τῷ λιμῷ. **22.** Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπήγγελλον οἱ πρέσβεις ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῦντο τὴν εἰρήνην· προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Θηραμένης, λέγων ὥς χρὴ πείθεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὰ τεῖχος περιαιρεῖν.

ἀντειπόντων δέ τινων αὐτῷ, πολλῷ δὲ πλείονων ξυνε-
 παινεσάντων, ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. **23.** Μετὰ δὲ
 ταῦτα Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ οἱ
 φυγῶδες κατήεσαν, καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρί-
 δων πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ, νομίζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ
 Ἑλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

III. Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει — ἐν ᾧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς, ἣ τὸ στά-
 διον ἐνίκα Κροκίνας Θετταλὸς, Εὐδίου ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφορεύ-
 οντος, Πυθοδώρου δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις ἄρχοντος, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι,
 ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἥρεθον, οὐκ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν
 τὸν ἐναιυτὸν καλοῦσιν· ἐγένετο δὲ αὕτη ἡ ὀλιγαρχία ὧδε —
2. ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι, οἱ τοὺς πα-
 τρίους νόμους ξυγγράψουσι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύουσιν· καὶ
 ἡρέθησαν οὗτοι, Πολυάρχης, Κριτίας, Μηλόβιος, Ἴππό-
 λοχος, Εὐκλείδης, Ἰέρων, Μνησίλοχος, Χρέμων, Θηρα-
 μένης, Ἀρεσίας, Διοκλῆς, Φαιδρίας, Χαιρέλεως, Ἀναίτιος,
 Πείσων, Σοφοκλῆς, Ἐρατοσθένης, Χαρικλῆς, Ὀνομακλῆς,
 Θεόγνης, Αἰσχίνης, Θεογένης, Κλεομήδης, Ἐρασίστρατος,
 Φεῖδων, Δρακοντίδης, Εὐμάθης, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ἴππόμαχος,
 Μνησιθείδης. **3.** Τούτων δὴ πραχθέντων, ἀπέπλει Λύσαν-
 δρος πρὸς Σάμον· Ἄγις δ' ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ
 πεζὸν στράτευμα, διέλυσε κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστους. . . .

11. Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἡρέθησαν μὲν ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ
 μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθήρεθον· αἰρεθέν-
 τες δὲ ἐφ' ᾧτε ξυγγράψαι νόμους, καθ' οὓσιν αὖς πολιτεύ-
 σουντο, τούτους μὲν αἰεὶ ἔμελλον ξυγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀπο-
 δεικνύναι, βουλὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν, ὥς
 ἔδόκει αὐτοῖς. **12.** Ἐπειτα πρῶτον μὲν, οὓς πάντες ᾔδε-
 σαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας, καὶ τοῖς
 καλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς βαρεῖς ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπήγον
 θανάτου· καὶ ἡ τε βουλὴ ἡδέως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο, οἷ τε

ἄλλοι, ὅσοι ξυνήδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι, οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο. **13.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο βουλευέσθαι ὅπως ἂν ἐξείη αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βούλονται, ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν, πέμψαντες ἐς Λακεδαίμονα Αἰσχίνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην, ἔπεισαν Λύσανδρον φρουροὺς σφίσι ξυμπράξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἕως δὴ, τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκποδὼν ποιησάμενοι, καταστήσαι τὴν πολιτείαν· θρέψειν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπισχνούντο. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς, τοὺς τε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον ἀρμοστήν ξυνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι.

14. Οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἔλαβον, τὸν μὲν Καλλίβιον ἐθεράπευον πάσῃ θεραπείᾳ, ὥς πάντα ἐπαινοίῃ ἃ πράττειεν· τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν τούτου ξυμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὐς ἐβούλονται, ξυνελάμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς πονηροὺς τε καὶ ὀλίγους ἀξίους, ἀλλ' ἤδη οὓς ἐνόμιζον ἥκιστα μὲν παρωθυμένους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δὲ τι ἐπιχειροῦντας πλείστους ἂν τοὺς ξυνεθέλοντας λαμβάνειν. **15.** Τῷ μὲν οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει ὁμογνώμων τε καὶ φίλος ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν προπετὴς ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνειν, αἶτε καὶ φυγῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ἀντέκοπτε, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶη θανατοῦν, εἴ τις ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργάζετο· Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγὼ, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ τοῦ ἀρέσκειν ἕνεκα τῇ πόλει καὶ εἵπομεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν. **16.** Ὁ δὲ (ἔτι γὰρ οἰκείως ἐχρήτο τῷ Θηραμένει) ἀντέλεγεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωροίῃ τοῖς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένοις, μὴ οὐκ ἐκποδὼν ποιείσθαι τοὺς ἱκανωτάτους διακωλύειν· Εἰ δὲ, ὅτι τριακοντὰ ἔσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἰς, ἡττόν τι οἶε, ὥσπερ τυραννίδος, ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς χρῆναι ἐπιμελείσθαι, εὐήθης εἶ.

17. Ἐπεὶ δὲ, ἀποθυησκότων πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως, πολλοὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν ξυνιστάμενοί τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες τί

ἔσοιτο ἡ πολιτεία, πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὁ Θηραμένης, ὅτι, εἰ μή τις κοινωνοὺς ἱκανοὺς λήψοιτο τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀδύνατον ἔσοιτο τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν διαμένειν. 18. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἤδη φοβούμενοι, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸν Θηραμένην, μὴ συρρυνείησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται, καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίους τοὺς μεθεξέοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων. 19. ὁ δ' αὖ Θηραμένης καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἄτοπον δοκοίη ἑαυτῷ εἶναι, τὸ πρῶτον μὲν βουλομένους τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίους, ὥσπερ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τούτου ἔχοντά τινα ἀνάγκην καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ οὐτ' ἔξω τούτων σπουδαίους, οὐτ' ἐντὸς τούτων πονηροὺς οἷόν τε εἶη γενέσθαι. Ἐπεὶτα δ', ἔφη, ὁρῶ ἔγωγε δύο ὑμᾶς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πρῶττοντας, βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἡττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων κατασκευαζομένους. 20. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. οἱ δ' ἐξέτασιν ποιήσαντες τῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δὲ ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ, ἔπειτα κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἐν ᾧ ἐκείνοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν, πέμφαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ὁμογνώμονας αὐτοῖς, τὰ ὄπλα πάντων, πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων, παρείλοντο· καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες ταῦτα ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ξυνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ.

21. Τούτων δὲ γενομένων, ὡς ἐξὸν ἤδη ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ὅτι βούλοιντο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχθρας ἕνεκα ἀπέκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἔχοιεν καὶ τοῖς φρουροῖς χρήματα διδόναι, καὶ τῶν μετοίκων ἕνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείνειν, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀποσημήνασθαι. 22. Ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην λαβεῖν ὅντινα βούλοιτο. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἄλλ' οὐ δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, καλὸν εἶναι, φάσκοντας βελτίστους εἶναι, ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκοφαντῶν ποιεῖν. ἐκείνοι μὲν γὰρ, παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν, ζῆν εἶων· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀποκτενούμεν

μηδὲν ἀδικούντας, ἵνα χρήματα λαμβάνωμεν ; πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων ἀδικώτερα ; 23. Οἱ δ', ἐμποδὼν νομίζοντες αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν ὅτι βούλονται, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδία πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον διέβαλλον, ὡς λυμαινόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ παραγγείλαντες νεανίσκοις, οἱ ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι εἶναι, ξιφίδια ὑπὸ μύλης ἔχοντας παραγενέσθαι, ξυνέλεξαν τὴν βουλὴν. 24. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Θηραμένης παρῆν, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν ὧδε·

᾽Ω ἄνδρες βουλευταῖ, εἰ μὲν τις ὑμῶν νομίζει πλέονας τοῦ καιροῦ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἐννοησάτω ὅτι, ὅπου πολιτείαι μεθίστανται, πανταχοῦ ταῦτα γίγνεται· πλείστους δ' ἀνάγκη πολέμιους εἶναι τοῖς ἐς ὀλιγαρχίαν μεθιστάσιν, διὰ τε τὸ πολυανθρωποτάτην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστον χρόνον ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν δῆμον τεθράφθαι. 25. ἡμεῖς δὲ, γνόντες μὲν τοῖς ὅοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν χαλεπὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν, γνόντες δὲ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῖς περισώσασιν ἡμᾶς ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὐποτ' ἂν φίλος γένοιτο, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι αἰεὶ ἂν πιστοὶ διατελοῖεν, διὰ ταῦτα σὺν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων γνώμῃ τήνδε τὴν πολιτείαν καθίσταμεν. 26. καὶ εἴν τινα αἰσθανώμεθα ἐναντίον τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ὅσον δυνάμεθα ἐκποδὼν ποιούμεθα· πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα ἡμῖν δοκεῖ δίκαιον εἶναι, εἴ τις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαίνεται ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει, δίκην αὐτὸν διδόναι. 27. Νῦν οὖν αἰσθανόμεθα Θηραμένην τουτονὶ, οἷς δύναται, ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, ἦν κατανοήτε, εὐρήσετε οὔτε ψέγοντα οὐδένα μᾶλλον Θηραμένους τουτουὶ τὰ παρόντα, οὔτε ἐναντιούμενον, ὅταν τινὰ ἐκποδὼν βουλόμεθα ποιήσασθαι τῶν δημαγωγῶν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα ἐγίγνωσκε, πολέμιος μὲν ἦν, οὐ μέντοι πονηρὸς γ' ἂν δικαίως ἐνομίζετο. 28. νῦν δὲ, —

αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πίστεως καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἐξορμήσας ἡμᾶς τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπαγομένοις εἰς ἡμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι, — νῦν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς φανερώς ἐχθροὶ τῷ δήμῳ γεγενήμεθα, οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ τὰ γιννόμενα ἀρέσκει, ὅπως αὐτὸς μὲν αὖ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καταστή, ἡμεῖς δὲ δίκην δώμεν τῶν πεπραγμένων. **29.** ὥστε οὐ μόνον ὡς ἐχθρῷ αὐτῷ προσήκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς προδότῃ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν, δίδόναι τὴν δίκην. καίτοι τοσούτῳ μὲν δεινότερον προδοσίᾳ πολέμου, ὅσῳ χαλεπώτερον φυλάξασθαι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ φανεροῦ· τοσούτῳ δ' ἐχθιον, ὅσῳ πολέμιοι μὲν ἄνθρωποι καὶ σπένδονται αὐθις, καὶ πιστοὶ γίνονται· ὃν δ' ἂν προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι, τούτῳ οὔτε ἐσπείσατο πώποτε οὐδεὶς, οὔτ' ἐπίστευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ. **30.** Ἴνα δὲ εἰδῇτε ὅτι οὐ καινὰ ταῦτα οὗτος ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ φύσει προδότης ἐστίν, ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς τὰ τούτῳ πεπραγμένα. οὗτος γάρ, ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἀγνωνα, προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τὴν δημοκρατίαν μεταστήσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἐπρώτευν ἐν ἐκείνοις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσθετο ἀντίπαλόν τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ξυνιστάμενον, πρῶτος αὖ ἡγεμὼν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐγένετο. **31.** ὅθεν δήπου καὶ κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἀρμόττειν μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δ' ἐπ' ἀμφότερον. δεῖ δὲ, ὦ Θηράμενες, ἄνδρα τὸν ἄξιον ξὴν οὐ προάγειν μὲν δεινὸν εἶναι εἰς πράγματα τοὺς ξυνόντας, ἣν δέ τι ἀντικόπτῃ, εὐθὺς μεταβύλλεσθαι· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν νηὶ διαπονεῖσθαι, ἕως ἂν εἰς οὖρον καταστῶσιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πῶς ἂν ἀφίκοντό ποτε ἔνθα δεῖ, εἰ, ἐπειδὴν τι ἀντικόψῃ, εὐθὺς ἐς τὰναντία πλείοιεν; **32.** Καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν θανατηφόροι· σὺ δὲ, διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολος εἶναι, πλείστοις μὲν μεταίτιος εἰ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ

δήμου ἀπολωλέναι, πλείστοις δ' ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων. Οὗτος δέ τοί ἐστιν, ὃς, ταχθεὶς ἀνελέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοὺς καταδύντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβου ναυμαχίᾳ, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος, ὅμως τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοὺς, ἵνα αὐτὸς περισωθείη.

33. ὅστις γε μὴν φανερός ἐστι τοῦ μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν ἀεὶ ἐπιμελούμενος, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων μηδὲν ἐντρέπόμενος, πῶς τούτου χρή ποτε φείσασθαι; πῶς δ' οὐ φυλάσσασθαι, εἰδότες αὐτοῦ τὰς μεταβολὰς, ὥς μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ταῦτο δυνασθῇ ποιῆσαι; ἡμεῖς οὖν τοῦτον ὑπάγομεν καὶ ὥς ἐπιβουλεύοντα, καὶ ὥς προδιδόντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς.

34. Ὡς δ' εἰκότα ποιοῦμεν, καὶ τὰδ' ἐννοήσατε. καλλίστη μὲν γὰρ δήπου δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἐπιχειρήσειέ τις τῶν Ἐφόρων, ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς πλείοσι πείθεσθαι, ψέγειν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν Ἐφόρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας ἀξιωθῆναι; καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν, εἰς σωφρονῆτε, οὐ τούτου ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθε· ὥς οὗτος, σωθεὶς μὲν, πολλοὺς ἂν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιήσειε τῶν ἐναντία γιγνωσκόντων ὑμῖν· ἀπολόμενος δὲ, πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ὑποτέμοι ἂν τὰς ἐλπίδας.

35. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο· Θηραμένης δὲ ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὃ τελευταῖον κατ' ἐμοῦ εἶπε. φησὶ γάρ με τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἤρχον κατ' ἐκείνων λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοι ἔφασαν, προσταχθέν μοι ὑφ' ἐαυτῶν, οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβου ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος, ὥς διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα οὐδὲ πλεῖν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, δυνατὸν ἦν, ἔδοξα τῇ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκείνοι δὲ ἐαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐφεί-

νοντο· φάσκοντες γὰρ οἷόν τε εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, προέμενοι αὐτοὺς ὑπολέσθαι, ἀποπλέοντες ὥχοντο. **36.** οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω γε τὸ Κριτίαν παρανενομηκεῖναι· ὅτε γὰρ ταῦτα ἦν, οὐ παρὼν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν κατεσκεύαζε, καὶ τοὺς πενέστας ὥπλιζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας. **37.** ὧν μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκεῖ ἔπραττε, μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο· τὰδε γε μέντοι ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς βούλεται παῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιβουλευόντας ὑμῖν ἰσχυροὺς ποιεῖν, δίκαιον εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης αὐτὸν τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν. ὅστις μέντοι ὁ ταῦτα πράττων ἐστίν, οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς κάλλιστα κρίνειν, τά τε πεπραγμένα καὶ ἃ νῦν πράττει ἕκαστος ἡμῶν εἰ κατανοήσετε. **38.** Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ὑμᾶς τε καταστήναι ἐς τὴν βουλείαν, καὶ ἀρχαὺς ἀποδειχθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκοφάντας ὑπάγεσθαι, πάντες ταῦτα ἐγινώσκωμεν· ἐπεὶ δέ γε οὗτοι ἤρξαντο ἄνδρας καλοὺς τε ἀγαθοὺς ξυλλαμβάνειν, ἐκ τούτου ἀγῶ ἡρξάμην τὰναντία τούτοις γινώσκειν. **39.** ἤδειν γὰρ ὅτι, ἀποθνήσκοντος μὲν Λέοντος τοῦ Σαλαμινίου, ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὄντος καὶ δοκούντος ἱκανοῦ εἶναι, ἀδικούντος δ' οὐδὲ ἐν, οἱ ὅμοιοι τούτῳ φοβήσονται, φοβούμενοι δὲ ἐναντίοι τῇδε τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσονται. ἐγίνωσκον δὲ ὅτι, ξυλλαμβανομένου Νικηράτου τοῦ Νικίου, καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὐδὲν πώποτε δημοτικὸν οὔτε αὐτοῦ οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς πράξαντος, οἱ τούτῳ ὅμοιοι δυσμενεῖς ὑμῖν γενήσονται. **40.** ἀλλὰ μὴν, καὶ Ἀντιφῶντος ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀπολλυμένου, ὃς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τριήρεις εὖ πλεούσας παρείχετο, ἠπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόθυμοι τῇ πόλει γεγεννημένοι πάντες ὑπόπτως ὑμῖν ἔξοιεν. ἀντείπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἓνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν ἔφασαν χρῆναι· εὐδηλον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι, τούτων ἀπολομένων, καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι ἅπαντες πολέμιοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ

ἔσονται. 41. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ πλήθους παρρηρῶντο, οὐ νομίζων χρήναι ἀσθενῇ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἑώρων τούτου ἕνεκα βουλομένους περισώσαι ἡμᾶς, ὅπως, ὀλίγοι γενόμενοι, μὴδὲν δυναίμεθα αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖν· ἔξῃ γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τούτου γ' ἑδέοντο, καὶ μὴδένα λιπεῖν, ὀλίγον ἔτι χρόνον τῷ λιμῷ πιέσαντας. 42. οὐδέ γε τὸ φρουροὺς μισθοῦσθαι ξυνήρεσκέ μοι, ἔξον αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτῶν τοσούτους προσλαμβάνειν, ἕως ῥαδίως οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐμέλλομεν τῶν ἀρχομένων κρατήσιν. Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν πολλοὺς ἑώρων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇδε δυσμενεῖς, πολλοὺς δὲ φυγάδας γιγνομένους, οὐκ αὖ ἐδόκει μοι οὔτε Θρασύβουλον οὔτε Ἄνυτον οὔτε Ἀλκιβιάδην φυγαδεύειν· ἦδεν γὰρ ὅτι οὕτω γε τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἰσχυρὸν ἔσοιτο, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλήθει ἡγεμόνες ἱκανοὶ προσγενήσοιτο, τοῖς δὲ ἡγείσθαι βουλομένοις ξυμμάχοι πολλοὶ φανήσοιτο. 43. Ὅ ταῦτα οὖν νουθετῶν ἐν τῷ φανερώ, πότερα εὐμενῆς ἂν δικαίως, ἢ προδότης νομίζοιτο; οὐχ οἱ ἐχθροὺς, ὧ Κριτία, κωλύοντες πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, οὐδὲ οἱ ξυμμάχους πλείστους διδάσκοντες κτᾶσθαι, οὗτοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἰσχυροὺς ποιοῦσιν· ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον οἱ ἀδίκως τε χρήματα ἀφαιρούμενοι, καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικούντας ἀποκτείνοντες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐναντίους ποιοῦντες, καὶ προδίδόντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς φίλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς, δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν. 44. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλως γνωστὸν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ὧδε ἐπισκέψασθε. πότερον οἴεσθε Θρασύβουλον, καὶ Ἄνυτον, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας, ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω μᾶλλον ἂν ἰνθάδε βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι, ἢ ἃ οὗτοι πράττουσιν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς νομίζειν ξυμμάχων πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι· εἰ δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς ἡμῖν εἶχε, χαλεπὸν ἂν ἡγείσθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν ποι τῆς χώρας. 45. Ἄ δ' αὖ εἶπεν, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰμι οἶος αἰεὶ ποτε

μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν μὲν γὰρ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς δῆπου ὁ δῆμος ἔψηφίσατο, διδασκόμενος ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πύσῃ πολιτείᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ δημοκρατίᾳ πιστεύσειαν. 46. ἐπεὶ δέ γε ἐκείνοι μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνέεσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Μελάνθιον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον, στρατηγοῦντες, φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα τειχίζοντες, ἐς δὲ ἐβούλοντο τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι ὑφ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, — εἰ ταῦτ' αἰσθόμενος ἐγὼ διεκώλυσσα, τοῦτ' ἔστι προδότην εἶναι τῶν φίλων; 47. Ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με, ὡς ἀμφοτέροις πειρώμενον ἀρμόττειν· ὅστις δὲ μηδετέροις ἀρέσκει, τοῦτον — ὧ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν — τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι χρή; σὺ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοδημότατος ἐνομίζου, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοχρηστότατος γεγένησαι. 48. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ Κριτία, ἐκείνοις μὲν αἰεὶ ποτε πολεμῶ τοῖς οὐ πρόσθεν οἰομένοις καλὴν ἂν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, πρὶν καὶ οἱ δούλοι, καὶ οἱ δι' ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς ἂν ἀποδόμενοι τὴν πόλιν, δραχμῆς μετέχοιεν· καὶ τοῖσδέ γ' αὖ αἰεὶ ἐναντίος εἰμι, δι' οὐκ οἶνται καλὴν ἂν ἐγγενέσθαι ὀλιγαρχίαν, πρὶν εἰς τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων τυραννεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν καταστήσειαν. τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις, καὶ μεθ' ἵππων καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων ὠφελεῖν διὰ τούτων τὴν πολιτείαν, πρόσθεν ἄριστον ἡγούμεν εἶναι, καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβάλλομαι. 49. εἰ δ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ὦ Κριτία, ὅπου ἐγὼ ξὺν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἢ τυραννικοῖς τοὺς καλοὺς τε κύγαθους ἀποστερεῖν πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησα, λέγε· ἐν γὰρ ἐλεγχθῶ ἢ νῦν ταῦτα πράττων, ἢ πρότερον πώποτε ταῦτα πεποιηκώς, ὁμολογῶ τὰ πάντων ἐσχατώτατα παθὼν ἂν δικαίως ἀποθνήσκειν.

50. Ὡς δ' εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ δῆλη ἐγένετο εὐμενῶς ἐπιθορυβήσασα, γνοὺς ὁ Κριτίας ὅτι, εἰ

ἐπιτρέψει τῇ βουλῇ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀναφεύξειτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγησάμενος, προσελθὼν καὶ διαλεχθεὶς τι τοῖς τριάκοντα, ἐξῆλθε, καὶ ἐπιστῆναι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας φανερώς τῇ βουλῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις. 51. πάλιν δ' εἰσελθὼν, εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ, ὦ βουλή, νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἷον δεῖ, ὃς ἂν ὀρών τοὺς φίλους ἐξαπατωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπη. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσω. καὶ γὰρ οἷδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες οὗ φασιν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνήσομεν ἄνδρα τὸν φανερώς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν λυμαινόμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις, τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις ὄντων μηδένα ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου· τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου κυρίου εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτονὶ ἐξαλείψω ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, ξυνδοκοῦν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν. καὶ τοῦτον, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς θανατοῦμεν.

52. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑστίαν, καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἱκετεύω τὰ πάντων ἐννομώτατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτία εἶναι ἐξαλείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ, μήτε ὑμῶν ὃν ἂν βούληται, ἀλλ', ὅνπερ νόμον οὗτοι ἔγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι. 53. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, οὐκ ἄγνοῶ, ὅτι οὐδέν μοι ἀρκέσει ὃδε ὁ βωμός· ἀλλὰ βούλομαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι οὗτοι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβέστατοι. Ὑμῶν μέντοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες καλοὶ κάγαθοι, θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γινγνώσκοντες ὅτι οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα εὐεξαλειπτότερον ἢ τὸ ὑμῶν ἐκάστου.

54. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκέλευσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα κῆρυξ τοὺς ἑνδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην. ἐκείνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρεταῖς, ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν Σατύρου, τοῦ θρασυτάτου αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναιδεστάτου, εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας· Παρα-

δίδομεν ὑμῖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτονὶ, κατακεκριμένον κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ὑμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες, οἱ ἔνδεκα, οὐ δεῖ, τὰ ἐκ τούτων πράσσετε. 55. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν, εἶλκε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυρος, εἶλκον δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται. ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς, καὶ θεοὺς ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ ἀνθρώπους καθορᾶν τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ὁρῶσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις ὁμοίους Σατύρω, καὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πλήρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες παρήσαν. 56. οἱ δ' ἀπήγαγον τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, μᾶλα μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα οἷα ἔπασχε. Λέγεται δὲ ἐν ῥήματι καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ· ὥς εἶπεν ὁ Σάτυρος, ὅτι οἰμῳόετο εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν, ἐπήρετο· Ἄν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἄρα, ἔφη, οἰμῳόμαι; Καὶ ἐπεὶ γε ἀποθνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον ἔπιε, τὸ λειπόμενον ἔφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἰπεῖν αὐτόν· Κριτία τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα· ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαστὸν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρестηκότος μήτε τὸ φρόνιμον μήτε τὸ παιγνιώδες ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

IV. Θηραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ὡς ἔξω ἤδη αὐτοῖς τυραννεῖν ἀδεῶς, προεῖπον μὲν τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰσιέναι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ἦγον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ἵνα αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς τούτων ἀγροὺς ἔχοιεν. φευγόντων δὲ ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πολλοὺς ἄγοντες, ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τὰς Θήβας τῶν ὑποχωρούντων.

2. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος, ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θηβῶν ὡς σὺν ἐβδομήκοντα, Φυλὴν χωρίον καταλαμβάνει ἰσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος σὺν τε τοῖς τρισχιλίοις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι, καὶ μάλ' ἐνήμερίας οὔσης.

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, εὐθὺς μὲν θρασυνόμενοί τινες τῶν νέων προσέβαλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδέν, τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες ἀπῆλθον. 3. βουλομένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀποτευχίζειν, ὅπως ἐκπολιορκήσειαν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσαντες αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιὼν παμπληθὴς καὶ τῇ ὕστεραία· οἱ δὲ νιφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μάλα συχνούς τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς ἀποβαλόντες. 4. γιγνώσκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν λεηλατήσοιεν, εἰ μὴ τις φυλακὴ ἔσοιτο, διαπέμπουσιν εἰς τὰς ἰσχατίας, ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, τοὺς τε Λακωνικοὺς πλὴν ὀλίγων φρουροὺς, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων δύο φυλάς. οὗτοι δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐν χωρίῳ λασίῳ, ἐφύλαττον.

5. Ὁ δὲ Θρασύβουλος, ἥδη συνειλεγμένων ἐς τὴν Φυλὴν περὶ ἑπτακοσίους, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς, καταβαίνει τῆς νυκτός· θέμενος δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ὅσον τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια ἀπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν, ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν. 6. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγγίγντο, καὶ ἥδη ἀνίσταντο, ὅποι ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος, ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ οἱ ἱπποκόμοι ψήχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ψόφον ἐποιοῦν, ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον τὰ ὅπλα, δρόμῳ προσέπιπτον· καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὖς αὐτῶν κατέβαλον, πάντας δὲ τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωξαν ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια· καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πλεον ἢ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων Νικόστρατόν τε τὸν καλὸν ἐπικαλούμενον, καὶ ἄλλους δὲ δύο, ἔτι καταλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς. 7. ἐπαναχωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον στησάμενοι, συσκευασάμενοι ὅπλα τε ὅσα ἔλαβον καὶ σκεύη, ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ Φυλῆς. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἄστεος ἱππεῖς βοηθήσαντες τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἔτι εἶδον· προσμείναντες δὲ ἕως τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλονται οἱ προσήκοντες, ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ.

8. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζοντες ἀσφαλῆ

σφίσι τὰ πρῶγμματα, ἐβουλήθησαν Ἐλευσίνα ἐξιδιώσασθαι, ὥστε εἶναι σφίσι καταφυγὴν, εἰ δεήσειε. καὶ παραγγείλαντες τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, ἦλθον εἰς Ἐλευσίνα Κριτίας τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν τριάκοντα· ἐξέτασιν τε ποιήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι, φάσκοντες εἰδέναι βούλεσθαι πόσοι εἶεν καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προσδεήσονται, ἐκέλευον ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας· τὸν δὲ ἀπογραφάμενον αἰεὶ διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐξέναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κατέστησαν, τὸν δ' ἐξιόντα αἰεὶ οἱ ὑπῆρται ξυνέδουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες ξυνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, Λυσίμαχον τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐκέλευσαν ἀναγαγόντα παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἑνδεκα.

9. Τῇ δ' ὕστεραίᾳ εἰς τὸ Ὀλιδεῖον παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας. ἀναστὰς δὲ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν· Ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἤττον ὑμῖν κατασκευάζομεν τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μεθέξετε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν κινδύνων μετέχειν. τῶν οὖν ξυνειλεγμένων Ἐλευσινίων καταψηφιστέον ἐστίν, ἵνα ταῦτα ὑμῖν καὶ θαρρήτε καὶ φοβῆσθε. Δείξας δὲ τι χωρίον, εἰς τοῦτο ἐκέλευσε φανεράν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον. 10. οἱ δὲ Λακωνικοὶ φρουροὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ Ὀλιδείου ἐξωπλισμένοι ἦσαν· ἦν δὲ ταῦτα ἀρεστὰ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅσοις τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον ἔμελεν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, περὶ χιλίους ἤδη ξυνειλεγμένους, ἀφικνέεται τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο ταῦτα, εὐθύς ἐβοήθουν σὺν τε τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς, καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις· ἔπειτα ἐχώρουν κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἀμαξιτὸν ἀναφέρουσιν. 11. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχειρήσαν μὴ ἀνιέναι αὐτούς· ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὦν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι, οὕπῳ πολλοῖς οὖσι, συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ

ἄστεος εἰς τὴν Ἰπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες, πρῶτον μὲν ξυνετάξαντο, ὥστε ἐμπλῆσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἣ φέρει πρὸς τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον· καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων. οὕτω δὲ συντεταγμένοι ἐχώρουν ἄνω. 12. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντανέπλησαν μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν, βάθος δὲ οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δέκα ὀπλίτας ἐγένοντο. ἐτάχθησαν μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταὶ, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὗτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ προσήεσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, Θρασύβουλος τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰς ἀσπίδας, καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅπλα ἔχων, κατὰ μέσον στας, ἔλεξεν·

13. Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τοὺς μὲν διδάξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμνησσαι ὑμῶν βούλομαι, ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν προσιόντων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἡμέραν πέμπτην τρεψύμενοι ἐδιώξατε· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔσχατοι, οὗτοι δὲ οἱ τριάκοντα, οἱ ἡμᾶς καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρουσιν οὐδὲν ἀδικούντας, καὶ οἰκιῶν ἐξήλαντον, καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαίνοντο. ἀλλὰ νῦν τοι παραγεγέννηται, οὐ οὗτοι μὲν οὐποτε ᾤοντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ αἰεὶ εὐχόμεθα. 14. ἔχοντες γὰρ ὅπλα μὲν ἐναντίοι αὐτοῖς καθέσταμεν· οἱ δὲ θεοὶ — ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δειπνοῦντες ξυνελαμβανόμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικούντες, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντες ἐφυγαδενόμεθα — νῦν φανερώς ἡμῖν συμμαχοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν εὐδία χειμῶνα ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἡμῖν συμφέρῃ· καὶ ὅταν ἐγχειρῶμεν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐναντίων, ὀλίγοις οὖσι τρόπαια ἴστασθαι διδώσι. 15. καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομίκασιν ἡμᾶς εἰς χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι μὲν οὔτε βάλλειν οὔτε ἀκοντίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων, διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὀρθιον ἵεναι, δύναιντ' ἄν· ἡμεῖς δὲ, ἐς τὸ κάταντες καὶ

δόρατα ἀφιέντες καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους, ἐξιζόμεθά τε αὐτῶν, καὶ πολλοὺς κατατρώσομεν. **16.** καὶ ᾤετο μὲν ἂν τις δεήσειν τοῖς γε πρωτοστάταις ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσου μάχεσθαι· νῦν δὲ, ἂν ὑμεῖς, ὥσπερ προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφίητε τὰ βέλη, ἀμαρτήσεται μὲν οὐδεὶς ὧν γε μεστή ἡ ὁδός, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ δραπετεύουσιν αἰεὶ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν· ὥστε ἐξέσται ὥσπερ τυφλοὺς καὶ τύπτειν, ὅπου ἂν βουλώμεθα, καὶ ἐναλλομένους ἀνατρέπειν. **17.** Ἄλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, οὕτω χρή ποιεῖν, ὅπως ἕκαστός τις ἑαυτῷ συνείσεται τῆς νίκης αἰτιώτατος ὢν. αὕτη γὰρ ἡμῖν, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ πατρίδα καὶ οἶκους καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ παῖδας, οἷς εἰσὶ, καὶ γυναῖκας. ὦ μακύριοι δῆτα, οἳ ἂν ἡμῶν νικήσαντες ἐπίδωσι τὴν πασῶν ἡδίστην ἡμέραν· εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ἂν τις ἀποθάνῃ· μνημείου γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὕτω πλούσιος ὢν καλοῦ τεύξεται. Ἐξάρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ, ἡνίκ' ἂν καιρὸς ᾗ, παιᾶνα· ὅταν δὲ τὸν Ἐνυάλιον παρακαλέσωμεν, τότε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν, ἀνθ' ὧν ὑβρίσθημεν, τιμωρώμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας.

18. Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν, καὶ μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἡσυχίαν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντις παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν σφετέρων ἢ πέσοι τις ἢ τρωθείῃ· Ἐπειδὴν μέντοι τοῦτο γένηται, ἡγησόμεθα μὲν, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς· νίκη δὲ ἡμῖν ἔσται ἐπομένη, ἐμοὶ μέντοι θάνατος, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. **19.** καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μοίρας τινὸς ἀγόμενος, ἐκπηδήσας πρῶτος, ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀποθνήσκει· καὶ τέθαιπται ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κηφισοῦ· οἳ δ' ἄλλοι ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν μέχρι τοῦ ὁμαλοῦ. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἰππόμαχος· τῶν δ' ἐν Πειραιεὶ δέκα ἀρχόντων, Χαρμίδης ὁ Γλαύκωνος· τῶν δ' ἄλλων περὶ ἐβδομήκοντα. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἔλαβον,

τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας οὐδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσκύλευσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδουσαν, προσιώντες ἀλλήλοις πολλοὶ διελέγοντο.

20. Κλεόκριτος δὲ, ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κῆρυξ, μάλ' εὐφωγὸς ὢν, κατασιωπησάμενος ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τί ἡμᾶς ἐξελαύνετε; τί ἀποκτεῖναι βούλεσθε; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακὸν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποιήσαμεν, μετεσχῆκαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἱερῶν τῶν σεμνοτάτων, καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἐορτῶν τῶν καλλίστων, καὶ ξυγχορευταὶ καὶ ξυμφοιτηταὶ γεγενήμεθα καὶ ξυστρατιῶται, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κεκινδυνεύκαμεν κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας. 21. πρὸς θεῶν πατρώων καὶ μητρώων, καὶ ξυγγενείας, καὶ κηδεστίας, καὶ ἐταιρίας (πάντων γὰρ τούτων πολλοὶ κοινωνοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις), αἰδοῦμενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους, παύσασθε ἀμαρτάνοντες ἐς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριάκοντα, οἱ ἰδίων κερδέων ἕνεκα ὀλίγου δεῖν πλείους ἀπεκτόνασιν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ὁκτῶ μηνσιν, ἣ πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι δέκα ἔτη πολεμοῦντες. 22. ἐξὸν δ' ἡμῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολιτεύεσθαι, οὗτοι τὸν πάντων αἰσχιστόν τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἔχθιστον καὶ θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις πόλεμον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχουσιν. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι καὶ τῶν νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντων οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔστιν οὗς πολλὰ κατεδακρύσαμεν.

Ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες, καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιαῦτα προσακούειν, τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ. 23. τῇ δ' ὕστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα πάννυ δὴ ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι ξυνεκάθητο ἐν τῷ ξυνεδρίῳ· τῶν δὲ τρισχιλίων ὅπου ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπεποιήκεσάν τι βιαιότερον καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐντόνως ἔλεγον ὥς οὐ χρή καθυ-

φίεσθαι τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ· ὅσοι δὲ ἐπίστευον μηδὲν ἡδικη-
κέναι, αὐτοὶ τε ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκον,
ὥς οὐδὲν δέοιντο τούτων τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα
οὐκ ἔφασαν χρήναι πείθεσθαι, οὐδ' ἐπιτρέπουν ἀπολλύναι
τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκείνους μὲν
καταπαῦσαι, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλέεσθαι· καὶ εἵλοντο δέκα, ἕνα
ἀπὸ φυλῆς.

24. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἐλευσινάδε ἀπῆλθον· οἱ δὲ
δέκα τῶν ἐν ἄστει, καὶ μάλα τεταραγμένων καὶ ἀπιστούν-
των ἀλλήλοις, σὺν τοῖς ἱππάρχοις ἐπεμέλοντο. ἐξεκίθευ-
δον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν τῷ Ὀιδείφ, τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ τὰς
ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες, καὶ δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐφώδευον τὸ μὲν ἀφ'
ἐσπέρας σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι κατὰ τὰ τεῖχη, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὄρθρον
σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις, αἰὲ φοβούμενοι μὴ ἐπεισπέσοιέν τινες
αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς. 25. Οἱ δὲ, πολλοὶ τε ἤδη
ὄντες καὶ παντοδαποὶ, ὅπλα ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ μὲν ξύλινα, οἱ δὲ
οἰσύνινα, καὶ ταῦτα ἐλευκοῦντο. πρὶν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα γενέ-
σθαι, πιστὰ δόντες οἵτινες ξυμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ ξένοι εἰεν,
ἰσοτέλειαν ἔσεσθαι, ἐξήρσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ὀπλίται, πολλοὶ
δὲ γυμνῆτες (ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππεῖς ὥσεί ἐβδομή-
κοντα), προνομᾶς δὲ ποιούμενοι, καὶ λαμβάνοντες ξύλα καὶ
ὀπώραν, ἐκάθευδον πάλιν ἐν Πειραιεῖ. 26. τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ
ἄστεος ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς σὺν ὅπλοις ἐξῆει, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς
ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ληστὰς ἐχειροῦντο τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, καὶ
τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῶν ἐκακούργουν. περιέτυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν
Αἰξωνέων τισιν, εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
πορευομένοις· καὶ τούτους Λυσίμαχος ὁ ἱππαρχος ἀπέ-
σφαξε, πολλὰ λιτανεύοντας, καὶ πολλῶν χαλεπῶς φερόντων
ἱππέων. 27. ἀνταπέκτεινον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ τῶν ἱπ-
πέων ἐπ' ἀγροῦ λαβόντες Καλλίστρατον, φυλῆς Λεοντίδος·
καὶ γὰρ ἤδη μέγα ἐφρόνουν, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ

ἄστεος προσέβαλλον. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ὃς, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον μέλλοιεν τὰς μηχανὰς προσάγειν, τὰ ζεύγη ἐκέλευσε πάντα ἀμαξιαίους λίθους ἄγειν, καὶ καταβάλλειν ὅπου ἕκαστος βούλοιο τοῦ δρόμου. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολλὰ εἰς ἕκαστος τῶν λίθων πράγματα παρείχε.

28. Πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος, τῶν δ' ἐν καταλόγῳ ἐξ ἄστεος, καὶ βοηθεῖν κελεύοντων, ὥς ἀφεστηκότος τοῦ δήμου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, Λύσανδρος, λογισάμενος ὅτι οἶόν τε εἴη ταχὺ ἐκπολιορκῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀποκλεισθείσαν, ξυνέπραξεν ἑκατόν τε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς δανεισθῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἀρμοστήν, Λίβυν δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ναυαρχοῦντα ἐκπεμφθῆναι. 29. καὶ ἐξελθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν Ἐλευσινάδε, ξυνελέγετο ὀπλίτας πολλοὺς Πελοποννησίους· ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος κατὰ θάλατταν ἐφύλαττεν, ὅπως μηδὲν εἰσπλέοι αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ὥστε ταχὺ πύλιν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει πάλιν αὖ μέγα ἐφρόνου ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ. οὕτω δὲ προχωρούντων, Πausanίας ὁ βασιλεὺς, φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ, εἰ κατειργασμένος ταῦτα ἅμα μὲν εὐδοκιμήσοι, ἅμα δὲ ἰδίας ποιήσοιτο τὰς Ἀθήνας, πείσας τῶν Ἐφόρων τρεῖς, ἐξάγει φρουράν. 30. συνείποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων. οὗτοι δ' ἔλεγον μὲν, ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐορκεῖν ἂν στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους, μηδὲν παράσπονδον ποιοῦντας· ἔπραττον δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐγίγνωσκον Λακεδαιμονίους βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων χώραν οἰκείαν καὶ πιστὴν ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Πausanίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ, δεξιὸν ἔχων κέρας, Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις τὸ εὐώνυμον.

31. Πέμπων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Πausanίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, προσέβαλλεν ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν, ὅπως μὴ δῆλος εἶη εὐμενὴς αὐτοῖς ὢν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς πράξας ἀπῆλθε, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, λαβὼν τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο μόρας, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων τρεῖς φυλάς, παρήλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα, σκοπῶν πῇ εὐαποτεῖχιστος εἶη ὁ Πειραιεύς. **32.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ προσέθεόν τινες, καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ παρεῖχον, ἀχθειςθεὶς παρήγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐλαύνειν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἑνέοντας, καὶ τοὺς τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης συνέπεσθαι· σὺν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς ἐπηκολούθει. καὶ ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ἐγγὺς τριάκοντα τῶν ψιλῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ ἐν Πειραιεῖ θέατρον. **33.** ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχον ἐξοπλιζόμενοι οἳ τε πελτασταὶ πάντες, καὶ οἱ ὀπλῖται τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ψилоὶ εὐθὺς ἐκδραμόντες ἠκόντιζον, ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξουν, ἐσφενδόων· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐπιτρώσκοντο, μάλα πιεζόμενοι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ πόδα· οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειντο. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀποθνήσκει Χαίρων τε καὶ Θίβραχος, ἄμφω πολεμάρχῳ, καὶ Λακράτης ὁ ὀλυμπιονίκης, καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. **34.** ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θρασύβουλος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὀπλῖται ἐβοήθουν, καὶ ταχὺ παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ' ὀκτώ. Ὁ δὲ Πausanίας, μάλα πιεσθεὶς, καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ὅσον στάδια τέτταρα ἢ πέντε πρὸς λόφον τινα, παρήγγειλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμμάχοις ἐπιχωρεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἐκεῖ δὲ συνταξάμενος βαθεῖαν παντελῶς τὴν φάλαγγα, ἤγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. οἱ δ' εἰς χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐξεώσθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς πηλόν, οἱ δὲ ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.

35. Ο δὲ Πausanίus τρόπαιον στησάμενος ἀνεχώρησε· καὶ οὐδ' ὥς ὠργίζετο αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ λάθρα πέμπων ἐδίδασκε τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεὶ οἷα χρὴ λέγοντας πρέσβεις πέμπειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας Ἐφόρους. οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο. δίστη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει, καὶ ἐκέλευε πρὸς σφᾶς προσιέναι ὡς πλείστους συλλεγομένους, λέγοντας ὅτι οὐδὲν δέονται τοῖς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαλυθέντες κοινῇ ἀμφοτέροι Λακεδαιμονίοις φίλοι εἶναι.

36. ἥδέως ταῦτα καὶ Ναυκλείδας Ἐφορος ὧν συνήκουεν· ὥσπερ γὰρ νομίζεται σὺν βασιλεῖ δύο τῶν Ἐφόρων συστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τότε παρὴν οὗτός τε καὶ ἄλλος, ἀμφοτέροι τῆς μετὰ Πausανίου γνώμης ὄντες, μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς μετὰ Λυσάνδρου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα προθύμως ἔπεμπον τοὺς τ' ἐκ Πειραιῶς, ἔχοντας τὰς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἰδιώτας, Κηφισοφῶνά τε καὶ Μέλητον. **37.** Ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὗτοι ὄχοντο ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, ἔπεμπον δὴ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, λέγοντας ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν παραδιδόασιν καὶ τὰ τείχη, ἃ ἔχουσι, καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους χρῆσθαι ὃ τι βούλονται· ἀξιούν δ' ἔφασαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεὶ, εἰ φίλοι φασὶν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίους, παραδιδόναι τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν. **38.** ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάντων αὐτῶν οἱ Ἐφοροὶ καὶ οἱ ἐκκλητοὶ, ἐξέπεμψαν πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἐπέταξαν σὺν Πausανίᾳ διαλάξαι ὅπῃ δύναιντο κάλλιστα. Οἱ δὲ διήλλαξαν, ἐφ' ᾧτε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπέναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστους, πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα, καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ ἀρξάντων δέκα· εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῖντο τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἑλευσίνα κατοικεῖν.

39. Τούτων δὲ περανθέντων, Πausanίας μὲν διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα· οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, ἀνελθόντες σὺν τοῖς

ὄπλοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ἔθυσαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέβησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ, ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Θραυσύβουλος ἔλεξεν· 40. Ὑμῖν, ἔφη, ὦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ἄνδρες, συμβουλευώ ἐγὼ γινῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. μάλιστα δ' ἂν γινώητε, εἰ ἀναλογίσαισθε, ἐπὶ τίνι ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον ἐστίν, ὥστε ἡμῶν ἄρχειν ἐπιχειρεῖν. πότερον δικαιοτέροί ἐστε; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δῆμος, πενέστερος ὑμῶν ὢν, οὐδὲν πώποτε ἔνεκα χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἡδίκησεν· ὑμεῖς δὲ, πλουσιώτεροι πάντων ὄντες, πολλὰ καὶ αἰσχροῖα ἔνεκα κερδέων πεποιήκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκει, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον. 41. καὶ τίς ἂν καλλίων κρίσις τούτου γένοιτο, ἢ ὡς ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἀλλὰ γνώμη φαίητ' ἂν προέχειν, οἷ, ἔχοντες καὶ τεῖχος καὶ ὄπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ ξυμμάχους Πελοποννησίου, ὑπὸ τῶν οὐδὲν τούτων ἐχόντων παρελύθητε; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δὴ οἴεσθε μέγα φρονητέον εἶναι; πῶς; οἷ γε, ὥσπερ ταὺς δάκνοντας κύνας κλοιῶ δῆσαντες παραδιδόασιν, οὕτω κακείνοι, ὑμᾶς παραδόντες τῷ ἡδικημένῳ τούτῳ δήμῳ, οἷχονται ἀπιόντες; 42. οὐ μέντοι γε ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀξιῶ ἐγὼ ὦν ὁμωμόκατε παραβῆναι οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι καὶ εὖορκοι καὶ ὀσιοί ἐστε.

Εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν δέοι γαρύττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρῆσθαι, ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. 43. καὶ τότε μὲν ἄρχας καταστησάμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο· ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ, ἀκούσαντες ξένους μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, στρατευσάμενοι πανδημεῖ ἐπ' αὐτούς, τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντας ἀπέκτειναν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις εἰσπέμφσαντες τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαίους, ἔπεισαν συναλλαγῇν· καὶ ὁμόσαντες ὅρκους, ἢ μὴν μὴ μνησικακήσειν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται, καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος.

HERODOTUS.

I. INVASION OF GREECE BY DARIUS.

1. Βασιλεῖ δὲ Δαρεῖφ ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Σάρδεις ἀλούσας ἐμπεπρῆσθαι ὑπὸ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων, πρῶτα μὲν λέγεται αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, Ἰώνων οὐδένα λόγον ποιησάμενον, εἶρεσθαι οὔτινες εἶεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· μετὰ δὲ πυθόμενον αἰτῆσαι τὸ τόξον, λαβόντα δὲ καὶ ἐπιθέντα οἰστὸν, ἄνω ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπείναι, καί μιν ἐς τὸν ἥερα βάλλοντα εἰπεῖν, ὦ Ζεῦ, ἐκγενέσθαι μοι Ἀθηναίους τίσασθαι· εἶπαντα δὲ ταῦτα προστάξαι ἐνὶ τῶν θεραπόντων, δειπνου προκειμένου αὐτῷ, ἐς τρεῖς ἐκάστοτε εἰπεῖν, Δέσποτα, μέμνεο τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

2. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀπεπειράτο ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὃ τι ἐν νόφ ἔχοιεν, κότερα πολεμέειν ἐωυτῷ ἢ παραδιδόναι σφέας αὐτούς. διέπεμπε ὦν κήρυκας, ἄλλους ἄλλη τάξας ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κελεύων αἰτέειν βασιλεῖ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. τούτους μὲν δὴ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔπεμπε, ἄλλους δὲ κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὰς ἐωυτοῦ δασμοφόρους πόλιας τὰς παραθαλασσίους, κελεύων νέας τε μακρὰς καὶ ἱππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ποιεέσθαι. 3. Οὗτοί τε δὴ παρσκευάζοντο ταῦτα, καὶ τοῖσι ἤκουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυξι πολλοὶ μὲν ἡπειρωτέων ἔδοσαν τὰ προΐσχετο αἰτέων ὁ Πέρσης, πάντες δὲ νησιῶται ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοῖατο αἰτήσοντας. οἳ τε δὴ ἄλλοι νησιῶται διδοῦσι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρεῖφ, καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰγινῆται. ποιήσασι δὲ σφί ταῦτα ἰθέως Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπέκεατο, δοκέοντες ἐπὶ σφίσι ἔχοντας τοὺς Αἰγινῆτας δεδω-

κῆναι, ὡς ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύονται. καὶ ἄσμενοι προφάσιος ἐπελάβοντο, φοιτεύοντές τε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην κατηγοροῦν τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὰ πεποιήκοιεν προδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Ἀθηναίοισι μὲν δὴ πόλεμος συνήπτο πρὸς Αἰγινήτας.

4. Ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τὸ ἑωυτοῦ ἐποίεε, ὥστε ἀναμιμνήσκοντός τε αἰεὶ τοῦ θεράποντος μεμνήσθαι μιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Πεισιστρατιδῶν προσκατημένων καὶ διαβαλλόντων Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος ταύτης ἐχόμενος τῆς προφάσιος καταστρέφεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοὺς μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. Μαρδόνιον μὲν δὴ φλαύρως πρήξαντα τῷ στόλῳ παραλύει τῆς στρατηγίης, ἄλλους δὲ στρατηγούς ἀποδέξας ἀπέστελλε ἐπὶ τε Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας, Δᾶτίν τε εὐντα Μῆδον γένος, καὶ Ἀρταφέρνεα τὸν Ἀρταφέρνεος παῖδα, ἀδελφιδέον ἑωυτοῦ· ἐντειλόμενος δὲ ἀπέπεμπε, ἐξανδραποδίσαντας Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἐρέτριαν, ἀγαγεῖν ἑωυτῷ εἰς ὄψιν τὰ ἀνδράποδα.

5. Χειρωσάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν, καὶ ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, ἔπλωον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, κατέργοντές τε πολλὸν, καὶ δοκέοντες ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσειν τὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετρίεας ἐποίησαν· καὶ, ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαραθῶν ἐπιτηδεώτατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεῦσαι, καὶ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Ἐρετρίης, ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγέετο Ἴππής ὁ Πεισιστράτου. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, ἐβοήθειον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα. ἦγον δὲ σφέας στρατηγοὶ δέκα, τῶν ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης, τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Κίμωνα τὸν Στησαγόρεω κατέλαβε φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Πεισίστρατον τὸν Ἴπποκράτεος. 6. οὗτος δὴ ὦν τότε ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἦκων ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου, καὶ ἐκπεφευγὼς διπλοῦν θάνατον, ἐστρατήγει Ἀθηναίων. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπιδιώξαντες μέχρι Ἰμβρου, περὶ πολ-

λοῦ ἐποιεῦντο λαβεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγαγεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα· ἅμα δὲ ἐκφυγόντα τε τούτους, καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν ἑωντοῦ, δοκέοντά τε εἶναι ἐν σωτηρίῃ ἤδη, τὸ ἐνθευτέν μιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑποδεξάμενοι, καὶ ὑπὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες, ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ. ἀποφυγὼν δὲ καὶ τούτους, στρατηγὸς οὕτω Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη, αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.

γ. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν, ἐόντες ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἄστέϊ, οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποπέμπουσι ἐς Σπάρτην κήρυκα Φειδιππίδην, Ἀθηναῖον μὲν ἄνδρα, ἄλλως δὲ ἡμεροδρόμον τε καὶ τοῦτο μελετώντα· τῷ δὴ (ὡς αὐτός τε ἔλεγε Φειδιππίδης καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἀπήγγελλε) περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον οὖρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεγέης ὁ Πᾶν περιπίπτει. βώσαντα δὲ τοῦνομα τοῦ Φειδιππίδεω, τὸν Πᾶνα Ἀθηναίοισι κελεύσαι ἀπαγγεῖλαι, διότι ἑωντοῦ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῦνται, ἐόντος εὐνόου Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ πολλαχῇ γενομένου ἤδη σφί χρησίμου, τὰ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἰσομένου. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, καταστάντων σφίσι εὖ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων, πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθέα, ιδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει Πανὸς ἱρὸν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀγγελίης θυσίῃσι ἐπετέησι καὶ λαμπύδι ἱλάσκονται. δ. Τότε δὲ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Φειδιππίδης οὗτος, ὅτε πέρ οἱ ἔφη καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα φανῆναι, δευτεραίος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἄστεος ἦν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγε· ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῶν δέονται σφίσι βοηθῆσαι, καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν πόλιν ἀρχαιοτάτην ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλῃσι δουλοσύνην περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων· καὶ γὰρ νῦν Ἐρέτριά τε ἠνδραπόδισται, καὶ πόλις λογίμῃ ἢ Ἑλλὰς γέγονε ἀσθενεστέρα. Ὁ μὲν δὴ σφί τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἀπήγγελλε· τοῖσι δὲ ἕαδε μὲν βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίοισι, ἀδύνατα δὲ σφί ἦν τὸ παραυτίκα ποιεῖν ταῦτα, οὐ βουλομένοισι λυεῖν τὸν νόμον·

ἦν γὰρ ἰσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη, εἰνάτη δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν, μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἑόντος τοῦ κύκλου. οὗτοι μὲν νυν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον.

9. Τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι κατηγέετο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα, τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς ὄψιν ἰδὼν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἰππίης τῇ μητρὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ συνευνηθῆναι. συνεβάλετο ὦν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνείρου, κατελθὼν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀνασωσάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν, τελευτήσκειν ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γηραιός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ὄψιος συνεβάλετο ταῦτα· 10. τότε δὲ κατηγεόμενος, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ἐξ Ἐρετρίης ἀπέβησε ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Στυρέων, καλεομένην δὲ Αἰγίλειαν, τοῦτο δὲ καταγομένας ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νέας ὥρμιζε οὗτος, ἐκβάντας τε ἐς γῆν τοὺς βαρβάρους διέτασσε. καὶ οἱ ταῦτα διέποντι ἐπῆλθε πταρεῖν τε καὶ βῆξαι μεζόνως ἢ ὡς ἐώθεε, οἷα δὲ οἱ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἑόντι τῶν ὀδόντων οἱ πλευνες ἐσείοντο. τούτων ὦν ἓνα τῶν ὀδόντων ἐκβάλλει ὑπὸ βίης βήξας· ἐκπεσόντος δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον αὐτοῦ, ἐποιέετο πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἐξευρεῖν. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἐφαίνετό οἱ ὁ ὀδὼν, ἀναστενάξας εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παραστάτας· Ἡ γῆ ἤδε οὐκ ἡμετέρη ἐστὶ, οὐδὲ μιν δυνησόμεθα ὑποχειρίην ποιήσασθαι· ὁκόσον δὲ τί μοι μέρος μετῆν, ὁ ὀδὼν μετέχει. Ἰππίης μὲν δὴ ταύτη τὴν ὄψιν συνεβάλετο ἐξεληλυθέναι.

11. Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ τεταγμένοισι ἐν τεμένει Ἡρακλέος ἐπῆλθον βοηθόντες Πλαταιέες πανδημεῖ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐδεδώκεσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι οἱ Πλαταιέες, καὶ πόνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συχνοὺς ἤδη ἀναραιρέατο· ἔδοσαν δὲ ὧδε. πιεζόμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐδίδοσαν πρῶτα παρατυχοῦσι Κλεομένει τε τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς, οἱ δὲ οὐ δεκόμενοι ἔλεγόν σφι τάδε· Ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐκαστέρῳ τε οἰκέο-

μεν, καὶ ὑμῖν τοιγάρ τις γίνοιτ' ἂν ἐπικουρή ψυχρή· φθαίητε γὰρ ἂν πολλάκις ἑξανδραποδισθέντες ἢ τινα πυθέσθαι ἡμέων. συμβουλευόμεν δὲ ὑμῖν δοῦναι ὑμέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι, πλησιοχώροισί τε ἀνδράσι καὶ τιμωρέειν ἐοῦσι οὐ κακοῖσι. ταῦτα συνεβούλευον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ κατὰ εὐνοίαν οὕτω τῶν Πλαταιέων, ὥς βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔχειν πόνους συνεστῶτας Βοιωτοῖσι.

12. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν νυν Πλαταιεῦσι ταῦτα συνεβούλευον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἠπίστησαν, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων ἱρὰ ποικύντων τοῖσι δυνάδεκα θεοῖσι, ἱκέται ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς. Θηβαῖοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ σφί ἐβοήθουν. μελλόντων δὲ συνάπτειν μάχην, Κορίνθιοι οὐ περιεῖδον, παρατυχόντες δὲ καὶ καταλλάξαντες, ἐπιτρεψάντων ἀμφοτέρων, οὗρισαν τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τοισίδε, εἰς Θηβαίους Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους εἰς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν.

13. Κορίνθιοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γνόντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀπιοῦσι ἐπεθήκαντο Βοιωτοῖ, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ ἐσώθησαν τῇ μάχῃ. ὑπερβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔθηκαν Πλαταιεῦσι εἶναι οὖρους, τούτους ὑπερβάντες τὸν Ἀσωπὸν αὐτὸν ἐποίησαντο οὖρον Θηβαίοισι πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἶναι καὶ Ὑσιάς. ἔδοσαν μὲν δὴ οἱ Πλαταιέες σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι τρόφῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ, ἦκον δὲ τότε εἰς Μαραθῶνα βοηθέοντες.

14. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖσι ἐγίνοντο δίχα αἱ γνώμαι· τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐόντων συμβάλλειν, ὀλίγους γὰρ εἶναι στρατιῇ τῇ Μήδων συμβαλεῖν, τῶν δὲ καὶ Μιλτιάδew κελευόντων. ὥς δὲ δίχα τε ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ἐνῖκα ἡ χεῖρων τῶν γνωμέων, ἐνθαῦτα (ἦν γὰρ ἐνδέκατος ψηφιδόφορος ὁ τῷ κυίῳ λαχὼν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρχεῖν, τὸ παλαιὸν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁμόψηφον τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐποιεύντο τοῖσι στρα-

τηγοῖσι, ἦν τε τότε πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος Ἀφιδναῖος) πρὸς τοῦτον ἔλθων Μιλτιάδης ἔλεγε τάδε· 15. Ἐν σοὶ νῦν, Καλλίμαχε, ἐστὶ ἡ καταδουλῶσαι Ἀθήνας, ἡ ἐλευθέραις ποιήσαντα, μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον, οἷα οὐδὲ Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων λείπουσι. νῦν γὰρ δὴ, ἐξ οὗ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς κίνδυνον ἤκουσι μέγιστον. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε ὑποκύνῃσι τοῖσι Μήδοισι, δέδοκται τὰ πείσονται παραδεδομένοι Ἱππῆ· ἦν δὲ περιγένηται αὕτη ἡ πόλις, οἷη τέ ἐστι πρώτη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολίων γενέσθαι. κῶς ὦν δὴ ταῦτα οἰά τέ ἐστι γενέσθαι, καὶ κῶς ἐς σέ τι τούτων ἀνήκει τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ κῦρος ἔχειν, νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσω. ἡμέων τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐόντων δέκα, δίχα γίνονται αἱ γνώμαι, τῶν μὲν κελευόντων συμβαλεῖν, τῶν δὲ οὐ συμβαλεῖν. ἦν μὲν νυν μὴ συμβάλλωμεν, ἔλπομαί τινα στάσιν μεγάλην ἐμπεσοῦσαν διασείσειν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα ὥστε μηδίσαι· ἦν δὲ συμβάλλωμεν πρὶν τι καὶ σαθρὸν Ἀθηναίων μετεξετέροισι ἐγγενέσθαι, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων, οἰοί τέ εἰμεν περιγενέσθαι τῇ συμβολῇ. ταῦτα ὦν πάντα ἐς σέ νῦν τείνει καὶ ἐκ σέο ἥρτηται· ἦν γὰρ σὺ γνώμῃ τῇ ἐμῇ προσθῇ, ἔστι τοι πατρίς τε ἐλευθέρη καὶ πόλις πρώτη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἦν δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποσπευδόντων τὴν συμβολὴν ἔλῃ, ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία. 16. Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μιλτιάδης προσκτᾶται τὸν Καλλίμαχον. προσγενομένης δὲ τοῦ πολέμαρχου τῆς γνώμης, ἐκεκῶρωτο συμβάλλειν. μετὰ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν ἡ γνώμῃ ἔφερε συμβάλλειν, ὡς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἐγένετο πρυτανιτῇ τῆς ἡμέρης, Μιλτιάδης παρεδίδοσαν· ὁ δὲ δεκόμενος οὐ τί κω συμβολὴν ἐποιέετο, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ πρυτανιτῇ ἐγένετο.

17. Ὡς δὲ ἐς ἐκείνον περιῆλθε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς συμβαλέοντες. τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρους

ἡγήετο ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τότε εἶχε οὕτω τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, τὸν πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ δεξιόν. ἡγεομένου δὲ τούτου, ἐξεδέκοντο ὡς ἡριθμέοντο αἱ φυλαὶ, ἐχόμεναι ἀλλήλων· τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο, ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας, Πλαταιέες. ἀπὸ ταύτης γὰρ σφί τῆς μάχης, θυσίας Ἀθηναίων ἀναγόντων καὶ πανηγύριος τὰς ἐν τῇσι πενταετηρίσι γινομένας, κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλαταιεῦσι. τότε δὲ, τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι, ἐγίνετο τοιόνδε τι· τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξισούμενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ τάξις ὀλίγας, καὶ ταύτῃ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἔρρωτο πλήθει. 18. Ὡς δὲ σφί διετέτακτο, καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγίνετο καλὰ, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἀπείθισαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δρόμῳ ἔεντο ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἦσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἐλάσσονες τὸ μεταίχμιον αὐτῶν ἢ ὀκτώ. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὀρέοντες δρόμῳ ἐπιόντας, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς δεξόμενοι· μανίην τε τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπίφερον καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην, ὀρέοντες αὐτοὺς ὀλίγους, καὶ τούτους δρόμῳ ἐπείγομένους, οὔτε ἵππου ὑπαρχούσης σφί οὔτε τοξευμάτων. ταῦτα μὲν νυν οἱ βάρβαροι κατεΐκαζον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀθρόοι προσέμιξαν τοῖσι βαρβάροισι, ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν δρόμῳ ἐς πολεμίους ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνέσχοντο ἐσθιῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ὀρέοντες, καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας ταύτην ἐσθιμένους· τέως δὲ ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι καὶ τὸ οὐνομα τὸ Μήδων φόβος ἀκοῦσαι. 19. Μαχομένων δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι χρόνος ἐγίνετο πολλός. καὶ τὸ μὲν μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, τῇ Πέρσῃ τε αὐτοῖ καὶ Σάκῃ ἐτετάχατο· κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ῥήξαντες ἐδίωκον ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τὸ δὲ

κέρας ἐκάτερον ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ Πλαταιέες. νικῶν-
τες δὲ, τὸ μὲν τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων φεύγειν ἔων,
τοῖσι δὲ τὸ μέσον ῥήξασι αὐτῶν, συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρεα
ἀμφοτέρα, ἐμάχοντο καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. φεύγουσι δὲ
τοῖσι Πέρσησι εἵποντο κόπτοντες, ἐς ὃ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν
ἀπικόμενοι πῦρ τε αἷτεον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν.

20. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλ-
λίμαχος διαφθείρεται, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγαθός, ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε
τῶν στρατηγῶν Στησίλεως ὁ Θρασύλεω· τοῦτο δὲ Κυνέ-
γειρος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν ἀφλάστων
νεὸς τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεῖς πελέκεϊ πίπτει, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοι
Ἀθηναίων πολλοὶ τε καὶ οὐνομαστοί. 21. Ἐπτα μὲν δὴ
τῶν νεῶν ἐπεκράτησαν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῇσι δὲ
λοιπῇσι οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανακρουσάμενοι, καὶ ἀναλαβόντες
ἐκ τῆς νήσου, ἐν τῇ ἔλιπον, τὰ ἐξ Ἑρετρίας ἀνδράποδα,
περιέπλων Σούνιον, βουλόμενοι φθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. αἰτίη δὲ ἔσχε ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι ἐξ
Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων μηχανῆς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἐπινοηθῆναι· τού-
τους γὰρ, συνθεμένους τοῖσι Πέρσησι, ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα
εἴουσι ἤδη ἐν τῇσι νηυσί. 22. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ περιέπλων
Σούνιον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον τάχιστα ἐβοήθειον
ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ ἔφθασάν τε ἀπικόμενοι πρὶν ἢ τοὺς βαρβά-
ρους ἤκειν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπιγμένοι ἐξ Ἡρακλείου
τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἐν ἄλλῃ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοςάργει.
οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῇσι νηυσὶ ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φαλήρου (του-
το γὰρ ἦν ἐπίνειον τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων), ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀνα-
κωχεύσαντες τὰς νέας, ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

23. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ ἀπέθανον τῶν
βαρβάρων κατὰ ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας,
Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἑκατὸν ἐνενήκοντα καὶ δύο. ἔπεσον μὲν ἀμ-
φοτέρων τοσοῦτοι· συνήνεικε δὲ αὐτόθι θῶμα γενέσθαι

τοιόνδε· Ἀθηναῖον ἄνδρα Ἐπίζηλον τὸν Κουφαγόρεω, ἐν τῇ συστάσει μαχόμενόν τε καὶ ἄνδρα γινόμενον ἀγαθόν, τῶν ὀμμάτων στερηθῆναι, οὔτε πληγέντα οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε βληθέντα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζῆς διατελέειν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔοντα τυφλόν. λέγειν δὲ αὐτὸν ἤκουσα περὶ τοῦ πάθεος τοιόνδε τινὰ λόγον, ἄνδρα οἱ δοκέειν ὀπλήτην ἀντιστῆναι μέγαν, τοῦ τὸ γένειον τὴν ἀσπίδα πᾶσαν σκιάζειν· τὸ δὲ φᾶσμα τοῦτο ἑωυτὸν μὲν παρεξελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ παραστάτην ἀποκτείνει. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐπίζηλον ἐπυθόμην λέγειν.

24. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἦκον εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας δισχύλιοι μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἔχοντες σπουδὴν πολλὴν καταλαβεῖν οὕτω, ὥστε τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. ὕστεροι δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τῆς συμβολῆς, ἰμείροντο ὁμῶς θήσασθαι τοὺς Μήδους· ἐλθόντες δὲ εἰς τὸν Μαραθῶνα ἐθήσαντο. μετὰ δὲ, αἰνέοντες Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω.

II. MARCH OF XERXES.—PREPARATIONS OF THE GREEKS.

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελίη ἀπῆκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον τὸν Ὑστάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὴν εἰς Σάρδις ἐσβολήν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῶ τε δεινότερα ἐποίησε, καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλιν ἐτοιμάζειν στρατιὴν, πολλῶ πλέω ἐπιτάσσων ἐκάστοισι ἢ πρότερον παρεῖχον, καὶ νέας τε καὶ ἵππους καὶ σῖτον καὶ πλοῖα. τούτων δὲ περιαγγελλομένων, ἡ

Ἀσίῃ ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, καταλεγομένων τε τῶν ἀρίστων ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευομένων, καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. 2. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω δουλωθέντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρμητο καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι. Στελλομένου δὲ Δαρείου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἀθήνας, τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ στάσις ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὥς δέει μιν ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι. Ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσῃσι Δαρείος Ξέρξea, ὥρμητο στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταυτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεικε αὐτὸν Δαρείον, βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἔτεα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα, ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βασιληΐη ἀνεχώρησε εἰς τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ξέρξea. 3. Καὶ Ξέρξης . . ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρεα παραρτέετο στρατιὴν τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατιῇ, πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀνομένῳ ἐστρατηλάτее χειρὶ μεγάλῃ πλήθεος. στόλων γὰρ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν πολλῷ δὴ μέγιστος οὗτος ἐγένετο. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἤγαγε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔθνος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης; κοῖον δὲ πινόμενόν μιν ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ νέας παρίχοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς πεζὸν ἐτετάχατο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππος προσετέτακτο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ἅμα στρατευομένοισι, τοῖσι δὲ ἐς τὰς γεφύρας μακρὰς νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ σῖτά τε καὶ νέας. 4. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ὥς προσπαισάντων τῶν πρώτων περιπλούντων περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, προετοιμάζετο ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων κου μάλιστα ἐς τὸν Ἄθων· ἐν γὰρ Ἑλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ὥρμεον τριήρεις, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὀρμεόμενοι ὠρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων παντοδαποὶ τῆς στρατιῆς, διάδοχοι δ' ἐφοίτων· ὠρυσσον δὲ καὶ

οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων κατοικημένοι. Ὁ γὰρ Ἄθως ἐστὶ οὖρος μέγα τε καὶ οὐνομαστὸν, ἐς θάλασσαν κατῆκον, οἰκημένον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων. τῇ δὲ τελευτᾷ ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τὸ οὖρος, χειρσοιησοειδές τέ ἐστι καὶ ἰσθμὸς ὡς δυνάδεκα σταδίων πεδίου δὲ τοῦτο καὶ κολωνοὶ οὐ μεγάλοι ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἀκανθίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν ἀντίον Τορώνης. 5. Ὀρυσσον δὲ ᾧδε· δασάμενοι τὸν χώρον οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ ἔθνεα, κατὰ Σάνην πόλιν σχοινοτενές ποιησάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ ἐγένετο βαθέα ἡ διώρυξ, οἱ μὲν κατώτατα ἐστεῶτες ὤρυσσον, ἔτεροι δὲ παρεδίδοσαν τὸν αἰεὶ ἐξορυσσόμενον χοῦν ἄλλοισι κατύπερθε ἐστεῶσι ἐπὶ βάθρων, οἱ δ' αὖ ἐκδεκόμενοι ἐτέροισι, ἕως ἀπίκοντο ἐς τοὺς ἀνωτάτω, οὗτοι δὲ ἐξεφόρεόν τε καὶ ἐξέβαλλον. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ λειμών ἐστι, ἵνα σφί ἀγορή τε ἐγίνετο καὶ πρητήριον· σίτος δὲ σφί πολλὸς ἐφοίτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀληλεσμένος. 6. ὥς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλόμενον εὐρίσκειν, μεγαλοφροσύνης εἵνεκεν αὐτὸ Ἑέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε, ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι· παρεὼν γὰρ μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύσαι, ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε διώρυχα τῇ θαλάσῃ, εὖρος ὡς δύο τριήρεας πλώειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρευμένας. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι τούτοισι, τοῖσί περ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, προσετέτακτο καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ζεύξαντας γεφυρῶσαι.

7. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι τὸν προκείμενον πόνον ἐργάζοντο, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας συλλελεγμένος ἅμα Ἑέρξῃ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐκ Κριτάλλων ὁρμηθεὶς τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίῃ· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ εἴρητο συλλέγεσθαι πάντα τὸν κατ' ἡπειρον μέλλοντα ἅμα αὐτῷ Ἑέρξῃ πορεύεσθαι στρατόν. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Σάρδεις, πρῶτα μὲν ἀπέπεμπε κήρυκας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα αἰτήσοντας γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ προερέοντας δεῦπνα βασιλεῖ παρασκευάζειν.

8. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἐλὼν ἐς Ἀβυδον.

οἱ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐξεύγνυσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Σηστοῦ τε πόλιος μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτὴ τρηχέα ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα Ἀβύδῳ καταντίον. ἐς ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐξ Ἀβύδου ὁρμεόμενοι ἐγεφύρουν τοῖσι προσεκέετο, τὴν μὲν λευκολίνου Φοίνικες, τὴν δ' ἐτέρην τὴν βυβλίνην Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔστι δὲ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν ἀπαντίον. καὶ δὴ ἐξευγμένου τοῦ πόρου ἐπιγενόμενος χειμὼν μέγας συνέκοψέ τε ἐκεῖνα πάντα καὶ διέλυσε. 9. ὥς δ' ἐπύθετο Ξέρξης, δεινὰ ποιούμενος, τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκέλευσε τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγὰς, καὶ κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων ζεύγος. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα, ὥς καὶ στιγέας ἄμα τούτοισι ἀπέπεμψε στίζοντας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ἐνετέλλετο δὴ ὦν ραπίζοντας λέγειν βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα. Ὡς πικρὸν ὕδωρ, δεσπότης τοι δίκην ἐπιτιθεῖ τήνδε, ὅτι μιν ἡδίκησας οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου ἄδικον παθόν. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ξέρξης διαβήσεται σε, ἣν τε σύ γε βούλῃ ἣν τε μή· σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θύει, ὥς εἰσὶν δολερῶ τε καὶ ἀλμυρῶ ποταμῶ. Τὴν τε δὴ θάλασσαν ἐνετέλλετο τούτοισι ζημιοῦν, καὶ τῶν ἐπεστεώτων τῇ ζεύξει τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἀποταμεῖν τὰς κεφαλὰς. 10. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίεον, τοῖσι προσεκέετο αὕτη ἡ ἄχαρις τιμὴ, τὰς δὲ ἄλλοι ἀρχιτέκτονες ἐξεύγνυσαν. ἐξεύγνυσαν δὲ ὧδε· πεντηκοντέρους καὶ τριήρεας συνθέντες, — ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα καὶ τριηκοσίας, τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας, τοῦ δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ ῥοόν, ἵνα ἀνακωχεύῃ τὸν τόνον τῶν ὄπλων, — συνθέντες δὲ ἀγκύρας κατήκαν περιμήκειας, τὰς μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἐτέρας τῶν ἀνέμων εἵνεκεν τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐκπνεούτων, τῆς δὲ ἐτέρας πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ

τοῦ Αἰγαίου εὐροῦ τε καὶ νότου εἵνεκεν· διέκπλοον δὲ ὑπό-
 φαυσιν κατέλιπον τῶν πεντηκοντέρων καὶ τριηρέων τριχοῦ,
 ἵνα καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔχῃ ὁ βουλόμενος πλώειν πλοίοισι
 λεπτοῖσι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔξω. 11. ταῦτα δὲ ποιή-
 σαντες, κατέτεινον ἐκ γῆς στρεβλοῦντες ὄνοισι ξυλίνοισι τὰ
 ὄπλα, οὐκέτι χωρὶς ἐκάτερα τάξαντες, ἀλλὰ δύο μὲν λευκο-
 λίνου δασύμενοι ἐς ἐκατέρην, τέσσερα δὲ τῶν βυβλίνων.
 παχύτης μὲν ἦν ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ καλλονή, κατὰ λόγον δὲ ἦν
 ἐμβριθέστερα τὰ λίνεα, τοῦ τάλαντον ὁ πῆχυς εἶλκε.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγεφυρώθη ὁ πόρος, κορμούς ξύλων καταπρίσαν-
 τες, καὶ ποιήσαντες ἴσους τῆς σχεδίας τῷ εὐρεῖ, κόσμῳ
 ἐπετίθεσαν κατύπερθε τῶν ὀπλων τοῦ τόνου, θέντες δὲ
 ἐπεξῆς ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὶς ἐπεξεύγνουν. ποιήσαντες δὲ ταῦτα
 ὕλην ἐπεφόρησαν, κόσμῳ δὲ θέντες καὶ τὴν ὕλην, γῆν
 ἐπεφόρησαν· κατανύξαντες δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν, φραγμὸν πα-
 ρέιρυσαν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, ἵνα μὴ φοβέηται τὰ ὑποζύγια
 τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπερορῶντα καὶ οἱ ἵπποι.

12. Ὡς δὲ τὰ τε τῶν γεφυρέων κατεσκευάστο καὶ τὰ
 περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, οἳ τε χυτοὶ περὶ τὰ στόματα τῆς διώρυχος
 (οἱ τῆς ῥήχης εἵνεκεν ἐποιήθησαν, ἵνα μὴ πίμπληται τὰ
 στόματα τοῦ ὀρύγματος), καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ διώρυξ παντελέως
 πεπονημένη ἠγγέλλετο, ἐνθαῦτα χειμερίσας, ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι
 παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὠρμάτω ἐλὼν
 ἐς Ἀβυδον. ὠρμημένῳ δὲ οἱ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ
 οὐρανοῦ ἔδρην ἀφανὴς ἦν, οὐτ' ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων, αἰθρίας
 τε τὰ μάλιστα, ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε νύξ ἐγένετο. ἰδόντι δὲ καὶ
 μαθόντι τοῦτο τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο, καὶ εἶρετο τοὺς
 Μάγους, τὸ ἐθέλοι προφαίνειν τὸ φάσμα. οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον,
 ὡς Ἑλλῆσι προδεικνύει ὁ θεὸς ἐκλειψῖν τῶν πολίων, λέ-
 γοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προδέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ
 σφέων. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης περιχαρὴς ἐὼν

ἐποιέετο τὴν ἔλασιν. 13. ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, μετὰ δὲ τούτους στρατὸς παντοίων ἔθνέων ἀναμίξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι· τῇ δὲ ὑπερημίσεις ἦσαν, ἐνθαῦτα διελέλειπτο, καὶ οὐ συνέμισγον οὗτοι βασιλεί. προηγύντο μὲν δὴ ἱππῶται χίλιοι ἐκ Περσέων πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι· μετὰ δὲ αἰχμοφόροι χίλιοι, καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι, τὰς λόγχας κύτω ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέψαντες· μετὰ δὲ ἱροὶ Νισαῖοι καλούμενοι ἵπποι δέκα, κεκοσμημένοι ὡς κάλλιστα. Νισαῖοι δὲ καλέονται ἵπποι ἐπὶ τούδῃ· ἔστι πεδίον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς, τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Νίσαιον. τοὺς ὧν δὴ ἵππους τοὺς μεγάλους φέρει τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο. ὅπισθε δὲ τούτων τῶν δέκα ἵππων ἄρμα Διὸς ἱρὸν ἐπετέτακτο, τὸ ἵπποι μὲν εἰλκον λευκοὶ ὀκτῶ, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν ἵππων εἶπετο πεζῇ ἡνίοχος ἐχόμενος τῶν χαλινῶν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτον τὸν θρόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀναβαίνει. τούτου δὲ ὅπισθε αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπ' ἄρματος ἵππων Νισαίων· παραβεβήκει δὲ οἱ ἡνίοχος, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Πατιράμφης, Ὀτάνεω παῖς ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω.

14. Ἐξήλασε μὲν οὕτω ἐκ Σαρδίων Ξέρξης, μετεκβαίνεσκε δὲ, ὅκως μιν λόγος αἰρέοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς ἀρμάμαξαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὅπισθε αἰχμοφόροι Περσέων οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ γενναιότατοι χίλιοι, κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες, μετὰ δὲ ἵππος ἄλλη χιλίη ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένη, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένοι μύριοι. οὗτος πεζὸς ἦν· καὶ τούτων χίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσι δούρασι ἀντὶ τῶν σαρωτήρων ροιᾶς εἶχον χρυσέας, καὶ περίξ συνεκλήιον τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ δὲ εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων ἐόντες ἀργυρέας ροιᾶς εἶχον. εἶχον δὲ χρυσέας ροιᾶς καὶ οἱ εἰς τὴν γῆν τράποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μῆλα οἱ ἄγχιστα ἐπόμενοι Ξέρξῃ. τοῖσι δὲ μυρίοις ἐπετέτακτο ἵππος Περσέων μυρίη. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον διελέλειπτο

καὶ δύο σταδίους, καὶ ἔπειτεν ὁ λοιπὸς ὄμιλος ἥτε ἀναμίξ.
15. ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον, ὃς
 πρῶτος ποταμῶν, ἐπεὶ τε ἐκ Σαρδίων ὀρμηθέντες ἐπεχειρή-
 σαν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπέλιπε τὸ ρέεθρον, οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ
 τε καὶ τοῖσι κτήνεσι πινόμενος· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν
 ὡς ἀπίκετο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη, ἵμερον
 ἔχων θηήσασθαι. θηησόμενος δὲ, καὶ πυθόμενος ἐκείνων
 ἕκαστα, τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσε βούς χιλίας, χοὰς δὲ
 οἱ Μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ἐχέαντο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιησαμένοισι
 νυκτὸς φόβος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε. ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ
 ἐπορεύετο ἐνθεύτεν.

16. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἀβύδῳ, ἠθέλησε Ξέρξης ιδέ-
 σθαι πάντα τὸν στρατόν. καὶ προεπεποίητο γὰρ ἐπὶ
 κολωνοῦ ἐπίτηδες αὐτῷ ταύτῃ προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ
 (ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἐντειλαμένου πρότερον βασιλέως),
 ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἵκετο, κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τὸν
 πεζὸν καὶ τὰς νέας. θηεύμενος δὲ ἡμέρῃ τῶν νεῶν ἄμιλλαν
 γινομένην ιδέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετό τε καὶ ἐνίκων
 Φοίνικες Σιδώνιοι, ἦσθη τε τῇ ἀμίλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ.
 Ὡς δὲ ὥρα πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν
 ἀποκεκρυμμένον, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδηνῶν
 πεδία ἐπείπλεα ἀνθρώπων, ἐνθαῦτα Ξέρξης ἐωυτὸν ἐμακά-
 ρισε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε. **17.** μαθὼν δέ μιν Ἀρτά-
 βανος ὁ πάτριος — ὃς τὸ πρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευ-
 θέως, οὐ συμβουλευὼν Ξέρξῃ στρατεῦεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλ-
 λάδα — οὗτος ὠνὴρ φρασθεὶς Ξέρξεα δακρύσαντα, εἶρετο
 τάδε· ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὡς πολλὸν ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα ἐργά-
 σαι νῦν τε καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον· μακαρίσας γὰρ σεαυτὸν
 δακρύεις. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Ἐσῆλθε γάρ με λογισάμενον κατοικ-
 τεῖραι, ὡς βραχὺς εἴη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος, εἰ τούτων
 γε ὄντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐς ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος περιέσται.

ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· "Ἔτερα τούτου παρὰ τὴν ζόην πεπόνθαμεν οἰκτρότερα. ἐν γὰρ οὕτω βραχέϊ βίῳ οὐδεὶς οὕτω ἄνθρωπος ἔων εὐδαίμων πέφυκε, οὔτε τούτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλάκις, καὶ οὐκὶ ἄπαξ, τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν. αἶ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ προσπίπτουσai, καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι συνταράσσουσai, καὶ βραχὺν ἔοντα μακρὸν δοκέειν εἶναι ποιεῦσι τὸν βίον. οὕτω ὁ μὲν θάνατος, μοχθηρὴς ἐούσης τῆς ζόης, καταφυγὴ αἰρετωτάτη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε· ὁ δὲ θεὸς, γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα, φθονερός ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρίσκεται ἔων. Ξέρξης δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· 'Ἀρτάβανε, βιοτῆς μὲν νυν ἀνθρωπηΐης πέρι, ἐούσης τοιαύτης οἶην περ σὺ διαιρέεαι εἶναι, παυσώμεθα, μηδὲ κακῶν μεμνέμεθα, χρηστὰ ἔχοντες πρήγματα ἐν χερσὶ.

18. Καὶ Ἀρτάβανον ἀποστείλας ἐς Σοῦσα, δεύτερα μετεπέμψατο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ παρήσαν, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· "ὦ Πέρσαι, τῶνδ' ἐγὼ ὑμέων χρητίζων συνέλεξα, ἄνδρας τε γίνεσθαι ἀγαθοὺς, καὶ μὴ καταισχύνειν τὰ πρόσθε ἐργασμένα Πέρσῃσι, ἔοντα μεγάλα τε καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξια, ἀλλ' εἷς τε ἕκαστος καὶ οἱ σύμπαντες προθυμίην ἔχωμεν· ξυνὸν γὰρ τοῦτο πᾶσι ἀγαθὸν σπεύδεται. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκεν προαγορεύω ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου ἐντεταμένως· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπ' ἄνδρας στρατευόμεθα ἀγαθοὺς, τῶν ἦν κρατήσωμεν, οὐ μὴ τις ἡμῖν ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀντιστῇ κοτε ἀνθρώπων. νῦν δὲ διαβαίνωμεν, ἐπευξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι δι' Περσίδα γῆν λελόγχασι.

19. Ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν διάβασιν, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἀνέμενον τὸν ἥλιον ἐθέλοντες ἰδέσθαι ἀνίσχοντα, θυμῆματά τε παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρέων καταγίζοντες καὶ μυρσίνησι στορνύντες τὴν ὁδόν. ὥς δ' ἐπ' ἀνέτελλε ὁ ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσῆς φιάλης Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, εὐχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον μηδεμίαν οἱ συντυχίην

τοιαύτην γενέσθαι, ἥ μιν παύσει καταστρέφασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην, πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ τέρμασι τοῖσι ἐκείνης γένηται. εὐξήμενος δὲ ἐσέβαλε τὴν φιάλην ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον καὶ χρύσειον κρητῆρα καὶ Περσικὸν ξίφος, τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχω ὑτρεκέως διακρίναι, οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνατιθεὶς κατῆκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησέ οἱ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον μαστιγώσαντι καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θύλασσαν ἔδωρέετο. **20.** Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποιήτο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐτέρην τῶν γεφυρέων τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου ὁ πεζός τε καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἅπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Αἰγαῖον τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπῆτή. ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι, ἐστεφανωμένοι πάντες, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὗτοι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τε ἰππῶται καὶ οἱ τὰς λόγχας κάτω τράποντες· ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ καὶ οὗτοι· μετὰ δὲ οἱ τε ἵπποι οἱ ἱροὶ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ ἱρὸν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτός τε Ξέρξης καὶ οἱ αἰχμοφόροι καὶ οἱ ἰππῶται οἱ χίλιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ ἄλλος στρατός. καὶ αἱ νέες ἅμα ἀνέγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα καὶ ὕστατον διαβῆναι βασιλέα πάντων. **21.** Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ τε διέβη ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθγεῖτο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα. διέβη δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρῃσι καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ εὐφρόνῃσι, ἐλινύσας οὐδένα χρόνον. ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται, Ξέρξῃ ἤδη διαβεβηκότος τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, ἄνδρα εἰπεῖν Ἑλλησπόντιον· ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος Πέρσῃ καὶ οὐνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ξέρξεα θέμενος, ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐθέλεις ποιῆσαι, ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων ἐξῆν τοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα.

22. Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλησποντον πλώων παρὰ γῆν ἐκομίζετο, τὰ ἔμπαλιν πρήσσων τοῦ πεζοῦ. Ὁ δὲ Δορίσκος ἐστὶ τῆς Θρηάκης αἰγιαλός τε καὶ πεδίον μέγα,

διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας Ἐβρος. ἔδοξε ὦν τῷ Ξέρξῃ ὁ χῶρος εἶναι ἐπιτήδεος ἐνδιατάξαι τε καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὸν στρατὸν, καὶ ἐποίεε ταῦτα. τὰς μὲν δὴ νέας τὰς πύσας ἀπικομένας ἐς Δορίσκον οἱ ναύαρχοι κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν προσεχέα Δορίσκῳ ἐκόμισαν.

23. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῆς στρατιῆς ἀριθμὸν ἐποιέετο. Ὅσον μὲν νυν ἕκαστοι παρέιχον πλήθος ἀριθμὸν, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι τὸ ὑπερέκτος (οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων), σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλήθος ἐφάνη ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. ἐξηρίθμησαν δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· συναγαγόντες ἐς ἓνα χῶρον μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συννάξαντες ταύτην ὡς μάλιστα εἶχον, περιέγραφαν ἕξωθεν κύκλον, περιγράφαντες δὲ καὶ ὑπέντες τοὺς μυρίους, αἵμασι τὴν περιέβαλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον, ὕψος ἀνήκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὀμφαλόν. ταύτην δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἄλλους ἐσεβίβαζον ἐς τὸ περιοικοδομημένον, μέχρι οὗ πάντας τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐξηρίθμησαν. ἀριθμῆσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἔθνηα διέτασσον.

24. Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἡριθμήθη τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ στρατός, ἐπεθύμησε αὐτός σφεας διεξελίσσας θηήσασθαι. μετὰ δὲ ἐποίεε ταῦτα, καὶ διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἄρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἐν ἕκαστον ἐπυνθάνετο, καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί, ἕως ἐξ ἐσχάτων ἐς ἔσχατα ἀπῖκετο, καὶ τῆς ἵππου καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποίητο, τῶν νεῶν κατελκυσθεισέων ἐς θύλασσαν, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης, μετεκβὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς νέα Σιδωνίην, ἵζετο ὑπὸ σκηνῇ χρυσῇ καὶ παρέπλωε παρὰ τὰς πρῶρας τῶν νεῶν, ἐπειρωτῶν τε ἐκάστας ὁμοίως ὡς καὶ τὸν πεζόν, καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος. τὰς δὲ νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσερα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκώχεον, τὰς πρῶρας ἐς γῆν τρέψαντες πάντες μετωπηδόν, καὶ ἐξοπλίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὡς ἐς πόλε-

μον. ὁ δ' ἐντὸς τῶν πρῶτων πλῶων ἐθνεῖτο καὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ.

25. Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοὺς δὲ αἰεὶ ἵννομένους ἐμποδῶν συστρατεύεσθαι ἠνάγκαζε. οἱ δὲ ὑποδεκόμενοι Ἑλλήνων τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίζοντες Ξέρξεα ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπίκато, οὕτω ὥστε ἀνάστατοι ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἐγίνοντο· ὅκου γε Θασίοισι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολίων τῶν σφετέρων δεξαμένοισι τὴν Ξέρξεω στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίσασι, Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ὀργέος ἀραιρημένος, τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα, ἀπέδεξε ἐς τὸ δείπνον τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελεσμένα. **26.** ἔνθα δὲ Μεγακρέοντος ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω ἕπος εὖ εἰρημένον ἐγένετο, ὃς συνεβούλευσε Ἀβδηρίτῃσι πανδημεῖ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας ἐλθόντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἱρὰ ἵζεσθαι ἱκέτας τῶν θεῶν, παραιτεομένους καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σφί ἀπαμύνειν τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ ἡμίσεια, τῶν τε παροικομένων ἔχειν σφί μεγάλην χάριν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης οὐ δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἐνόμισε σίτον αἰρέεσθαι· παρέχειν γὰρ ἂν Ἀβδηρίτῃσι, εἰ καὶ ἄριστον προείρητο ὁμοῖα τῷ δείπνῳ παρασκευάζειν, ἢ μὴ ὑπομένειν Ξέρξεα ἐπιόντα, ἢ καταμείναντας κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων διατριβῆναι. **27.** Οἱ μὲν δὲ πιεζόμενοι ὅμως τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον ἐπετέλεον. Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ὑπομένειν ἐν Θέρμῃ, ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἐωυτοῦ τὰς νέας πορεύεσθαι, (Θέρμῃ δὲ τῇ ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ οἰκημένη, ἀπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει·) ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο συντομώτατον εἶναι.

28. Ὁ μὲν δὲ περὶ Πιερίην διέτριβε ἡμέρας συχνάς. οἱ δὲ δὴ κήρυκες οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ γῆς αἰτήσιν ἀπίκατο, οἱ μὲν κεινοὶ, οἱ δὲ φέροντες γῆν τε καὶ

ὔδωρ. Τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο οἷδε, Θεσσαλοὶ, Δόλοπες, Αἰνιῆνες, Περραιβοὶ, Λοκροὶ, Μάγνητες, Μηλιεες, Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιῆται, καὶ Θηβαῖοι, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπείων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων. ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔταμον ὄρκιον οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον ὑειρέμενοι. τὸ δὲ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε· "Ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἕλληνες εἶντες, μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφί εὖ τῶν πρηγμάτων, τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ. τὸ μὲν δὴ-ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. 29. ἐς δὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Σπάρτην οὐκ ἀπέπεμψε Ξέρξης ἐπὶ γῆς αἰτησιν κήρυκας τῶνδε εἵνεκεν· πρότερον Δαρείου πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτέοντας ἐς τὸ βάρβαρον, οἱ δ' ἐς φρέαρ ἐσβαλόντες, ἐκέλευον γῆν τε καὶ ὔδωρ ἐκ τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα. τούτων μὲν εἵνεκεν οὐκ ἔπεμψε Ξέρξης τοὺς αἰτήσοντας. ὃ τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις ταῦτα ποιήσασι τοὺς κήρυκας συνήνεκε ἀνεθέλητον γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι, πλὴν ὅτι σφέων ἡ χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδηρώθη. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην δοκέω γενέσθαι.

30. Ἡ δὲ στρατηλασίῃ ἡ βασιλέος οὐνομα μὲν εἶχε ὡς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, κατίετο δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ, οἱ Ἕλληνες οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ πάντες ἐποιεῦντο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν δόντες γῆν τε καὶ ὔδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἶχον θύρσος, ὡς οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου· οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες ἐν δείματι μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν, ἅτε οὔτε νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀριθμὸν ἀξιωμαχῶν δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα, οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδίζοντων δὲ προθύμως. 31. ἐνθαῦτα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι γνώμῃ ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπίφθονον μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων, ὅμως δὲ, τῇ γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται εἶναι ἀληθές, οὐκ ἐπισχίσω. εἰ

Ἀθηναῖοι καταρρωδήσαντες τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον ἐξέλιπον τὴν σφετέρην, ἥ καὶ μὴ ἐκλιπόντες ἀλλὰ μείναντες ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ξέρξη, κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδαμοὶ ἂν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιεύμενοι βασιλείῃ. εἰ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἦντιούτο Ξέρξη, κατὰ γε ἂν τὴν ἡπειρον τοιάδε ἐγίνετο· εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ τειχέων κιθῶνες ἦσαν ἐληλαμένοι διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ Πελοποννησίοισι, προδοθέντες ἂν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἐκόντων, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης, κατὰ πόλιν ἀλισκομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ατρατοῦ τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἐμουνώθησαν, μουνωθέντες δὲ ἂν καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα ἀπέθανον γενναίως. 32. ἡ ταῦτα ἂν ἔπαθον, ἡ πρὸ τοῦ ὀρέοντες ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας μηδίζοντας, ὁμολογίῃ ἂν ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς Ξέρξεα. καὶ οὕτω ἂν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐγίνετο ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. τὴν γὰρ ὠφελήν τὴν τῶν τειχέων τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένων οὐ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι ἥτις ἂν ἦν, βασιλεὺς ἐπικρατέοντος τῆς θαλάσσης. νῦν δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἂν τις λέγων σωτήρας γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι τῷ θεῷ· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ ὁκότερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐτράποντο, ταῦτα ῥέψειν ἔμελλε. ἐλόμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέρην, τοῦτο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν, ὅσον μὴ ἐμῇδισε, αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγείραντες, καὶ βασιλέα μετὰ γε θεοὺς ἀνωσάμενοι. οὐδέ σφέας χρηστήρια φοβερὰ ἐλθόντα ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐς δεῖμα βαλόντα ἔπεισε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες ἀνέσχοντο τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν δέξασθαι.

33. Πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους χρηστηριάζεσθαι ἦσαν ἐτοῖμοι. καὶ σφι ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἶρόν τὰ νομιζόμενα, ὥς ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσελθόντες ἔζοντο, χρᾶ ἢ Πυθίῃ, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀριστοεική, τᾶδε·

ὦ μέλει, τί κάθησθε ; λιπὼν φεῦγ' ἔσχατα γαίης
 Δώματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος ἄκρα κύρηναι.
 Οὔτε γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἔμπεδον, οὔτε τὸ σῶμα,
 Οὔτε πόδες νέατοι, οὔτ' ὦν χέρες, οὔτε τι μέσσης
 Λαίπεται, ἀλλ' αἰδῆλα πέλει. κατὰ γάρ μιν ἐρείπει 5
 Πῦρ τε καὶ ὄξυς Ἄρης, Συριηγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων.
 Πολλὰ δὲ κάλλ' ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα, κοῦ τὸ σὺν οἶον.
 Πολλοὺς δ' ἀθανάτων νηοὺς μαλερῶ πυρὶ δώσει,
 Οἷ που νῦν ἰδρώτι ρεούμενοι ἐστήκασι,
 Δείματι παλλόμενοι, κατὰ δ' ἀκροτάτοις ὀρόφοισι 10
 Αἶμα μέλαν κέχυνται, προῖδον κακότητος ἀνύγκας.
 Ἄλλ' ἵτον ἐξ αὐτόιο, κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν.

34. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεοπρόποι συμ-
 φορῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐχρέοντο. προβιάλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς
 ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦ κεχρησμένου, Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου,
 τῶν Δελφῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοία τῷ μάλιστα, συνεβούλευέ
 σφι ἱκετηρίας λαβοῦσι δεύτερα αὐτὶς ἐλθόντας χρᾶσθαι
 τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὡς ἰκέτας. πειθομένοισι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι
 Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ λέγουσι· ὦναξ, χρήσον ἡμῖν ἄμεινόν τι
 περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, αἰδεσθεὶς τὰς ἱκετηρίας τάσδε τύς τοι
 ἤκομεν φέροντες· ἢ οὐ τοι ἄπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτότου, ἀλλ'
 αὐτοῦ τῇδε μενέομεν, ἔστ' ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν· 35. ταῦτα
 δὲ λέγουσι ἢ πρόμαντις χρᾶ δεύτερα τάδε·

Οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δί' Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι,
 Δισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ.
 Σοὶ δὲ τόδ' αὐτὶς ἔπος ἐρέω, αἰδίμαντι πελάσσας.
 Τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἀλίσκομένων, ὅσα Κέκροπος οὔρος
 Ἐντὸς ἔχει κευθμών τε Κιθαιρῶνος ζαθέιο, 5
 Τείχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοὶ εὐρύσπα Ζεὺς
 Μοῦνον ἀπόρρητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὀνήσει.
 Μηδὲ σύ γ' ἵπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεζὸν ἰόντα
 Πολλὸν ἀπ' ἡπείρου στρατὸν ἥσυχος, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρεῖν

Νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοί κοτε κἀντίος ἔσση. 10
 Ὡ θεΐη Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολείς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν
 Ἡ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.

36. Ταῦτά σφι ἡπιώτερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐδόκεε εἶναι, συγγραφάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. ὡς δὲ ἀπελθόντες οἱ θεοπρόποι ἀπήγγελλον ἐς τὸν δῆμον, γινῶμαι καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ ἐγίνοντο διζήμενων τὸ μαντήριον, καὶ αἶδε συνεστηκυῖαι μάλιστα· τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι δοκέειν σφι τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν χρῆσαι περιέσεσθαι· ἡ γὰρ ἀκρόπολις τὸ πάλαι τῶν Ἀθηνέων ῥήχῳ ἐπέφρακτο. οἱ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν συνεβάλλοντο τοῦτο τὸ ξύλινον τείχος εἶναι· οἱ δ' αὖ ἔλεγον τὰς νέας σημαίνειν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ταύτας παραρτέεσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέντας. τοὺς ὦν δὴ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ξύλινον τείχος ἔσφαλλε. τὰ δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης,

Ὡ θεΐη Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολείς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν
 Ἡ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.

κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα συνεχέοντο αἱ γινῶμαι τῶν φαμένων τὰς νέας τὸ ξύλινον τείχος εἶναι. οἱ γὰρ χρησμολόγοι ταύτῃ ταῦτα ἐλάμβανον, ὡς ἀμφὶ Σαλαμίνα δεῖ σφέας ἐσσωθῆναι ναυμαχίην παρασκευασαμένους.

37. Ἦν δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ ἐς πρώτους νεωστὶ παριῶν, τῷ ὄνομα μὲν ἦν Θεμιστοκλῆς, παῖς δὲ Νεοκλῆος ἐκαλέετο. οὗτος ὦνῆρ οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγων τοιαύδε· εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον ἐόντως, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω μιν δοκέειν ἡπίως χρῆσθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ὧδε, Ὡ σχετλίη Σαλαμῖς, ἀντὶ τοῦ Ὡ θεΐη Σαλαμῖς, εἴ πέρ γε ἔμελλον οἱ οἰκίτορες ἀμφ' αὐτῇ τελευτήσειν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ εἰρήσθαι

τὸ χρηστήριον συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθόν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Ἀθηναίους. παρασκευάζεσθαι ὧν αὐτοὺς ὡς ναυμαχήσοντας συνεβούλευε, ὡς τούτου ἑόντος τοῦ ξυλίνου τείχεος. ταύτῃ Θεμιστοκλέος ἀποφαινομένου, Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτά σφι ἔγνωσαν αἰρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων, οἳ οὐκ ἔων ναυμαχίην ἀρτέεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἶναι οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταείρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντας χώρην τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκίζειν. 38. Ἑτέρῃ τε Θεμιστοκλεῖ γνῶμη ἔμπροσθε ταύτης ἐς καιρὸν ἠρίστευσε, ὅτε Ἀθηναίοισι γενομένων χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τὰ ἐκ τῶν μετᾴλλων σφι προσήλθε τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυρείου, ἔμελλον λάξεσθαι ὀρχηδὸν ἕκαστος δέκα δραχμάς. τότε Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνέγνωσε Ἀθηναίους, τῆς διαιρέσεως ταύτης παυσαμένους, νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι δικασίας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος συστὰς ἔσωσε τότε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀναγκάσας θαλασσίους γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους. αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μὲν ἐποιήθησαν οὐκ ἐχρήσθησαν, ἐς δέον δὲ οὕτω τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγένοντο. αὐταί τε δὴ αἱ νέες τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι προποιοιθεῖσαι ὑπήρχον, ἑτέρας τε ἔδεε προσναυπηγέεσθαι. ἔδοξέ τε σφι μετὰ τὸ χρηστήριον βουλευομένοισι, ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον δέκεσθαι τῇσι νηυσὶ πανδημεῖ, τῷ θεῷ πειθομένους, ἅμα Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι.

39. Τὰ μὲν δὴ χρηστήρια ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐγγόνεε· συλληγομένων δὲ ἐς τὸντὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ ἀμείνω φρονούντων, καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν, ἐνθαῦτα ἔδόκεε βουλευομένοισι αὐτοῖσι πρῶτον μὲν χρημάτων πάντων καταλλάσσεσθαι τάς τε ἔχθρας καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλους ἑόντας πολέμους. ἦσαν δὲ πρὸς τινας καὶ ἄλλους ἐγκεκρημένοι, ὁ δὲ ὧν μέγιστος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Αἰγινήτησι. μετὰ δὲ, πυνθανόμενοι Ξέρξῃ σὺν τῷ

στρατῶ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐβουλεύσαντο κατασκόπους πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τῶν βασιλέως πρηγμάτων, ἐς Ἄργος τε ἀγγέλους ὁμαιχμίην συνθησομένους πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ ἐς Σικελίην ἄλλους πέμπειν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένεος, ἔς τε Κέρκυραν, κελεύοντας βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ ἐς Κρήτην ἄλλους, φρονήσαντες εἴ πως ἔν τε γένοιτο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ εἰ συγκύψαντες τούτῳ πρήσσοιεν πάντες, ὡς δεινῶν ἐπιόντων ὁμοίως πᾶσι Ἕλλησι.

III. THE PASS OF THERMOPYLAE.

1. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ ἐν οἷοισι χώροισι. ἡ νικῶσα δὲ γνώμη ἐγένετο τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι. στεινότερη γὰρ ἐφαίνετο εὐῶσα τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην, καὶ μία, ἀγχοτέρη τε τῆς ἐωυτῶν. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν, δι' ἣν ἤλωσαν οἱ ἀλόντες Ἑλλήνων ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, οὐδὲ ᾗδεσαν εὐῶσαν πρότερον ἥπερ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπύθοντο Τρηχινίων. ταύτην ὦν ἐβουλεύσαντο φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἐσβολὴν μὴ παριέναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον, τὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν στρατὸν πλέειν γῆς τῆς Ἰσταιήτιδος ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγχοῦ τε ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ, ὥστε πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ κατ' ἐκατέρους ἑόντα. 2. Οἳ τε χώροι οὕτω ἔχουσι· τοῦτο μὲν, τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐκ τοῦ πελάγεος τοῦ Θρηϊκίου ἐξ εὐρέος συνάγεται ἐς στεινὸν ἑόντα τὸν πόρον τὸν μεταξὺ νήσου τε Σκιάθου καὶ ἡπείρου Μαγνησίας· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ στεινοῦ τῆς Εὐβοίης ἤδη τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον δέκεται αἰγιαλός, ἐν δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱρόν. ἡ δὲ αὖ διὰ Τρηχίνος ἔσοδος ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστὶ, τῇ στεινοτάτῃ, ἡμίπλεθρον. οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τοῦτό γ' ἐστὶ τὸ στεινότατον τῆς χώρας τῆς ἄλλης,

ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθε τε Θερμοπυλέων καὶ ὄπισθε, κατὰ τε Ἀλ-
πηνοὺς ὄπισθε ἔοντας εἴουσα ἀμαξιτὸς μούνη, καὶ ἔμπροσθε
κατὰ Φοίνικα ποταμὸν ἀγγχοῦ Ἀνθηλῆς πόλιος ἀμαξιτὸς
ἄλλη μούνη. 3. τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλέων τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέ-
ρης οὖρος ἄβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλὸν, ἀνατείνον ἐς
τὴν Οἶτην, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡὼ τῆς ὁδοῦ θάλασσα ὑποδέκε-
ται καὶ τενάγεια. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ταύτῃ θερμὰ λουτρά,
τὰ Χύτρους καλέουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ βωμὸς ἱδρυται
Ἡρακλέος ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι. ἐδέδμητο δὲ τείχος κατὰ ταύτας
τὰς ἐσβολὰς, καὶ τό γε παλαιὸν πύλαι ἐπήσαν. ἔδειμαν
δὲ Φωκέες τὸ τείχος, δείσαντες, ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ
Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκήσαντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα, τὴν περ νῦν ἐκ-
τέεται. ἅτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καταστρέφε-
σθαὶ σφεας, τοῦτο προεφυλάξαντο οἱ Φωκέες· καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ
τὸ θερμὸν τότε ἐπήκαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσοδον, ὥς ἂν χαραδρωθεῖη
ὁ χώρος, πᾶν μηχανεόμενοι, ὅπως μὴ σφί ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ
Θεσσαλοὶ ἐς τὴν χώραν. τὸ μὲν νυν τείχος τὸ ἀρχαῖον
ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε ἐδέδμητο, καὶ τὸ πλεόν αὐτοῦ ἤδη ὑπὸ χρό-
νου ἐκέετο. 4. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῖς ὀρθώσασι ἔδοξε ταύτῃ ἀπα-
μύνειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν βάρβαρον. κώμη δέ ἐστι
ἀγχοτάτω τῆς ὁδοῦ, Ἀλπηνοὶ οὖνομα· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπισι-
τιεῖσθαι ἐλογίζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. οἱ μὲν νυν χώροι οὗτοι
τοῖσι Ἕλλησι εἶναι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπιτήδεοι. ἅπαντα γὰρ
προσκεψάμενοι, καὶ ἐπιλογισθέντες ὅτι οὔτε πλήθει ἔξουσι
χρᾶσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε ἵππῳ, ταύτῃ σφί ἔδοξε δέκεσθαι
τὸν ἐπίοντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὥς δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὸν Πέρ-
σῃ ἔοντα ἐν Πιερίῃ, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐστρατεύ-
οντο αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐς Θερμοπύλας πεζῇ, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ θά-
λασσαν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον.

5. Ὁ δὲ ναυτικός Ξέρξῃ στρατὸς ὀρμεόμενος ἐκ Θέρ-
μης πόλιος παρέβαλε νηυσὶ τῇσι ἄριστα πλεούσῃσι δέκα

ἰθὺ Σκιάθου, ἔνθα ἦσαν προφυλάσσουσαι νέες τρεῖς Ἑλληνίδες, Τροιζηνίη τε καὶ Αἰγιναιή καὶ Ἀττική. προιδόντες δὲ οὗτοι τὰς νέας τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. **6.** Τῶν δὲ δέκα νεῶν τῶν βαρβάρων τρεῖς ἐπήλασαν περὶ τὸ ἔρμα τὸ μεταξὺ ἐὼν Σκιάθου τε καὶ Μαγνησίης, καλεόμενον δὲ Μύρμηκα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπειδὴ στήλην λίθου ἐπέθηκαν κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα, ὀρμηθέντες αὐτοὶ ἐκ Θέρμης, ὥς σφι τὸ ἐμποδὼν ἐγεγόνεε καθαρὸν, ἐπέπλεον πάσῃσι τῇσι νηυσὶ, ἔνδεκα ἡμέρας παρέντες μετὰ τὴν βασιλέος ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης. τὸ δὲ ἔρμα σφι κατηγήσατο ἐὼν ἐν πόρῃ μάλιστα Πάμμων Σκύριος. πανημερὸν δὲ πλώοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανύουσι τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρης ἐπὶ Σηπιάδα τε καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς. Μέχρι μὲν νυν τοῦτου τοῦ χώρου καὶ Θερμοπυλέων ἀπαθῆς τε κακῶν ἦν ὁ στρατός.

7. Αἱ μὲν δὴ πρῶται τῶν νεῶν ὥρμεον πρὸς γῆν, ἄλλαι δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνησι ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐόντος οὐ μεγάλου, πρόκροσσαι ὥρμέοντο ἐς πόντον καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ νέας. ταύτην μὲν τὴν εὐφρόνην οὕτω· ἅμα δὲ ὄρθρω, ἐξ αἰθρίας τε καὶ νηνεμίας τῆς θαλάσσης ζεσάσης, ἐπέπεσέ σφι χειμῶν τε μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἄνεμος ἀπηλιώτης, τὸν δὴ Ἑλλησποντίην καλέουσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκημένοι. ὅσοι μὲν νυν αὐτῶν αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον, καὶ τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὄρμου, οἱ δ' ἔφθησαν τὸν χειμῶνα ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε περιῆσαν καὶ αἱ νέες αὐτῶν· ὅσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρσίας ἔλαβε, τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἴπνους καλεομένους τοὺς ἐν Πηλίῳ, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. αἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον, αἱ δὲ ἐς Μελίβοιαν πόλιν, αἱ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο. ἦν δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος χρῆμα ἀφόρητον. **8.** Λέγεται δὲ

λόγος, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Βορέην ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐλθόντος σφι ἄλλου χρηστηρίου τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐπικουρον καλέσασθαι. Βορέης δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήνων λόγον ἔχει γυναῖκα Ἀττικὴν, Ὠρεΐθυιαν τὴν Ἐρεχθέος. κατὰ δὴ τὸ κῆδος τοῦτο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς φάτις ὥρμηται, συμβαλλόμενοι σφι τὸν Βορέην γαμβρὸν εἶναι, ναυλοχέοντες τῆς Εὐβοίης ἐν Χαλκίδι, ὡς ἔμαθον αὐξόμενον τὸν χειμῶνα, ἣ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἔθνόν τε καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο τὸν τε Βορέην καὶ τὴν Ὠρεΐθυιαν τιμωρῆσαί σφι καὶ διαφθεῖραι τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας, ὡς καὶ πρότερον περὶ Ἀθων. εἰ μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖσι βαρβύροις ὀρμέουσι ὁ Βορέης ἐπέπεσε, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι· οἱ δ' ὦν Ἀθηναῖοι σφι λέγουσι βοηθήσαντα τὸν Βορέην πρότερον καὶ τότε ἐκεῖνα κατεργάσασθαι, καὶ ἱρὸν ἀπελθόντες Βορέῳ ἰδρύσαντο παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἴλισσόν. 9. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ νέας οἱ ἐλαχίστας λέγουσι διαφθαρήναι, τετρακοσιέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, ἄνδρας τε ἀναριθμήτους, χρημάτων τε πλῆθος ἀφθονον· ὥστε Ἀμεινοκλεί τῷ Κρητίνεω ἀνδρὶ Μάγνητι γηοχέοντι περὶ Σηπιάδα μεγάλως ἢ ναυηγίῃ αὕτη χρηστὴ ἐγένετο, ὃς πολλὰ μὲν χρύσεια ποτήρια ὑστέρω χρόνῳ ἐκβρασσόμενα ἀνείλετο, πολλὰ δὲ ἀργύρεα, θησαυρούς τε τῶν Περσέων εὔρε, ἄλλα τε [χρύσεια] ἄφατα χρήματα περιεβάλετο. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τᾶλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων εὐρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τούτον ἄχαρις συμφορὴ λυπεύουσα παιδοφόνος. 10. σιταγωγῶν δὲ ὀλκάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἐπὶν ἀριθμὸς, ὥστε δέισαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ, μή σφι κεκακωμένοις ἐπιθέωνται οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ, ἔρκος ὑψηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ναυηγίων περιεβάλοντο. ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχείμαζε τρεῖς· τέλος δὲ ἐντομά τε ποιεῖντες καὶ καταεῖδοντες γόησι τῷ ἀνέμῳ οἱ Μάγοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῇ Θέτῃ καὶ τῇσι Νηρηΐσι θύοντες,

ἔπαυσαν τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ, ἣ ἄλλως κως αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε. τῇ δὲ Θέτι ἔθυον πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον, ὥς ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τούτου ἀρπασθείη ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἷη τε ἅπανα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ Σηπιάς ἐκείνης τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Νηρηίδων. 11. Ὁ μὲν δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπέπαυτο· τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι, ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταδραμόντες δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ὁ χειμὼν ὁ πρῶτος ἐγένετο, ἐσθίμουν πάντα τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τὴν ναυηγίην. οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐπύθοντο, Ποσειδέωνι σωτῆρι εὐξόμενοι, καὶ σπονδὰς προχέαντες τὴν ταχίστην, ὀπίσω ἠπείγοντο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐλπίσαντες ὀλίγας τινας σφι ἀντιξοούς ἔσεσθαι νέας. οἱ μὲν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἐλθόντες περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐναυλόχεον, Ποσειδέωνος σωτῆρος ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ τούτου ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε νομίζοντες. 12. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ὥς ἐπαύσατό τε ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ τὸ κύμα ἔστρωτο, κυτασπῶσαντες τὰς νέας ἔπλεον παρὰ τὴν ἠπειρον, κάμψαντες δὲ τὴν ἄκρην τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἰθέαν ἔπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Παγασέων φέροντα. ἔστι δὲ χώρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἔνθα λέγεται τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰήσονός τε καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων ἐκ τῆς Ἀργούς ἐπ' ὕδωρ πεμφθέντα, εὐτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἔπλεον ἐς Αἶαν τὴν Κολχίδα· ἐνθεῦτεν γὰρ ἔμελλον ὑδρευσάμενοι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφήσειν, ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ τῷ χώρῳ οὖνομα γέγονε Ἀφεταί. ἐν τούτῳ ὦν ὄρμον οἱ Ξέρξης ἐποιοῦντο.

13. Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς, πορευθεὶς διὰ Θεσσαλίας καὶ Ἀχαΐης, ἐσβεβληκῶς ἦν καὶ δὴ τριταῖος ἐς Μηλιάς· ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ μὲν ἀμιλλαν ποιησάμενος ἵππων τῶν ἑωυτοῦ, ἀποπειρεόμενος καὶ τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἵππου, πυθόμενος ὥς ἀρίστη εἷη τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι· ἔνθα δὲ αἱ Ἑλληνίδες ἵπποι ἐλείποντο πολλόν. τῶν μὲν νυν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ποταμῶν Ὀνόχωνος μῦθος οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ρέεθρον

πινόμενος, τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀχαιίῃ ποταμῶν ρεόντων οὐδὲ ὅστις μέγιστος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ Ἡπιδανός, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἀντέσχε εἰ μὴ φλαύρως. 14. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀχαιίῃ· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χώρων ἦιε ἐς τὴν Μηλίδα παρὰ κόλπον θαλάσσης, ἐν τῷ ἄμπωτίς τε καὶ ῥηχίῃ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεταί. περὶ δὲ τὸν κόλπον τοῦτον ἐστὶ χώρος πεδινός, τῇ μὲν εὐρὺς, τῇ δὲ καὶ κύρτα στεινός. περὶ δὲ τὸν χώρον οὖρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄβατα περικληῖται πᾶσαν τὴν Μηλίδα γῆν, Τρηχίνιαί πέτραι καλεόμεναι. πρώτη μὲν νυν πόλις ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἰόντι ἀπ' Ἀχαιῆς Ἀντικύρη, παρ' ἣν ποταμὸς Σπερχεῖος ῥέων ἐξ Ἐνιήνων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοί. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου διὰ εἰκοσὶ κου σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμὸς, τῷ οὖνομα κέεται Δύρας, τὸν βοηθέοντα τῷ Ἡρακλεί· καιομένῳ λόγος ἐστὶ ἀναφανῆναι. ὑπὸ δὲ τούτου δι' ἄλλων εἴκοσι σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμὸς ἐστὶ, ὃς καλεῖται Μέλας. 15. Τρηχίς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλανος τούτου ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ὑπέχει. ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ εὐρύτατόν ἐστι πάσης τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατ' ἃ Τρηχίς πεπόλισται· δισχίλιά τε γὰρ καὶ δισμύρια πλέθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστί. τοῦ δὲ οὖρεος, τὸ περικληῖται τὴν γῆν τὴν Τρηχινίην, ἔστι διασφάξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχίνος, διὰ δὲ τῆς διασφάγος Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ῥέει παρὰ τὴν ὑπώρεαν τοῦ οὖρεος. 16. Ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος Φοῖνιξ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, ὃς ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων τούτων ῥέων ἐς τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἐκδιδοί. κυτὰ δὲ τὸν Φοίνικα ποταμὸν στεινωτάτόν ἐστι· ἰμαξιτὸς γὰρ μία μούνη δεδμηται. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἐστὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ καὶ Θερμοπυλεῶν κώμη τέ ἐστι, τῇ οὖνομα Ἀνθήλη κέεται, παρ' ἣν δὴ παραρρέων ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοί, καὶ χώρος περὶ αὐτὴν εὐρὺς,

ἐν τῷ Δήμητρος τε ἱρὸν Ἀμφικτυονίδος ἱδρυται, καὶ ἔδραι εἰσὶ Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος ἱρὸν.

17. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἐστρατοπεδεύετο τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινίῃ, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῇ διόδῳ. καλεέται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλεόνων Ἑλλήνων Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ περιοίκων Πύλαι. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν νυν ἑκάτεροι ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι χωρίοισι· ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἔχοντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχίνος, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ μεσαμβρίην φερόντων τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡπείρου. **18.** Ἦσαν δὲ οἷδε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ὑπομένοντες τὸν Πέρσην ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ· Σπυριτητέων τε τριηκόσιοι ὀπλίται, καὶ Τεγεατέων καὶ Μαντινέων χίλιοι, ἡμίσεες ἑκατέρων, ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τε τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀρκαδίας χίλιοι· τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκιδῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ Φλιοῦντος διηκόσιοι καὶ Μυκηναίων ὀγδῶκοντα· οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρήσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν Θεσπιδέων τε ἐπτακόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι. **19.** πρὸς τούτοισι ἐπικλήτοι ἐγένοντο Λοκροὶ τε οἱ Ὀπούντιοι πανστρατιῇ, καὶ Φωκέων χίλιοι. αὐτοὶ γὰρ σφεας οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεκαλέσαντο, λέγοντες δι' ἀγγέλων ὥς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἤκοιεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων πρόσδοκιμοὶ πᾶσαν εἶεν ἡμέρην· ἡ θάλασσά τέ σφι εἷη ἐν φυλακῇ, ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων τε φρουρεομένη καὶ Αἰγινητέων καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντων, καὶ σφι εἷη δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον· εἶναι δὲ θνητὸν οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἔσεσθαι, τῷ κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ οὐ συνεμίχθη, τοῖσι δὲ μεγίστοισι αὐτῶν μέγιστα· ὀφείλειν ὦν καὶ τὸν ἐπελαύνοντα, ὥς εὔντα θνητὸν, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσεῖν ἄν. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἐβοήθεον ἐς τὴν Τρηχίνα. **20.** Τούτοισι ἦσαν μὲν

νυν καὶ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατὰ πόλιος ἐκάστων· ὁ δὲ θω-
 μαζόμενος μάλιστα, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγεό-
 μενος, Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν Λεωνίδης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew τοῦ
 Λέοντος τοῦ Εὐρυκρατίδew τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ Εὐρυ-
 κράτεος τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Ἀλκαμένεος τοῦ Τηλέκλου
 τοῦ Ἀρχέλεω τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω τοῦ Δορύσσου τοῦ Λεωβώ-
 τεω τοῦ Ἐχυστράτου τοῦ Ἡγίος τοῦ Εὐρυσθέneos τοῦ
 Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ἰλλου
 τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, κτησύμενος τὴν βασιληίην ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐξ
 ἀπροσδοκίτου. 21. διζῶν γάρ οἱ ἐόντων πρεσβυτέρων
 ἀδελφεῶν, Κλεομένεός τε καὶ Δωριέος, ἀπελήλατο τῆς φρον-
 τίδος περὶ τῆς βασιληίης. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Κλεομένεος
 ἄπαιδος ἔρσενος γόνου, Δωριέος τε οὐκέτι ἐόντος, ἀλλὰ
 τελευτήσαντος καὶ τούτου ἐν Σικελίῃ, οὕτω δὲ ἐς Λεωνίδην
 ἀνέβαινε ἡ βασιληίη, καὶ διότι πρότερος ἐγεγόνει Κλεομ-
 βρότου (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν νεώτατος Ἀναξανδρίδew παῖς), καὶ
 δὴ καὶ εἶχε Κλεομένεος θυγατέρα. ὃς τότε ἦγε ἐς Θερμο-
 πύλας, ἐπιλεξόμενος ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστεῶτας τριηκο-
 σίους, καὶ τοῖσι ἐτύγχανον παῖδες ἐόντες. 22. παραλαβὼν
 δὲ ἀπίκητο καὶ Θηβαίων τοὺς ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν λογισάμενος
 εἶπον, τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Λεοντιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου. τούδε
 δὲ εἶνεκεν τούτους σπουδὴν ἐποιήσατο Λεωνίδης μούρους
 Ἑλλήνων παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγορήτο
 μηδίξειν. παρεκάλεε ὧν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐθέλων εἰδέναι
 εἴτε συμπέμψουσι εἴτε καὶ ἀπερέουσι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος τὴν
 Ἑλλήνων συμμαχίην· οἱ δὲ ἀλλοφρονέοντες ἔπεμπον.
 23. Τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην πρῶτους ἀπέπεμψαν
 Σπαρτιῆται, ἵνα τούτους ὀρώντες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρα-
 τεύωνται, μηδὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδίσωσι, ἦν αὐτοὺς πυνθάνωνται
 ὑπερβαλλομένους· μετὰ δὲ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδῶν,
 ἔμελλον ὀρτίσαντες, καὶ φυλακὰς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ,

κατὰ τάχος βοηθήσειν πανδημεί. ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐνένωντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιήσειν· ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὸντὸ Ὀλυμπιάς τούτοις τοῖσι πρῆγμασι συμπεσοῦσα. οὐκ ὦν δοκέοντες κατὰ τάχος οὕτω διακριθῆσθαι τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι πόλεμον, ἔπεμπον τοὺς προδρόμους.

24. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτω διενένωντο ποιήσειν· οἱ δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἕλληνες, ἐπειδὴ πέλας ἐγένετο τῆς ἐσβολῆς ὁ Πέρσης, καταρρωδέοντες ἐβουλευόντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοις Πελοποννησίοις ἐδόκεε, ἐλθοῦσι ἐς Πελοπόννησον, τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ· Λεωνίδης δὲ, Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν περισπερχεόντων τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐψηφίζετο, πέμπειν τε ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς πόλεις κελεύοντάς σφι ἐπιβοηθῆειν, ὥς ἐόντων αὐτῶν ὀλίγων στρατὸν τὸν Μήδων ἀλέξασθαι. 25. Ταῦτα βουλευομένων σφέων, ἔπεμπε Ξέρξης κατάσκοπον ἵππεία, ἰδέσθαι ὁκόσοι τέ εἰσι καὶ ὅ τι ποίεοιεν. ἡκηκόεε δὲ, ἔτι ἔων ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ὥς ἡλισμένη εἶη ταύτῃ στρατιῇ ὀλίγη, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὥς εἶησαν Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Λεωνίδης ἐὼν γένος Ἡρακλείδης. ὥς δὲ προσήλασε ὁ ἵππεὺς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐθνεῖτό τε καὶ κατῶρα πᾶν μὲν οὐ τὸ στρατόπεδον· τοὺς γὰρ ἔσω τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος, τὸ ἀνορθώσαντες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἶά τε ἦν κατιδέσθαι· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω ἐμάνθανε, τοῖσι πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ ὄπλα ἐκέετο. ἔτυχον δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔξω τεταγμένοι. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὥρα γυμναζομένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κτενιζομένους. ταῦτα δὴ θηεύμενος ἐθώνυμαζε, καὶ τὸ πλήθος ἐμάνθανε. μαθὼν δὲ πάντα ἀτρεκέως, ἀπήλαυσε ὀπίσω κατ' ἥσυχίην· οὔτε γάρ τις ἐδίωκε, ἀλογίης τε ἐκύρῃσσε πολλῆς· ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ξέρξεα τὰ περ ὁπώπεε πάντα. 26. ἀκούων δὲ Ξέρξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβα-

λέσθαι τὸ εἶν, ὅτι παρασκευάζονται ὡς ἀπολεύμενοί τε καὶ ἀπολέοντες κατὰ δύναμιν· ἀλλ' αὐτῷ γελοῖα γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο ποιεῖν, μετεπέμψατο Δημήρτην τὸν Ἀρίστωνος, εἶντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν εἰρώτα Ξέρξης ἕκαστα τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθεῖν τὸ ποιούμενον πρὸς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Ἦκουσας μὲν μεν καὶ πρότερον, εὔτε ὠρμῶμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων· ἀκούσας δὲ γέλωτά με ἔθευ λέγοντα τῇ περ ὤρων ἐκβησόμενα πρήγματα ταῦτα. ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθείην ἀσκέειν ἀντία σεῦ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀγὼν μέγιστός ἐστι. ἄκουσον δὲ καὶ νῦν. 27. οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἀπίκται μαχεσόμενοι ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς ἐσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευάζονται. νόμος γάρ σφι οὕτω ἔχων ἐστί· ἐπεὰν μέλλωσι κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμέονται. ἐπίστασο δὲ, εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέψαι, ἔστι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων τό σε, βασιλεῦ, ὑπομένεει χεῖρας ἀνταειρόμενον· νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασιλῆην τε καλλίστην τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι προσφέρειαι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους. Κάρτα τε δὴ ἄπιστα Ξέρξῃ ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ δεύτερα ἐπειρώτα, ὅντινα τρόπον τοσοῦτοι εἶντες τῇ ἐώντου στρατῇ μαχέσονται. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστη, ἢ μὴ ταῦτά τοι ταύτῃ ἐκβῇ, τῇ ἐγὼ λέγω. ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ξέρξεα.

28. Τέσσερας μὲν δὴ παρεξήκε ἡμέρας, ἐλπίζων αἰεὶ σφεας ἀποδρῆσθαι. πέμπτη δὲ, ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναιδεῖν τε καὶ ἀβουλήν διαχρεόμενοι μένειν, πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Μήδους τε καὶ Κισσίους θυμωθεῖς, ἐντειλόμενός σφεας ζωγρήσαντας ἄγειν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐώντου. ὡς δ' ἐπέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἔπιπτον πολλοί· ἄλλοι δ' ἐπεσήσαν καὶ οὐκ ἀπήλαυνον, καίπερ μεγάλως προσπταίνοντες. δῆλον δ' ἐποίουν

παντί τεφ καὶ οὐκ ἤκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλείῃ, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ συμβολὴ δι' ἡμέρης. **29.** ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχέως περιείποντο, ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν ὑπεξήρισαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἐπήρισαν, τοὺς ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεε βασιλεὺς, τῶν ἡρχε Ἰδάρνης, ὡς δὴ οὗτοί γε εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι. ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συνέμισγον τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Μηδικῆς, ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ, ἅτε ἐν στεينوπόρῳ τε χώρῳ μαχόμενοι, καὶ δούρασι βραχυτερόισι χρεόμενοι ἥπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθει χρήσασθαι.

30. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου, ἄλλα τε ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοισι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενοι, καὶ ὅπως ἐντρέψειαν τὰ νῶτα, ἀλέες φεύγεσκον δῆθεν· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὀρέοντες φεύγοντας βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ ἐπήρισαν, οἱ δ' ἂν καταλαμβάνόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι τοῖσι βαρβύροισι, μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατέβαλλον πλήθει ἀναριθμήτους τῶν Περσέων· ἐπιπτον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐνθαῦτα ὀλίγοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνάετο παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐσόδου, πειρεόμενοι καὶ κατὰ τέλεα καὶ παντοίως προσβάλλοντες, ἀπήλυνον ὀπίσω.

31. Ἐν ταύτῃσι τῇσι προσόδοισι τῆς μάχης λέγεται βασιλέα θεεύμενον τρὶς ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, δείσαντα περὶ τῇ στρατιῇ. τότε μὲν οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο, τῇ δ' ὕστεραίῃ οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀέθλεον· ἅτε γὰρ ὀλίγων ἐόντων, ἐλπίσαντές σφεας κατατετρωματίσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ οἴους τε ἔσεσθαι ἔτι χεῖρας ἀνταείρασθαι, συνέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάξιν τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα κεκοσμημένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρει ἕκαστοι ἐμάχοντο, πλὴν Φωκέων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τὸ οὖρος ἐτάχθησαν φυλάξοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν εὗρισκον ἀλλοιότερον οἱ Πέρσαι ἢ τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐνώ-

ρων, ἀπήλαινον. 32. Ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέος ὃ τι χρήσται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι, Ἐπιάλτης ὁ Εὐρυδῆμου ἀνὴρ Μηλιεύς ἦλθέ οἱ ἐς λόγους, ὡς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέος δοκέων οἴσασθαι, ἔφρασε τε τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ οὗρεος φέρουσιν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ διέφθειρε τοὺς ταύτην ὑπομείναντας Ἑλλήνων. ὕστερον δὲ δέσας Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφυγε ἐς Θεσσαλίην, καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγῶρων, τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην συλλεγομένων, ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, κατήλθε γὰρ ἐς Ἀντικύρην, ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω, ἀνδρὸς Τρηχινίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν Ἐπιάλτην δι' ἄλλην αἰτίην, τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι σημαίνω, ἐτιμήθη μέντοι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲν ἔσπον. Ἐπιάλτης μὲν οὕτω ὕστερον τούτων ἀπέθανε. 33. Ἔστι δὲ ἕτερος λεγόμενος λόγος, ὡς Ὀνήτης τε ὁ Φαναγόρεω ἀνὴρ Καρύστιος καὶ Κορυδαλὸς Ἀντικυρεὺς εἰσι οἱ εἵπαντες πρὸς βασιλέα τούτους τοὺς λόγους, καὶ περιηγησάμενοι τὸ οὖρος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστός. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τῷδε χρή σταθμώσασθαι, ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Πυλαγῶροι ἐπεκίρυξαν οὐκ ἐπὶ Ὀνήτῃ τε καὶ Κορυδαλῷ ἀργύριον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἐπιάλτῃ τῷ Τρηχινίῳ, πάντως κου τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον πυθόμενοι, τοῦτο δὲ φεύγοντα τὸν Ἐπιάλτην ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην οἶδαμεν. εἰδείη μὲν γὰρ ἂν, καὶ ἐὼν μὴ Μηλιεύς, ταύτην τὴν ἀτραπὸν Ὀνήτης, εἰ τῇ χώρῃ πολλὰ ὠμικηκῶς εἶη· ἀλλ' Ἐπιάλτης γάρ ἐστι ὁ περιηγησάμενος τὸ οὖρος κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν, τοῦτον αἴτιον γράφω.

34. Ἐέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἤρесе τὰ ὑπέσχετο ὁ Ἐπιάλτης κατεργάσασθαι, αὐτίκα περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἔπεμπε Ὑδάρνεα καὶ τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Ὑδάρνης. ὠρμέατο δὲ περὶ λύχων ἀφὰς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν ταύτην ἐξεύρον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Μηλιέες, ἐξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσα-

λοῖσι κατηγήσαντο ἐπὶ Φωκέας τότε ὅτε οἱ Φωκέες, φράξαν-
 τεσ τείχει τὴν ἐσβολὴν, ἦσαν ἐν σκέπη τοῦ πολέμου· ἕκ-
 τε τοσοῦδε κατεδέδεκτο εὐῦσα οὐδὲν χρηστὴ Μηλιεύσι.
35. Ἐχει δὲ ὧδε ἡ ἀτραπὸς αὕτη· ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 Ἀσωποῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς διασφύγος ῥέοντος· οὐνομα
 δὲ τῷ οὐρεὶ τούτῳ καὶ τῇ ἀτραπῷ τὠντὸ κέεται, Ἀνόπαια·
 τεῖναι δὲ ἡ Ἀνόπαια αὕτη κατὰ ῥάχιν τοῦ οὐρεος, λήγει δὲ
 κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνὸν πόλιν, πρώτῃν εὐῦσαν τῶν Λοκρίδων
 πρὸς τῶν Μηλίων, καὶ κατὰ Μελάμπυγόν τε καλεόμενον
 λίθον καὶ κατὰ Κερκώπων ἔδρας, τῇ καὶ τὸ στενωτάτον
 ἐστὶ. **36.** κατὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀτραπὸν καὶ οὕτω ἔχουσιν
 οἱ Πέρσαι, τὸν Ἀσώπον διαβάντες, ἐπορεύοντο πᾶσαν τὴν
 νύκτα, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχοντες οὐρεα τὰ Οἰταίων, ἐν ἀριστερῇ
 δὲ τὰ Τρηχινίων· ἡὼς τε δὴ διέφαινε, καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ
 ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ οὐρεος. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ οὐρεος ἐφύλασ-
 σον, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, Φωκέων χίλιοι ὀπλί-
 ται, ῥυόμενοί τε τὴν σφετέρην χώραν καὶ φρουρέοντες τὴν
 ἀτραπὸν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ κάτω ἐσβολὴ ἐφυλάσσετο ὑπ' ὧν
 εἴρηται, τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ οὐρεος ἀτραπὸν ἐθελονταὶ Φωκέες
 ὑποδεξάμενοι Λεωνίδῃ ἐφύλασσον. **37.** Ἐμαθον δὲ σφεας
 οἱ Φωκέες ὧδε ἀναβεβηκότας· ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐλάνθανον
 οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ οὖρος πᾶν ἔον δρυὼν ἐπίπλεον. ἦν μὲν δὴ
 νηνεμία, ψόφου δὲ γινομένου πολλοῦ, ὥς οἶκος ἦν φύλλων
 ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ τοῖσι ποσὶ, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον οἱ Φωκέες
 καὶ ἐνέδυνον τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ βάρβαροι παρήσαν.
 ὥς δὲ εἶδον ἄνδρας ἄνδονομένους ὄπλα, ἐν θύματι ἐγένοντο·
 ἐλπόμενοι γὰρ οὐδὲν σφί φανήσεσθαι ἀντίξουν, ἐνεκύρησαν
 στρατῷ. **38.** ἐνθαῦτα Ἰδάρνης, καταρρωδήσας μὴ οἱ
 Φωκέες ἔωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἶρετο τὸν Ἐπιάλτην ὁδοα-
 πὸς εἶν ὁ στρατὸς. πυθόμενος δὲ ἀτρεκέως, διέτασσε τοὺς
 Πέρσας ὥς ἐς μάχην. οἱ δὲ Φωκέες, ὥς ἐβάλλοντο τοῖσι

τοξεύμασι πολλοῖσί τε καὶ πυκνοῖσι, οἷχοντο φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρεος τὸν κόρυμβον, ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ σφέας ὠρμήθησαν ἀρχὴν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐφρόνεον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἐπιάλτεια καὶ Ὑδάρνεα Πέρσαι Φωκέων μὲν οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῦντο, οἱ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ οὖρος κατὰ τύχος.

39. Τοῖσι δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον μὲν ὁ μάντις Μεγιστής, ἐσιδὼν ἐς τὰ ἱρά, ἔφρασε τὸν μέλ-
λонта ἔσεσθαι ἅμα ἡοὶ σφι θάνατον. ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτόμο-
λοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐξαγγείλαντες τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον.
οὗτοι μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐσήμηναν, τρίτοι δὲ οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι
καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, ἥδη διαφαινούσης ἡμέρης.
ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ σφῶν ἐσχίζοντο αἱ
γνώμαι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔων τὴν τάξιν ἐκλιπεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἀντέ-
τεινον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διακριθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσοντο
καὶ διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ πόλιν ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο, οἱ δὲ
αὐτῶν ἅμα Λεωνίδῃ μένειν αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάδατο. 40. λέ-
γεται δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς σφῶν ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδης, μὴ
ἀπόλωνται κηδόμενος· αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιητέων τοῖσι
παρεοῦσι οὐκ ἔχειν εὐπρεπέως ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν, ἐς τὴν
ἦλθον φυλάζοντες ἀρχὴν. ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ γνώμῃ
πλείστός εἰμι, Λεωνίδην, ἐπεῖτε αἴσθητο τοὺς συμμάχους
έόντας ἀπροθύμους, καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας συνδιακινδυνεύειν,
κελεύσαι σφῶν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπιέναι οὐ καλῶς
ἔχειν. μένουντι δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγα ἐλείπετο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρ-
της εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐξηλείφετο. 41. ἐκέχρηστο γὰρ ὑπὸ
τῆς Πυθίης τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι χρεομένοισι περὶ τοῦ πολέ-
μου τούτου αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγειρομένου, ἢ Λακεδαίμονα
ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἢ τὸν βασιλέα
σφέων ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ σφι ἐν ἔπεισι ἐξαμέτροισι
χρᾶ, ἔχοντα ὧδε·

Ὑμῖν δ', ὦ Σπάρτης οἰκήτορες εὐρυχώροιο,
 Ἡ μέγα ἄστυ ἐρικυδέες ὑπ' ἀνδράσι Περσείδῃσι
 Πέρθεται, ἥ τὸ μὲν οὐκί, ἀφ' Ἡρακλέος δὲ γενέθλης
 Πενθήσει βασιλῇ φθίμενον Λακεδαιμόνους οὖρος.
 Οὐ γὰρ τὸν ταύρων σχήσει μένος οὐδὲ λεόντων 5
 Ἀντιβίην· Ζηνὸς γὰρ ἔχει μένος· οὐδέ ἔφημι
 Σχήσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶνδ' ἕτερον διὰ πάντα δάσσηται.

Ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐπιλεγόμενον Λεωνίδην, καὶ βουλόμενον κλέος
 καταθέσθαι μούνων Σπαρτιητέων, ἀποπέμψαι τοὺς συμμά-
 χους, μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ διενειχθέντας οὕτω ἀκόσμως οἴχε-
 σθαι τοὺς οἰχομένους. 42. μαρτύριον δέ μοι καὶ τόδε
 οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτου πέρι γέγονε· οὐ γὰρ μούνον τοὺς
 ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μάντιν ὃς εἶπετο τῇ στρατιῇ ταύτῃ,
 Μεγιστίην τὸν Ἀκαρνήνα, λεγόμενον εἶναι τὰ ἀνέκαθεν
 ἀπὸ Μελάμποδος, τούτον τὸν εἶπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν τὰ μέλ-
 λοντά σφι ἐκβαίνειν, φανερός ἐστι Λεωνίδης ἀποπέμπων,
 ἵνα μὴ συναπόληται σφι. ὁ δὲ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν
 οὐκ ἀπελείπετο, τὸν δὲ παῖδα συστρατευόμενον, ἔοντα οἱ
 μουννογενέα, ἀπέπεμψε. 43. Οἱ μὲν νυν σύμμαχοι οἱ ἀπο-
 πεμπόμενοι οἴχοντό τε ἀπίοντες, καὶ ἐπείθοντο Λεωνίδῃ·
 Θεσπίες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι κατέμειναν μόνου παρὰ Λακεδαι-
 μονίοισι. τούτων δὲ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἀέκοντες ἔμενον, καὶ οὐ
 βουλόμενοι (κατεῖχε γὰρ σφεας Λεωνίδης ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ
 ποιεύμενος)· Θεσπίες δὲ ἐκόντες μάλιστα, οἱ οὐκ ἔφασαν
 ὑπολιπόντες Λεωνίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι,
 ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες συναπέθανον. ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτῶν
 Δημόφιλος Διαδρόμεω.

44. Ἑέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος σπονδὰς ἐποιή-
 σατο, ἐπισχῶν χρόνον ἐς ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθώρην,
 πρόσδοον ἐποιέετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ Ἐπιάλτεω οὕτω.
 ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ οὖρεος ἡ κατάβασις συντομωτέρη τέ ἐστι, καὶ

βραχύτερος ὁ χῶρος πολλὸν ἥπερ ἡ περίοδος τε καὶ ἀνά-
 βασις. οἳ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξεα προσήϊσαν·
 καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην Ἕλληνας, ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξοδον
 ποιούμενοι, ἤδη πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπεξήϊσαν ἐς
 τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος
 ἐφυλάσσετο, οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιώντες ἐς
 τὰ στεινόπορα ἐμάχοντο. τότε δὲ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν
 στεινῶν, ἐπιπτον πλήθει πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὅπισθε
 γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων ἔχοντες μαστίγας ἐρράπιζον
 πάντα ἄνδρα, αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύνοντες. 45. πολλοὶ
 μὲν δὴ ἐσέπιπτον αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ διεφθείροντο,
 πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες κατεπατέοντο ζωοὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων· ἦν
 δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. ἄτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι
 τὸν μέλλοντά σφι ἔσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιόντων τὸ
 οὖρος, ἀπεδείκνυντο ῥώμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς
 βαρβάρους, παραχρεόμενοι τε καὶ ἀτέοντες. δούρατα μὲν
 νυν τοῖσι πλέοσι αὐτῶν τηνικαῦτα ἐτύγγανε κατεγύοτα
 ἤδη, οἱ δὲ τοῖσι ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας. 46. Καὶ
 Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄρι-
 στος, καὶ ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ οὐνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν
 ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα·
 ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων. καὶ δὴ καὶ
 Περσέων πίπτουσι ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ οὐνομα-
 στοὶ, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παῖδες, Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ
 Ὑπεράνθης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνεω θυγατρὸς Φραταγούνης γεγο-
 νότες Δαρείῳ. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάνης Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως
 ἦν ἀδελφεός, Ὑστάσπεος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος παῖς, ὃς καὶ
 ἐκδιδοὺς τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρείῳ τὸν οἶκον πάντα τὸν ἐωυτοῦ
 ἐπέδωκε, ὡς μόνου οἱ εὐούσης ταύτης τέκνου. 47. Ξέρξέω
 τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφοὶ ἐνθαῦτα πίπτουσι μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδεω· Περσέων τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὠθι-

σμός ἐγένετο πολλὸς, ἐς ὃ τοῦτόν τε ἀρετὴ οἱ Ἕλληες ὑπεξείρυσαν, καὶ ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους τετράκις. τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκει μέχρι οὗ οἱ σὺν Ἐπιάτῃ παρεγένοντο. ὥς δὲ τούτους ἤκειν ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληες, ἐνθεύτην ἤδη ἐτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος. 48. ἔς τε γὰρ τὸ στενὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρεον ὀπίσω, καὶ παραμειψάμενοι τὸ τεῖχος, ἐλθόντες ἵκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν πάντες ἀλλῆες οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ κολωνός ἐστι ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ὅκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἔστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ. ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρησι, τοῖσι αὐτῶν ἐτύγγανον ἔτι περιεούσαι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι, κατέχωσαν οἱ βάρβαροι βάλλοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ τεύχεος συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες πάντοθεν περιστάδον.

49. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιέων τοιούτων γενομένων, ὅμως λέγεται ἄριστος ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι Σπαρτιήτης Διηνέκης, τὸν τότε φασὶ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἢ συμμῖξαι σφῆας τοῖσι Μήδοισι· πυθόμενον πρὸς τευ τῶν Τρηχινίων ὥς, ἔπειαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπιέωσι τὰ τοξεύματα, τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθεος τῶν οἰστῶν ἀποκρύπτουσι, — τοσοῦτό τι πλήθος αὐτῶν εἶναι· τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτοις εἰπεῖν, ἐν ἀλογίῃ ποιούμενον τὸ τῶν Μήδων πλήθος, ὥς πάντα σφι ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίνιος ξείνος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν Μήδων τὸν ἥλιον, ὑπὸ σκιῇ ἔσοιτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη, καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἡλίῳ. 50. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα ἔπεα φασὶ Διηνέκεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀριστεύσαι λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο ἀδελφοί, Ἀλφείος τε καὶ Μάρων Ὀρσιφάντου παῖδες. Θεσπιέων δὲ εὐδοκίμει μάλιστα τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Διθύραμβος Ἀρματίδew.

51. Θαφθεῖσι δὲ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇ περ ἔπεσον, καὶ τοῖσι πρότερον τελευτήσασι ἢ ὑπὸ Λεωνίδew ἀποπεμφθέντας οἴχεσθαι, ἐπιγέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε·

Μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἰμάχοντο

Ἐκ Πελοποννήσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι πᾶσι ἐπιγέγραπται, τοῖσι δὲ Σπαρ-
τιήτησι ἰδίῃ·

ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇδε

Κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ μάντι τόδε·

Μνῆμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστία, ὃν ποτε Μῆδος

Σπερχεῖον ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι,

Μάντιος, ὃς τότε Κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδὼς

Οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν.

ἐπιγράμμασι μὲν νυν καὶ στήλῃσι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ μάντιος
ἐπίγραμμα, Ἀμφικτύονές εἰσὶ σφεας οἱ ἐπικοσμήσαντες,
τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίῳ Σιμωνίδῃς ὁ Λεωπρέπείος
ἔστι κατὰ ξεινήν ὁ ἐπιγράψας.

52. Δύο δὲ τούτων τῶν τριηκοσίων λέγεται Εὐρυτόν τε
καὶ Ἀριστόδημον, παρέον αὐτοῖσι ἀμφοτέροισι κοινῷ λόγῳ
χρησαμένοισι ἢ ἀποσωθῆναι ὁμοῦ ἐς Σπάρτην (ὡς μεμετι-
μένοι τε ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὑπὸ Λεωνίδῳ, καὶ κατε-
κέατο ἐν Ἀλπηνοῖσι ὀφθαλμῶντες ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον), ἢ εἴ γε
μὴ ἐβούλοντο νοστήσαι, ἀποθανεῖν ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοις, πα-
ρεόν σφι τούτων τὰ ἕτερα ποιεῖν, οὐκ ἐθέλῃσαι ὁμοφρονεῖν·
ἀλλὰ γνώμῃ διενειχθέντας, Εὐρυτόν μὲν πυθόμενον τὴν τῶν
Περσέων περίοδον, αἰτήσαντά τε τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ἐνδύντα,
ἄγειν αὐτὸν κελεύσαι τὸν εἴλωτα ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους· ὅπως
δὲ αὐτὸν ἦγαγε, τὸν μὲν ἀγαγόντα οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν
δὲ ἐσπεσόντα ἐς τὸν ὄμιλον διαφθαρῆναι· Ἀριστόδημον δὲ
λειποφυγέοντα λειφθῆναι. 53. εἰ μὲν νυν ἦν μόνον
Ἀριστόδημον ἀλγῆσαντα ἀπονοστήσαι ἐς Σπάρτην, ἢ καὶ
ὁμοῦ σφέων ἀμφοτέρων τὴν κομιδὴν γενέσθαι, δοκέειν ἐμοί,

οὐκ ἂν σφι Σπαρτιήτας μῆνιν οὐδεμίαν προσθέσθαι· νυνὶ δὲ, τοῦ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπολομένου, τοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἐχομένου προφύσιος, οὐκ ἐβελήσαντος δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀναγκαίως σφι ἔχειν μνηῖσαι μεγάλως Ἀριστοδήμῳ. οἱ μὲν νυν οὕτω σωθῆναι λέγουσι Ἀριστόδημον ἐς Σπάρτην, καὶ διὰ πρόφασιν τοιγύδε· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελον πεμφθέντα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἔξεον αὐτῷ καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γινομένην, οὐκ ἐβελῆσαι, ἀλλ' ὑπομείναντα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ περιγενέσθαι, τὸν δὲ συνάγγελον αὐτοῦ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀποθανεῖν.

54. ἀπονοστήσας δὲ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ὁ Ἀριστόδημος ὄνειδός τε εἶχε καὶ ἀτιμίην. πάσχων δὲ τοιάδε ἡτίμωτο· οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὐδεὶς ἔναυε Σπαρτιητέων οὔτε διελέγετο, ὄνειδός τε εἶχε ὁ τρέσας Ἀριστόδημος καλεόμενος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι μάχῃ ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενειχθεῖσάν οἱ αἰτίην. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀποπεμφθέντα ἄγγελον ἐς Θεσσαλίην τῶν τριηκοσίων τούτων περιγενέσθαι, τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Παντίτην· νοστήσαντα δὲ τοῦτον ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς ἡτίμωτο, ἀπάγξασθαι.

55. Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, τῶν ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐστρατήγεε, τέως μὲν μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶντες ἐμάχοντο ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι πρὸς τὴν βασιλέως στρατιήν· ὡς δὲ εἶδον κατυπέρτερα τῶν Περσέων γινόμενα τὰ πρήγματα, οὕτω δὴ τῶν σὺν Λεωνίδῃ Ἑλλήνων ἐπείγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κολῶν, ἀποσχισθέντες τούτων, χεῖράς τε προέτεινον καὶ ἥϊσαν ἄσσον τῶν βαρβάρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀληθέστατον τῶν λόγων, ὡς καὶ μηδίζουσι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν πρώτοισι ἔδοσαν βασιλείῃ, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀπικοίατο, καὶ ἀναίτιοι εἶεν τοῦ τρώματος τοῦ γεγονότος βασιλείῃ. ὥστε ταῦτα λέγοντες περιεγίνοντο· εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς τῶν λόγων τούτων μάρτυρας.

56. οὐ μέντοι τά γε πάντα εὐτύχησαν· ὡς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔλαβον οἱ

βάρβαροι ἐλθόντας, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν προσιόντας, τοὺς δὲ πλεῖνας αὐτῶν, κελεύσαντος Ξέρξῃ, ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλῆα, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Λεωντιάδῃ, τοῦ τὸν παῖδα Εὐρύμαχον χρόνῳ μετέπειπεν ἐφόνευσαν Πλαταιέες, στρατηγήσαντα ἀνδρῶν Θηβαίων τετρακοσίων, καὶ σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων.

57. Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Θερμοπύλας Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο· Ξέρξης δὲ καλέσας Δημάρτην εἰρώτα ἀρξάμενος ἐνθένδε· Δημάρτε, ἀνὴρ εἰς ἀγαθός. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· ὅσα γὰρ εἶπας, ἅπαντα ἀπέβη οὕτω. νῦν δέ μοι εἰπὲ, κόσιοι τινὲς εἰσὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τούτων ὁκόσοι τοιοῦτοὶ τὰ πολέμια, εἴτε καὶ ἅπαντες. ὁ δ' εἶπε· ὦ βασιλεῦ, πλῆθος μὲν πάντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πολλὸν, καὶ πόλεις πολλαί· τὸ δὲ ἐθέλεις ἐκμαθεῖν, εἰδήσεις. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη, πόλις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστα κη, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶ ὁμοιοὶ τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισι· οἳ γε μὲν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοις μὲν οὐκ ὁμοιοὶ, ἀγαθοὶ δέ. εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης· Δημάρτε, τέφ τρόπῳ ἀπονητότατα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἐπικρατήσομεν; ἴθι ἐξηγέο. σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων, οἷα βασιλεὺς γενόμενος. . . .

58. Ταῦτα εἶπας Ξέρξης διεξήγε διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν· καὶ Λεωνίδῃ, ἀκηκοὺς ὅτι βασιλεὺς τε ἦν καὶ στρατηγὸς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκέλευσε ἀποταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρῶσαι. δῆλόν μοι πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις τεκμηρίοις, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷδε οὐκ ἥκιστα γέγονε, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης πάντων δὴ μάλιστα ἀνδρῶν ἐθυμώθη ζῶντι Λεωνίδῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτε ἐς τὸν νεκρὸν ταῦτα παρενόμισε, ἐπεὶ τιμὰν μάλιστα νομίζουσι τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀνθρώπων Πέρσαι ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, τοῖσι ἐπέτακτο ποιεῖν.

IV. ARTEMISIUM.—MARCH OF XERXES TO ATHENS.—
SALAMIS.—RETREAT OF XERXES TO ASIA.

1. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν οἷδε· Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν· ὑπὸ δὲ ἄρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίας Πλαταιέες, ἄπειροι τῆς ναυτικῆς εἶντες, συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς νέας· Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσαράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, Μεγαρέες δὲ εἴκοσι. καὶ Χαλκιδέες ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι, Ἀθηναίων σφι παρεχόντων τὰς νέας· Αἰγινήται δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα, Σικυνῶνιοι δὲ δώδεκα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτὼ, Ἐρετρίεες δὲ ἑπτὰ, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρέες δὲ δύο, καὶ Κεῖοι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέρους δύο. Λοκροὶ δὲ σφι οἱ Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβοήθεον πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἑπτὰ. 2. ἦσαν μὲν ὧν οὗτοι οἱ στρατεύμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, εἴρηται δέ μοι καὶ ὡς τὸ πλῆθος ἕκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρείχοντο. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισῶν νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, μία καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ διηκόσιαι. τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος ἔχοντα παρείχοντο Σπαρτιῆται, Εὐρυβιάδεα τὸν Εὐρυκλείδεω. οἱ γὰρ σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἦν μὴ ὁ Λάκων ἡγεμονεύῃ, Ἀθηναίοισι ἔφθεσθαι ἡγεομένοισι, ἀλλὰ λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στράτευμα. 3. ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν ἐπὶ συμμαχίην, ὡς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοισι χρεῶν εἴη ἐπιτράπειν. ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων, εἶκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγα πεποιημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ γνόντες, εἰ στασιάσουσι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὡς ἀπολέεται ἡ Ἑλλὰς, ὀρθὰ νοεῦντες· στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσοῦτω κάκιόν ἐστι, ὅσω πόλεμος εἰρήνης. ἐπιστάμενοι ὧν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἀντέτεινον, ἀλλ' εἶκον μέχρη

ὅσου κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν, ὡς διέδεξαν. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ὡσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσέα, περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Πausανίῳ ὕβριν προῖσχύμενοι, ἀπείλονται τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.

4. Τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι, ὡς εἶδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφειτὰς, καὶ στρατιῆς ἅπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, καταρρωδήσαντες δρησμὸν ἐβουλεύοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. γνόντες δὲ σφεας οἱ Εὐβοέες ταῦτα βουλευομένους, ἐδέοντο Εὐρυβιάδῃ προσμεῖναι χρόνον ὀλίγον, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθον, μεταβάντες τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῷ τριήκοντα ταλάντοισι, ἐπ' ᾧ τε καταμείναντες πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται τὴν ναυμαχίην. 5. ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπισχεῖν ὧδε ποιέει· Εὐρυβιάδῃ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδοῖ πέντε τάλαντα, ὡς παρ' ἑωυτοῦ δῆθεν διδούς. ὡς δὲ οἱ οὗτος ἀνεπέπειστο, — Ἀδείμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὠκύτου, Κορινθίων στρατηγός, τῶν λοιπῶν ἥσπαιρε μῦννος, φάμενος ἀποπλώσεσθαί τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ οὐ παραμενέειν, — πρὸς δὲ τούτον εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπομόσας· Οὐ σύ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεὶ τοι ἐγὼ μέζω δῶρα δώσω ἢ βασιλεὺς ἂν τοι ὁ Μήδων πέμψειε ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους. ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἡγόρευε, καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀδειμάντου τάλαντα ἄργυρίου τρία. οὗτοί τε δὴ πληγέντες δώροισι ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ τοῖσι Εὐβοεῦσι ἐκεχάριστο· αὐτός τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκέρδηνε, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων· ἀλλ' ἠπιστάτο οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ τὰ χρήματα.

6. Οὕτω δὴ κατέμεινάν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν. ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε· ἐπείτε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφετάς περὶ δειλὴν πρωτὴν γινομένην ἀπίκато οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν, εἴ πως ἔλοιεν αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίης προσπλῶειν οὐ κώ σφι ἐδόκεε, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, μή πως ἰδόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες προσπλῶντας ἐς φυγὴν ὁρμήσειαν, φεύγοντάς τε εὐφρόνῃ καταλάβοι· καὶ ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι, ἔδεε δὲ μηδὲ πυρφόρον, τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ, ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι. 7. πρὸς ταῦτα ὧν τάδε ἐμηχανέοντο· τῶν νεῶν ἀπασέων ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας, περιέπεμπον ἔξωθεν Σκιάθου (ὡς ἂν μὴ ὀφθέωσι ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλῶσσαι Εὐβοίαν) κατὰ τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐς τὸν Εὐριπον, ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν, οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπικόμενοι καὶ φράξαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσαν ὁδόν, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἐξ ἐναντίας. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι, ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐν νόφῃ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν περιπλῶντων, ὡς ἡκόντων. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων νεῶν ἐν τῇσι Ἀφετῇσι ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμόν.

8. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ οὗτοι ἀριθμὸν ἐποιεῦντο τῶν νεῶν, — ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλίης Σκιωναῖος, δῦτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἄριστος, ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίῃ τῇ κατὰ τὸ Πήλιον γενομένη πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσησι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο, — οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλίης ἐν νόφῃ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολήσειν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἱ παρέσχε ὡς τότε. ὅτεφ μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεύτεν ἔτι ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι ἀτρεκέως·

θουμάζω δὲ, εἰ τὰ λεγόμενά ἐστι ἀληθέα. λέγεται γὰρ, ὡς ἐξ Ἀφετέων δὺς ἐς τὴν θύλασσαν, οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἢ ἀπίκητο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστα κη τούτους ἐς ὀγδώκοντα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διεξελθών. 9. λέγεται μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέσι ἵκελα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα. περὶ μέντοι τούτου γνώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχθω, πλοῖφ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκητο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμηνε τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὴν τε ναυηγίην ὡς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὐβοίαν. τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες, λόγον σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ἐδίδονσαν. πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων, ἐνίκα τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μέιναντάς τε καὶ αὐλισθέντας, μετέπειτεν νύκτα μέσσην παρέντας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἀπαντᾶν τῇσι περιπλωούσῃσι τῶν νεῶν. 10. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ὡς οὐδεὶς σφι ἐπέπλωε, δείλῃν ὀψίην γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες, αὐτοὶ ἐπανεπλῶον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀποπείραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου. ὀρέοντες δὲ σφεας οἳ τε ἄλλοι στρατιῶται οἱ Ξέρξῳ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλῶοντας νηυσὶ ὀλίγησι, πάγχυ σφι μανίην ἐπενείκαντες, ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας, ἐλπίσαντές σφεας εὐπετέως αἰρήσειν, οἰκότα κύρτα ἐλπίσαντες. τὰς μὲν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀρέοντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἐωυτῶν πλήθει τε πολλαπλησίας καὶ ἄμεινον πλωούσας, καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα, ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον. ὅσοι μὲν νυν τῶν Ἰώνων ἦσαν εὖνοοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀέκοντές τε ἐστρατεύοντο, συμφορὴν τε ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην, ὀρέοντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσει· οὕτω ἀσθενέα σφι ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα. ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, ἄμιλλαν ἐποιεῦντο, ὅκως αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικὴν ἐλὼν δῶρα παρὰ βασιλέος λάμ-

ψεται. Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι λόγος ἦν πλείστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα.

11. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι ὡς ἐσήμηνε, πρῶτα μὲν ἀντίπρωροι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον· δεύτερα δὲ σημήναντος, ἔργου εἶχοντο, ἐν ὀλίγῳ περ ἀπολαμφθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα τριήκοντα νέας αἰρέουσι τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ τὸν Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸν Φιλάονα τὸν Χέρσιος, λόγιμον ἔοντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ Ἑλλήνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἶλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Λυκομήδης Αἰσχυραίου, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήϊον ἔλαβε οὗτος. τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ ἑτεραλκείως ἀγωνιζομένους νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλληνες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλων, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφετὰς, πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Ἀντίδωρος Λήμιος μούνος τῶν σὺν βασιλεῖ Ἑλλήνων ἔόντων αὐτομολεῖ ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χώρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι. **12.** Ὡς δὲ εὐφρόνῃ ἐγεγόνεε, ἦν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγίνετο δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἄπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτός, καὶ βρονταὶ σκληραὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου· οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυήγια ἐξεφορέοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφετὰς, καὶ περὶ τε τὰς πρῶρας τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο, καὶ ἐτάρασσον τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπέων. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι ἐς οἷα κακὰ ἦκον· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαί σφεας ἔκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ Πήλιον, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίᾳ καρτερῇ, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίης ὄμβρος τε λάβρος, καὶ ρεύματα ἰσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν ὥρμημένα, βρονταὶ τε σκληραὶ. **13.** καὶ τούτοις μὲν τοιαύτη νύξ ἐγίνετο· τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλῶειν Εὐβοίαν ἢ αὐτὴ περ ἐοῦσα νύξ πολλὸν ἦν ἔτι

ἀγριωτέρη, τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ ἐν πελάγει φερομένοισι ἐπέπιπτε, καὶ τὸ τέλος σφί ἐγένετο ἄχαρι· ὥς γὰρ δὴ πλώουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμῶν τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο εὐῶσι κατὰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι, καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο, ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας. ἐποιεέτό τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅκως ἂν ἐξισωθείη τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικόν, μηδὲ πολλῷ πλέον εἴη. οὗτοι μὲν νυν περὶ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης διεφθείροντο.

14. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἀφετῇσι βάρβαροι, ὥς σφί ἀσμένοισι ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε, ἀτρέμας τε εἶχον τὰς νέας, καὶ σφί ἀπεχρᾶτο κακῶς πρήσσουσι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν ἐν τῷ παρῶντι. τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλῃσι ἐπεβώθειον νέες τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα Ἀττικάι. αὐταῖ τε δὴ σφεας ἐπέρρωσαν ἀπικόμεναι, καὶ ἅμα ἀγγελίῃ ἐλθοῦσα ὥς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ περιπλώοντες τὴν Εὐβοίαν πάντες εἶσαν διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου χειμῶνος. φυλάξαντες δὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, πλώοντες ἐπέπεσον νηυσὶ Κιλίσσησι, ταύτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ὥς εὐφρόνῃ ἐγένετο, ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμισίον.

15. Τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ, δεινόν τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων νέας οὕτω σφί ὀλίγας λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω δειμαίνοντες, οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἔτι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας μύχης ἄρξαι, ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας. συνέπιπτε δὲ ὥστε τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἡμέρῃσι τὰς ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας, καὶ τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι. ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ ἀγὼν τοῖσι κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Εὐρίπου, ὥσπερ τοῖσι ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδεα τὴν ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ παρεκελεύοντο ὅκως μὴ παρήσσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἱ δ' ὅκως τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα διαφθείραντες τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι.

16. ὥς δὲ ταξάμενοι οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐπέπλων, οἱ Ἑλλήνες ἀτρέμας εἶχον πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μη-

νοειδὲς ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν, ἐκυκλεύντο ὡς περιλάβοιεν αὐτούς. ἐνθεύτεν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπανεπλῶόν τε καὶ συνέμισγον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐγένοντο. ὁ γὰρ Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὑπὸ μεγάλους τε καὶ πλῆθος αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐωυτοῦ ἐπιπτε, ταρασσομένων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπιπτουσέων περὶ ἀλλήλας· ὁμως μέντοι ἀντείχε καὶ οὐκ εἶκε· δεινὸν γὰρ χρῆμα ἐποιοῦντο ὑπὸ νεῶν ὀλίγων ἐς φυγὴν τράπεσθαι. πολλαὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέες διεφθείροντο, πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλευνες νέες τε τῶν βαρβύρων καὶ ἄνδρες. οὕτω δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι διέστησαν χωρὶς ἐκότεροι.

17. Παρὴν δὲ ὁ ἐκ Τρηχίνος κατάσκοπος· — ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ κατάσκοπος Πολύας, γένος Ἀντικρεῦς, τῷ προστετάκτο, καὶ εἶχε πλοῖον κατῆρες ἐτοῖμον, εἰ παλήσειε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς, σημαίνειν τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐούσι· ὥς δ' αὐτως ἦν Ἀβρώνιχος ὁ Λυσικλέος Ἀθηναῖος καὶ παρὰ Λεωνίδῃ ἐτοῖμος τοῖσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐούσι ἀγγέλλειν τριηκοντέρῳ, ἦν τι καταλαμβάνῃ νεώτερον τὸν πεζόν· — οὗτος ὢν ὁ Ἀβρώνιχος ἀπικόμενός σφι ἐσήμεινε τὰ γεγονότα περὶ Λεωνίδα καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, ὕστατοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι. 18. Ἀθηναίων δὲ νέας τὰς ἄριστα πλωούσας ἐπιλεξιμένους Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπορεύετο περὶ τὰ πότιμα ὕδατα, ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοις γράμματα, τὰ Ἴωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὕστεραίῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπελέξαντο. τὰ δὲ γράμματα ταῦτε ἔλεγε· Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οὐ ποιεῖτε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλούμενοι. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο μὴ δυνατόν ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε

καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ τῶν Καρῶν δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιέειν· εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οἶόν τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μέζονος κατέξευχθε ἢ ὥστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, ἐθελοκακέετε, μεμνημένοι ὅτι ἀπ' ἡμέων γεγόνατε, καὶ ὅτι ἀρχήθεν ἡ ἔχθρη πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ταῦτα ἔγραψε, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα νοέων, ἵνα ἡ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἰωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἐωυτῶν, ἢ ἐπεῖτε ἀνενειχθῇ καὶ διαβληθῇ πρὸς Ξέρξεα, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἰωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιέων αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχη. . . .

19. Ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχινίης ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον [οἱ βάρβαροι]. τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρας ποδεὼν· στεῖνους ταύτῃ κατατείνει, ὡς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα κη εὖρος, κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ τῆς Φωκίδος χώρας, ἥ περ ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυοπίς· ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. ταύτην ὦν τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσίναντο ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐμῆδιζόν τε γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἐδόκεε Θεσσαλοῖσι. 20. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσέβαλον, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας οὐκ αἰρέουσι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκέων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀνέβησαν (ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδέη δέξασθαι ὄμιλον τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἡ κορυφή, κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν κειμένη ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς· Τιθορέα οὖνομα αὐτῇ, ἐς τὴν δὴ ἀγηνείκαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν)· οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Ὀζόλας Λοκροὺς ἐξεκομίσαντο, ἐς Ἀμφισσαν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου οἰκομένην. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα· Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ οὕτω ἡγον τὸν στρατόν· ὁκόσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἔκειρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά. 21. Παραποταμίους δὲ παραμειβόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπὲρ

κοντο ἐς Πανοπέας. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἤδη διακρινομένη ἡ στρατιὴ αὐτῶν ἐσχίζετο. τὸ μὲν πλείστον καὶ δυνατώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορευόμενον ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτοὺς, ἐς γῆν τὴν Ὀρχομενίων. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμήδιζε, τὰς δὲ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένοι ἔσωζον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες. ἔσωζον δὲ τῇδε, βουλόμενοι δῆλον ποιέειν Ξέρξῃ ὅτι τὰ Μήδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονέοιεν. 22. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν βαρβύρων ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὠρμέατο ἐπὶ τὸ ἱὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παρνησσὸν ἀπέργοντες. ὅσα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος, πάντα ἐσιναμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Αἰολιδέων. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως συλήσαντες τὸ ἱὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι βασιλεῖ Ξέρξῃ ἀποδέξαιεν τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δ' ἠπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ὅσα λόγου ἦν ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἅμεινον ἢ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι ἔλιπε, πολλῶν αἰεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσου τοῦ Ἀλυάττεω ἀναθήματα. 23. Οἱ δὲ Δελφοὶ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐς πᾶσαν ἄρρωδίην ἀπύκατο· ἐν δείματι δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεῶτες, ἐμαντεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων, εἴτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορύξωσι, εἴτε ἐκκομίσωσι ἐς ἄλλην χώραν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας οὐκ ἔα κινέειν, φὰς αὐτὸς ἰκανὸς εἶναι τῶν ἐωυτοῦ προκατῆσθαι. Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες σφέων αὐτῶν πέρι ἐφρόντιζον. τέκνα μὲν νυν καὶ γυναικάς πέρην ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιὴν διέπεμψαν, αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ τὰς κορυφὰς καὶ ἐς τὸ Κωρῖκιον ἄντρον ἀνηνέικαντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀμφισσαν τὴν Λοκρίδα ὑπέβηλθον. πάντες δὲ ὧν οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, πλην ἐξήκοντα ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ προφήτεω. 24. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχού

τε ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιόντες καὶ ἀπώρεον τὸ ἶρόν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ ὄννομα ἦν Ἀκήρατος, ὁρᾷ πρὸ τοῦ νηοῦ ὄπλα προκείμενα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξενηνεγμένα ἰρὰ, τῶν οὐκ ὅσιον ἦν ἅπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἦϊε Δελφῶν τοῖσι παρευούσι σημανέων τὸ τέρας· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐπειγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἶρόν τῆς Προνηΐης Ἀθηναίης, ἐπιγίνεται σφί τέρεα ἔτι μέζονα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου τέρεος. θῶμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο κάρτα ἐστὶ, ὄπλα ἀρήϊα αὐτόματα φανῆναι ἔξω προκείμενα τοῦ νηοῦ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεύτερα ἐπιγενόμενα καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων ἄξια θωμύσσαι μάλιστα. 25. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἦσαν ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἶρόν τῆς Προνηΐης Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀπορραγεῖσαι δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῷ πατάγῳ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέλαβον συγχυοὺς σφεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνηΐης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγένετο. Συμμιγνέτων δὲ τούτων πάντων, φόβος τοῖσι βαρβάροις ἐνεπεπτώκεε. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντὺς σφεας, ἐπικαταβάντες ἀπέκτειναν πλῆθός τι αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ περιεόντες ἰθὺ Βοιωτῶν ἔφευγον. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ὡς πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἄλλα ὤρεον θεῖα· δύο γὰρ ὀπλίτας, μέζονας ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν [ἔχοντας], ἔπασθαι σφί κτείνοντας καὶ διώκοντας. 26. τούτους δὲ τοὺς δύο Δελφοὶ λέγουσι ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας εἶναι, Φυλάκον τε καὶ Αὐτόνοον, τῶν τὰ τεμένεά ἐστι περὶ τὸ ἶρόν, Φυλάκου μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν κατύπερθε τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνηΐης, Αὐτονόου δὲ πέλας τῆς Κασταλίας ὑπὸ τῇ Ῥαμπεΐῃ κορυφῇ. οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ λίθοι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ἦσαν σοοί, ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Προνηΐης Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρ-

βάρων φερόμενοι. τούτων μὲν νυν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀπαλλαγὴ γίνεται.

27. Ὁ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, Ἀθηναίων δεηθέντων, ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατίσχει τὰς νέας. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκεν προσεδεήθησαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμίνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα αὐτοὶ παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλευσῶνται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσεσθαι, ὥς ἐψευσμένοι γνώμης. δοκέοντες γὰρ εὐρήσειν Πελοποννησίους πανδημεὶ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ὑποκατημένους τὸν βάρβαρον, τῶν μὲν εὖρον οὐδὲν εἶν· οἱ δὲ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Ἰσθμὸν αὐτοὺς τειχέοντας, τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου τε ποιευμένους περιεῖναι, καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀπιέναι. ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι οὕτω δὴ προσεδεήθησάν σφρων σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα. 28. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν κήρυγμα ἐποίησαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σώζειν τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροιζήνα ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Αἴγιναν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμίνα. ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι, τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρετέειν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἵνεκεν οὐκ ἤκιστα. λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ὄφιν μέγαν φύλακον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ. λέγουσί τε ταῦτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὥς ἐόντι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες· τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσά ἐστι. αὕτη δ' ἢ μελιτόεσσα, ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμουμένη, τότε ἦν ἄψαυστος. σημηνύσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείης, μᾶλλον τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, ὥς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπινῆς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὥς δὲ σφε πάντα ὑπέξεκέτο, ἔπλωον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. 29. Ἐπεὶ

δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνέρρεε καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυυθανόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐκ Τροιζήνης· ἐς γὰρ Πώγωνα τὸν Τροιζηνίων λιμένα προείρητο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ πολλῶ πλεῦνες νέες ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχεον, καὶ ἀπὸ πολλίων πλεύνων. ναύαρχος μὲν νυν ἐπὴν ὧτος ὅσπερ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Εὐρυβιάδης ὁ Εὐρυκλείδew ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιήτης, οὐ μέντοι γένεός γε τοῦ βασιλῆους ἑών. νέας δὲ πολλῶ πλείστας τε καὶ ἄριστα πλωούσας παρείχοντο Ἀθηναῖοι. ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, ὀκτὼ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσiai.

30. Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα συνήλθον οἱ στρατηγοί, ἐβουλεύοντο, προθέντος Εὐρυβιάδew γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν βουλούμενον, ὅκου δοκεῖ ἐπιτηδεώτατον εἶναι ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι τῶν αὐτοῖ χωρέων ἐγκρατέες εἰσί· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ἀπέιτο ἤδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων πέρι προετίθεε. αἱ γνῶμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλείσται συνεξέπιπτον πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πλώσαντας ναυμαχέειν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου· ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὡς ἦν νικηθέωσι τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, ἐν Σαλαμίनि μὲν ἑόντες πολιορκήσονται ἐν νήσῳ, ἵνα σφι τιμωρίη οὐδεμία ἐπιφανήσεται, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐς τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ἐξοίσονται. 31. ταῦτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγόμενων, ἐληλύθεε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἡκεῖν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπείων τὴν πόλιν (αὐτῶν ἐκλειοιπότων ἐς Πελοπόννησον) καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὡσαύτως, ἡκέ τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐδητύ. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θεσπειάν τε καὶ Πλάταιαν, πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμῆδιζον.

32. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἑλλησποντου, ἔνθεν πορεύεσθαι ἤρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἕνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μῆνα, ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν τρισὶ ἐτέροισι μῆσιν ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιάδεω ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοισι. καὶ αἰρέουσι ἐρήμον τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τινὰς ὀλίγους εὐρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἑόντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οἱ φραξάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρῃσι τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἡμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας· ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμίνα, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήιον, τὸ ἢ Πυθίῃ σφί ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τείχος ἀνάλωτον ἔσσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον, καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας. 33. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταπτόν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὄχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλέουσι Ἀρῆιον πάγον, ἐπολιόρκεον τρόπον τοιόνδε· ὅκως στυπείον περὶ τοὺς οἰστανὺς περιθέντες ἄψειαν, ἐτόξευον ἐς τὸ φράγμα. ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὁμῶς ἡμύνοντο, καίπερ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι, καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προδεδωκότος. οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν προσφερόντων περὶ ὁμολογίης ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντεμνηχανέοντο, καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὀλοιτρόχους ἀπίεσαν, ὥστε Ξέρξεα ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπορίῃσι ἐνέχεσθαι, οὐ δυνάμενόν σφεας εἰλεῖν. 34. χρόνῳ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη δὴ τις ἔσοδος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἔδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. ἔμπροσθε ὦν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ τῆς ἀνάδου, τῇ δὴ οὔτε τις ἐφύλασσε οὔτ' ἂν ἤλπισε μή κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίῃ ἀνθρώπων, ταύτῃ ἀνέβησαν τινες κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου, καίτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἑόντος τοῦ χώρου. ὥς δὲ εἶδον

αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κάτω καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ἰκέτας ἐφόνευσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφί πάντες κατέστρωντο, τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. **35.** Σχῶν δὲ παντελέως τὰς Ἀθήνας, Ξέρξης ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Σοῦσα ἄγγελον ἱππέα Ἀρταβάνῳ ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφί εὐπρηξίην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ κήρυκος δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ, συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς φυγάδας, ἑωυτῷ δὲ ἐπομένους, ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θῦσαι τὰ ἱρὰ, ἀναβάοντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, — εἴτε δὴ ὦν ὄψιν τινὰ ἰδὼν ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ ἐνθύμιόν οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντι τὸ ἱρὸν. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. **36.** τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσω. ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολι ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθεὺς τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νῆς, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῳ τε καὶ θάλασσᾳ ἔνι, τὰ λόγος παρ' Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρας μαρτύρια θέσθαι. ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἐλαίην ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος, Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέος κελεύόμενοι ὥς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν, ὥρεον βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ἀναδεδραμηκότα. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔφρασαν.

37. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἕλληνες, ὥς σφί ἐξηγγέλθη ὥς ἔσχε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηνέων ἀκρόπολιν, ἐς τοσούτον θόρον ἀπίκοντο, ὥστε ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἔμενον τὸ προκείμενον πρήγμα, ἀλλ' ἐς τε τὰς νέας ἐσέπιπτον καὶ ἰστία αἶεροντο ὥς ἀποθυσόμενοι. τοῖσί τε ὑπολειπομένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμα-

χέειν. νύξ τε ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐσβαίνον ἐς τὰς νέας. 38. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νέα εἶρετο Μνησίφιλος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃ τι σφι εἶη βεβουλευμένον. πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς εἶη δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναυμαχέειν, εἶπε· Οὐ τοι ἄρα, ἦν ἀπαείρωσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, περὶ οὐδεμιῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις. κατὰ γὰρ πόλις ἕκαστοι τρέφονται, καὶ οὔτε σφέας Εὐρυβιάδης κατέχειν δυνήσεται, οὔτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος, ὥστε μὴ οὐ διασκεδασθῆναι τὴν στρατιὴν, ἀπολέσται τε ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀβουλήσι. ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἔστι μηχανή, ἴθι καὶ πειρῶ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἦν κως δύνῃ ἀναγνώσαι Εὐρυβιῶδεα μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὥστε αὐτοῦ μενέειν. 39. κάρτα δὴ τῷ Θεμιστοκλείῃ ἤρесе ἡ ὑποθήκη, καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμειψόμενος ἦγε ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔφη ἐθέλειν οἱ κοινόν τι πρῆγμα συμμίξαι. ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νέα ἐκέλευε ἐσβάντα λέγειν, εἴ τι ἐθέλοι. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς παριζόμενός οἱ καταλέγει ἐκείνὰ τε πάντα τὰ ἤκουσε Μνησιφίλου, ἐωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθεὶς, ἐς ὃ ἀνέγνωσε χρητίζων ἕκ τε τῆς νεὸς ἐκβῆναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον. 40. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδεα προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον τῶν εἵνεκεν συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλὸς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος. λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Ὠκύτου εἶπε· ὦ Θεμιστόκλεες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι ραπίζονται. ὁ δὲ ἀπολνόμενος ἔφη· Οἱ δέ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανεῦνται. 41. Τότε μὲν ἡπίως πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδεα ἔλεγε ἐκείνων μὲν οὐκέτι οὐδὲν τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, ὡς

ἐπεὰν ἀπαείρωσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος διαδρήσονται· παρεόντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔφερε οἱ κόσμον οὐδένα κατηγορέειν· ὁ δὲ ἄλλου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων τάδε· Ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἣν ἐμοὶ πείθη ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέεσθαι, μηδὲ πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖσι λέγουσι ἀναξεύξης πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν τὰς νέας. ἀντίθες γὰρ ἐκάτερον ἀκούσας. πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγει ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχήσεις, ἐς τὸ ἥκιστα ἡμῖν ἄμφορόν ἐστι νέας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσοντας, τοῦτο δὲ ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνά τε καὶ Μέγαρά καὶ Αἰγίναν, ἣν περ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχήσωμεν. ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ναυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἔψεται καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός· καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτὸς ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνεύσεις τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι. 42. ἦν δὲ τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω ποιήσης, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι χρηστὰ εὐρήσεις· πρῶτα μὲν ἐν στεινῷ συμβάλλοντες νηυσὶ ὀλίγησι πρὸς πολλὰς, ἣν τὰ οἰκότα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίνη, πολλὸν κρατήσομεν, — τὸ γὰρ ἐν στεινῷ ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς ἡμέων ἐστὶ, ἐν εὐρυχωρίῃ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων, — αὐτὶς δὲ Σαλαμὶς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπεκκέεται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ μὴν καὶ τότε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι, τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα· ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων προναυμαχήσεις Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἴσθμῳ, οὐδέ σφεας, εἴ περ εὖ φρονέεις, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. 43. ἦν δὲ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω γένηται καὶ νικήσωμεν τῇσι νηυσὶ, οὔτε ὑμῖν ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν παρέσονται οἱ βάρβαροι, οὔτε προβήσονται ἐκαστέρῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀπίαςί τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ· Μεγάροισί τε κερδανέομεν περιεοῦσι καὶ Αἰγίνῃ καὶ Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιόν ἐστι τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι. οἰκότα μὲν νυν βουλευομένοισι ἀνθρώποισι ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι· μὴ δὲ οἰκότα βουλευομένοισι οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσ-

χωρέειν πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπότηας γνώμας. 44. Ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος, αὐτὶς ὁ Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, σιγᾶν τε κελεύων τῷ μὴ ἔστι πατὴρ, καὶ Εὐρυβιάδεα οὐκ ἔων ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπὸλι ἀνδρί· πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον οὕτω ἐκέλευε γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ προέφερε, ὅτι ἡλώκεσάν τε καὶ κατείχοντο αἱ Ἀθῆναι. τότε δὴ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκείνόν τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους πολλὰ τε καὶ κακὰ ἔλεγε, ἑωυτοῖσί τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ ὡς εἶη καὶ πόλεις καὶ γῇ μέζων ἤπερ ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ' ἂν διηκόσαιο νέες σφί ἕωσι πεπληρωμένοι· οὐδαμὸς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀποκρούσεσθαι. 45. Σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ διέβαινε ἐς Εὐρυβιάδεα, λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα· Σὺ εἰ μενέεις αὐτοῦ καὶ μένων ἔσεαι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα. τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νέες. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθεο. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσεις, ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὡς ἔχομεν, ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκέτας, κομιεύμεθα ἐς Σίριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, ἣ περ ἡμετέρῃ τέ ἐστι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπ' ἡμέων αὐτὴν δέειν κτισθῆναι· ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμαχῶν τοιῶνδε μουνωθέντες μεμνήσεσθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων. 46. Ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλέος λέγοντος ἀνεδιδάσκετο Εὐρυβιάδης. δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδήσας μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο μὴ σφεας ἀπολίπωσι, ἣν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀνάγῃ τὰς νέας. ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων οὐκέτι ἐγίνοντο ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ λοιποί. ταύτην δὲ αἰρέεται τὴν γνώμην, αὐτοῦ μένοντας διαναυμαχέειν. Οὕτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμίνα ἔπεσι ἀκροβολισάμενοι, ἐπείτε Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἔδοξε, αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχῆσונτες. ἡμέρῃ τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι σεισμὸς ἐγένετο ἔν τε τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ. ἔδοξε δέ σφί εὖξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι

καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς Διακίδας συμμάχους. ὥς δέ σφι ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίουν ταῦτα· εὐξάμενοι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Αἶαντά τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Διακίδας νέα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Αἴγινα.

47. Ἐφη δὲ Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φυγὰς τε καὶ παρὰ Μήδοισι λόγιμος γενόμενος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐπεῖτε ἐκείρετο ἡ Ἀττικὴ χώρα ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ξέρξεω εὐδία ἐρήμος Ἀθηναίων, τυχεῖν τότε ἐὼν ἄμα Δημάρτη τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ, ἰδεῖν δὲ κονιορτὸν χωρέοντα ἀπὸ Ἐλευσίνος ὥς ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα κη τρισμυρίων· ἀποθωνμάζειν τέ σφεας τὸν κονιορτὸν ὅτεών κοτε εἴη ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πρόκατε φωνῆς ἀκούειν, καὶ οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν ἱακχόν. εἶναι δ' ἀδαήμονα τῶν ἱρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίनि γινομένων τὸν Δημάρτην, εἴρεσθαι τε αὐτὸν, ὃ τι τὸ φθεγγόμενον εἴη τοῦτο. 48. αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπαι· Δημάρτηε, οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἔσται τῇ βασιλείῳ στρατιῇ. τάδε γὰρ ἀρίδηλα ἐρήμου εὐούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θεῖον τὸ φθεγγόμενον, ἀπὸ Ἐλευσίνος ἰὼν ἐς τιμωρίην Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ τοῖσι συμμάχοισι. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε κατασκήψῃ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κίνδυνος αὐτῷ τε βασιλείῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἔσται, ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς νέας τράπηται τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλεῖν. τὴν δὲ ὁρτὴν ταύτην ἄγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μυεῖται, καὶ τὴν φωνὴν, τῆς ἀκούεις, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὁρτῇ ἱακχάζουσι. 49. πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν Δημάρτην· Σίγα τε καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον εἴπῃς. ἦν γάρ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἀνενειχθῇ τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα, ἀποβαλέεις τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ σε

οὔτε ἐγὼ δυνήσομαι ρύσασθαι, οὔτ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων εὐδὲ εἰς. ἀλλ' ἔχ' ἥσυχος, περὶ δὲ στρατιῆς τῆσδε θεοῖσι μελήσει. Τὸν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παραινέειν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι νέφος, καὶ μεταρσιωθὲν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὕτω δὲ αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ξέρξεω ἀπολέεσθαι μέλλοι. Ταῦτα μὲν Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκίδεος ἔλεγε, Δημαρίτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος.

50. Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ξέρξεω ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Τρηχίνος θηησάμενοι τὸ τρῶμα τὸ Λακωνικὸν διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἰστιάϊαν, ἐπισχόντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἔπλων δι' Εὐρίπου, καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῃσι τρισὶ ἡμέρῃσι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρήγγελλον ἀναπλῶειν, ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἐπὶ τὴν Σιλαμῖνα, καὶ παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες κατ' ἥσυχίν. τότε μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐξέχρησέ σφι ἡ ἡμέρῃ ναυμαχίην ποιήσασθαι, νύξ γὰρ ἐπεγένετο, οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην. τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας εἶχε δέος τε καὶ ἄρρωδίη, οὐκ ἦκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. ἄρρωδεον δὲ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχεῖν μέλλοιεν, νικηθέντες τε ἐν νήσῳ ἀπολαμφθέντες πολιορκήσονται, ἀπέντες τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἀφύλακτον. 51. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ τὴν παρεούσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον· καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο, ὅπως κατ' ἥπειρον μὴ ἐσβάλοιν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὥς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα Πέλοποννήσιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδα ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολιῶν ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἔζοντο, καὶ σφι ἐπὶ στρατηγὸς Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew, Λεωνίδew δὲ ἀδελφεός. ἰζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδόν, μετὰ τοῦτο ὥς σφι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ τεῖχος·

ἄτε δὲ ἐουσέων μυριάδων πολλέων καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἦνέτο τὸ ἔργον, καὶ γὰρ λίθοι, καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ ψύμμου πλήρεις ἐσεφορέοντο, καὶ ἐλύνουν οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρης.

52. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἄτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμον θέοντες, καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλάμψεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὅμως ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρώδουν, οὐκ οὕτω περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες ὥς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστάς σιγῇ λόγον ἐποίεετο, θῶμα ποιεῖμενοι τὴν Εὐρυβιάδew ἀβουλίην, τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη ἐς τὸ μέσον. σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγένετο, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν· οἱ μὲν, ὥς ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεὼν εἶη ἀποπλῶειν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν, μηδὲ πρὸ χώρας δοριαλώτου μένοντας μάχεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Αἰγινῆται καὶ Μεγαρέες αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνεσθαι.

53. Ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλῆς, ὥς ἐσοῦτο τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μῆδων ἄνδρα πλοῖφ, ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεὼν, τῷ οὐνομα μὲν ἦν Σίκιυννος, οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος παίδων· τὸν δὴ ὕστερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλῆς Θεσπιέα τε ἐποίησε, ὥς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπιέες πολιήτας, καὶ χρήμασι ὄλβιον. ὃς τότε πλοῖφ ἀπικόμενος, ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων τάδε· Ἐπεμψέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναίων λάβρῃ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος καὶ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα) φράσσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες δρῆσμον βουλευόνται καταρρωδηκότες· καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργον

ἀπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἣν μὴ περιίδητε διαδράντας αὐτούς. οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι ὁμοφρονέουσι, οὐτ' ἔτι ἀντιστήσονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἑωυτούς τε σφέας ὄψεσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας καὶ τοὺς μή. 54. ὁ μὲν ταῦτά σφι σημήνας ἐκποδὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο· τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἀγγελλθέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνός τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβίβασαν, τοῦτο δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνῆγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης κέρας κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, ἀνῆγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχόν τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῆσι νηυσί. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκεν ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μὴδὲ φυγεῖν ἐξῇ, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι δοῖεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἀγωνισμάτων. ἐς δὲ τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζόν τῶν Περσέων τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὥς, ἐπεὰν γένηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων (ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἐκέετο ἡ νῆσος), ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιῶσι, τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρῳσι. ἐποίευν δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὥς μὴ πυνθανοῖατο οἱ ἐναντίοι. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες παραρτέοντο.

55. Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγίνετο ὠθισμὸς λόγων πολλός. ἤδεσαν δὲ οὐκ ὅτι σφέας περιεκυκλέοντο τῆσι νηυσὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὥρεον αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεον κατὰ χώρην εἶναι. συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐξ Αἰγίνης διέβη Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος μὲν, ἐξωστρακισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τὸν ἐγὼ νενόμικα, πυνθανόμενός αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, ἄριστον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι καὶ δικαιοτάτον.

οὗτος ὤνῃρ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἐξεκαλέετο Θεμιστοκλέα, ἔοντα μὲν ἑωυτῷ οὐ φίλον, ἐχθρὸν δὲ τὰ μάλιστα· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάλῃ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν λήθην ἐκείνων ποιούμενος ἐξεκαλέετο, ἐθέλων αὐτῷ συμμίξαι. προακηκόεε δὲ ὅτι σπεύδοιεν οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμόν. 56. ὡς δὲ ἐξηλθέ οἱ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἔλεγε Ἀριστείδης τάδε· Ἡμέας στασιάζειν χρεῶν ἔστι, ἔν τε τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷδε, περὶ τοῦ ὁκότερος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάζεται. λέγω δέ τοι, ὅτι ἴσον ἔστι πολλά τε καὶ ὀλίγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλοῦ τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν Πελοποννησίοισι. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοι λέγω γενόμενος, ὅτι νῦν, οὐδ' ἢ ἐθέλωσι Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ αὐτὸς Εὐρυβιάδης, οἰοί τε ἔσονται ἐκπλώσαι· περιεχόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κύκλῳ. ἀλλ' ἐσελθὼν σφι ταῦτα σήμνηνον. 57. Ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοισίδε· Κάρτα τε χρηστὰ διακελεύεαι καὶ εὖ ἡγγεϊλας. τὰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐδεόμενη γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἤκεις. ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιούμενα ὑπὸ Μήδων. ἔδεε γὰρ, ὅτε οὐκ ἐκόντες ἤθελον ἐς μάχην κατίστασθαι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀέκοντας παραστήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ ἐπεὶ περ ἤκεις χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτὸς σφι ἡγγεῖλον. ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν, καὶ οὐ πείσω ὥς οὐ ποιούντων τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ σφι σήμνηνον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὥς ἔχει. ἐπεὰν δὲ σήμνης, ἦν μὲν πείθωνται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κύλλιστα· ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖσι μὴ πιστὰ γένηται, ὁμοῖον ἡμῖν ἔσται. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διαδρήσονται, εἴ περ περιεχόμεθα πανταχόθεν, ὥς σὺ λέγεις. 58. Ταῦτα ἔλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, φάμενος ἐξ Αἰγίνης τε ἤκειν καὶ μόγις ἐκπλώσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας· περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ξέρξεω· παραρτέεσθαι τε συνεβούλευε ὥς ἀλεξομένους. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα

εἴπας μετεστήκεε, τῶν δὲ αὐτὶς ἐγίνετο λόγων ἀμφισβασίῃ· οἱ γὰρ πλευνες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο τὰ ἐξαγγελθέντα. **59.** ἀπιστεόντων δὲ τούτων, ἦκε τριήρης ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων αὐτομολέουσα, τῆς ἦρχε ἀνὴρ Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμένεος, ἥ περ διὴ ἔφερε τὴν ἀληθείην πᾶσαν. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐνεγράφησαν Τήνιοι ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα ἐν τοῖσι τὸν βάρβαρον κατελοῦσι. σὺν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ τῇ νηὶ τῇ αὐτομολησάσῃ ἐς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τῇ Αἰγινῇ, ἐξεπληροῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι ἐς τὰς ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νέας. δύο γὰρ δὴ νεῶν τότε κατέδεε ἐς τὸν ἄριθμόν.

60. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι ὡς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἦν τῶν Τηνίων ῥήματα, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχῆσόντες. ἥως τε δὴ διέφαινε, καὶ οἱ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλῆς, τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν πάντα κρέσσω τοῖσι ἔσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα. ὅσα δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάσι ἐγγίνεται, παραινέσας δὴ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἰρέεσθαι, καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νέας. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐσέβαινον, καὶ ἦκε ἡ ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τριήρης, ἥ κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀπεδήμησε. ἐνθαῦτα ἀνήγον τὰς νέας ἀπ᾽ αὐτὰς οἱ Ἕλληνες. **61.** ἀναγομένοισι δέ σφι αὐτίκα ἐπέκεατο οἱ βάρβαροι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνην ἀνεκρούοντο καὶ ὤκελλον τὰς νέας, Ἀμεινῆς δὲ Παλληνεὺς ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἐξαναχθεὶς νηὶ ἐμβάλλει. συμπλακείσῃ δὲ τῆς νεὸς, καὶ οὐ δυναμένων ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινῇ βοηθέοντες συνέμισγον. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι τῆς ναυμαχίης γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν· Αἰγινῇται δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Αἶγναν, ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ταῦδε, ὡς φᾶσμα σφι γυναικὸς ἐφάνη, φανείσαν δὲ διακελεύσασθαι, ὥστε καὶ

ἅπαν ἀκούσαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὠνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε· ὦ δαιμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσου ἔτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούεσθε ; 62. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες (οὔτοι γὰρ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἐλευσίνός τε καὶ ἑσπέρης κέρας), κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους Ἴωνες· οὔτοι δ' εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιέα. ἐθελοκύκεον μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέους ἐντολὰς ὀλίγοι, οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες οὐ. ἔχω μὲν νυν συχνῶν οὐνόματα τριηράρχων καταλέξαι τῶν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ἐλόντων, χρήσομαι δὲ αὐτοῖσι οὐδὲν πλὴν Θεομήστορος τε τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφοτέρων. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκεν μέμνημαι τούτων μούνων, ὅτι Θεομήστῳ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων, Φύλακος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη καὶ χώρη οἱ ἐδωρήθη πολλή. οἱ δ' εὐεργέται βασιλέος ὀροσάγγαι καλέονται Περσιστί. 63. Περὶ μὲν νυν τούτους οὕτω εἶχε, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ἐκεραίζετο, αἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι, αἱ δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγινήτων. ἅτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὐ τεταγμένων ἔτι, οὔτε σὺν νόφ ποιούντων οὐδὲν, ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι οἷόν περ ἀπέβη. καίτοι ἡσάν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῷ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἐωυτῶν ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ, πᾶς τις προθυμώμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ξέρξεα, ἐδόκέε τε ἕκαστος ἐωυτὸν θηήσεσθαι βασιλέα. 64. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως ὥς ἕκαστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγωνίζοντο, κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην τίδε ἐγένετο, ὑπ' ᾧ εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον ἔτι παρὰ βασιλεί· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπῆκετο τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἢ νηὺς ἢ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νεὸς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἡ οὐκ ἔχουσα δια-

φυγεῖν, ἔμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νέες φίλλαι, ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε εἶσα, ἔδοξέ οἱ τότε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεκε ποιησάση· διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νηὶ φιλήν ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλώοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέως Δαμασιθύμου. 65. εἰ μὲν καὶ τι νεῖκος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνεε ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἑόντων, οὐ μέντοι ἔγωγε ἔχω εἰπεῖν, οὔτε εἰ ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, οὔτε εἰ συνεκύρησε ἡ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσοῦσα νηὺς. ὥς δὲ ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ κατέδυσε, εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένη διπλόα ἑωυτὴν ἀγαθὰ ἐργάσατο· ὅ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νεὸς τριήραρχος, ὥς εἶδέ μιν ἐμβαλλουσας νηὶ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἢ Ἑλληνίδα εἶναι ἢ αὐτομολέειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἀμύνειν, ὑποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο. 66. τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεκε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ συνέβη ὥστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένην ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηγόμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νέα ἐμβαλοῦσαν, καὶ δὴ τίνα εἶπαι τῶν παρέοντων· Δέσποτα, ὁρᾷς Ἀρτεμισίην, ὥς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νέα τῶν πολεμίων κατέδυσε; καὶ τὸν ἐπείρεσθαι εἰ ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φύναι, σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νεὸς ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ διαφθαρεῖσαν ἠπιστέατο εἶναι πολεμίνην. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὥς εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνήνεκε ἐς εὐτυχίην γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυνδικῆς νεὸς μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ εἶπαι λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα· Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες. ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἶπαι.

67. Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξεω ἔων ἀδελφεὸς, ἀπὸ δὲ

ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ οὐνομαστοὶ Περσέων καὶ Μήδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ Ἑλλήνων. ἅτε γὰρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ νέες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμφ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα διένεον. τῶν δὲ βυρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ διεφθύρησαν, νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλείσται διεφθείροντο. οἱ γὰρ ὅπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῇσι νηυσὶ παριέναι πειρώμενοι, ὡς ἀποδεξόμενός τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλείῃ, τῇσι σφετέρῃσι νηυσὶ φεγγούσῃσι περιέπιπτον. 68. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ· τῶν τινες Φοινίκων, τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάραι, ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἴωνας, ὡς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολοῖατο αἱ νέες, ὡς προδόντων. συνήνευκε ὧν οὕτω ὥστε Ἴώνων τε τοὺς στρατηγούς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, Φοινίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιόνδε μισθόν· ἔτι τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων ἐνέβαλε νηὶ Ἀττικῇ Σαμοθρηκικῇ νηὺς. ἥ τε δὴ Ἀττικὴ κατεδύετο, καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Αἰγυναίῃ νηὺς κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρηκικῶν τὴν νέα. ἅτε δὴ εὐόντες ἀκουτισταὶ οἱ Σαμοθρηκῆες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νεὸς βάλλοντες ἀπήραξαν, καὶ ἐπέβησάν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτήν. 69. ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐρρύσατο· ὡς γὰρ εἶδε σφεας Ξέρξης ἔργον μέγα ἐργασαμένους, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας, οἷα ὑπερλυπόμενός τε καὶ πάντας αἰτιώμενος, καὶ σφεων ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι. ὅπως γάρ τινα ἴδοι Ξέρξης τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἔργον τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρεὶ τῷ ἀντίῳ Σαλαμίνοσ, τὸ καλέεται Αἰγάλεως, ἀνεπυθάνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα, καὶ οἱ γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον πατρόθεν τὸν τριήραρχον καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δέ τι καὶ προσεβάλετο φίλος ἐὼν

Ἀριαράμνης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης παρῶν τούτου τοῦ Φοινικηίου πάθεος.

70. Οἱ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐτράποντο· τῶν δὲ βαρβύρων ἐς φυγὴν τραπομένων καὶ ἐκπλώνων πρὸς τὸ Φάληρον, Αἰγινῆται ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ ἔργα ἀπέδέξαντο λόγου ἄξια. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκεραίζον τὰς τε ἀντισταμένας καὶ τὰς φευγούσας τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται τὰς ἐκπλυνούσας· ὅκως δέ τινες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφύγοιεν, φερόμενοι ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Αἰγινῆτας. **71.** Ἐνθαῦτα συνεκύρεον νέες ἥ τε Θεμιστοκλῆος διώκουσα νέα, καὶ ἡ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Κρίου ἀνδρὸς Αἰγινῆτεω νηὶ ἐμβαλοῦσα Σιδωνίῃ, ἥ περ εἶλε τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ τὴν Αἰγιναιήν, ἐπ' ἧς ἔπλεε Πυθῆς ὁ Ἰσχερόου, τὸν οἱ Πέρσαι κατακοπέντα ἀρετῆς εἵνεκεν εἶχον ἐν τῇ νηὶ ἐκπαγλεόμενοι. τὸν δὴ περιάγουσα ἅμα τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἦλω νηὺς ἡ Σιδωνίῃ, ὥστε Πυθέην οὕτω σωθῆναι ἐς Αἶγιναν. ὥς δὲ ἐσεῖδε τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Πολύκριτος, ἔγνω τὸ σημήϊον ἰδὼν τῆς στρατηγίδος, καὶ βώσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπεκερτόμησε ἐς τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν μηδισμὸν ὀνειδίζων. ταῦτα μὲν νυν νηὶ ἐμβαλὼν ὁ Πολύκριτος ἀπέρριψε ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγένοντο, φεύγοντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Φάληρον ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν. **72.** Ἐν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστα Αἰγινῆται, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτός τε ὁ Αἰγινῆτης καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγυράσιος καὶ Ἀμεινίης Παλληνεὺς, ὃς καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπεδίωξε. εἰ μὲν νυν ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλώωι Ἀρτεμισίην, οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἢ εἰλέ μιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦλω. τοῖσι γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τριηράρχοισι παρεκεκέλευστο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀέθλον ἐκέετο μύριαι δραχμαὶ, ὃς ἂν μιν ζωὴν ἔλῃ· δεινὸν γάρ τι ἐποιεῦντο γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας

στρατεύεσθαι. αὕτη μὲν δὴ, ὡς πρότερον εἴρηται, διέφυγε, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγεγόνεσαν, ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ.

73. Ἀδείμαντον δὲ τὸν Κορίνθιον στρατηγὸν λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς, ὡς συνέμισγον αἱ νέες, ἐκπλαγέντα τε καὶ ὑπερδείσαντα, τὰ ἰστία ἀειράμενον οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγίδα φεύγουσαν, ὡσαύτως οἴχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γίνεσθαι τῆς Σαλαμινίης κατὰ τὸ ἱὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκιραῶδος, περιπίπτειν σφί κέλητα θείῃ πομπῇ, τὸν οὔτε πέμψαντα φανῆναι οὐδένα, οὔτε τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς εἰδόσι προσφέρεσθαι τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι. τῇδε δὲ συμβάλλονται εἶναι θεῖον τὸ πρῆγμα· ὡς γὰρ ἀγχού γενέσθαι τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέλητος λέγειν τάδε· Ἀδείμαντε, σὺ μὲν ἀποστρέψας τὰς νέας ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαι καταπροδοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι, ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἡρώντα ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν. **74.** Ταῦτα λεγόντων, ἀπιστεῖν γὰρ τὸν Ἀδείμαντον, αὐτὶς τάδε λέγειν, ὡς αὐτοὶ οἰοί τε εἶεν ἀγόμενοι ὄμηροι ἀποθνήσκειν, ἣν μὴ νικῶντες φαίνονται οἱ Ἕλληνες. οὕτω δὲ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νέα, αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς ναυμαχίης νομίζουσι γενέσθαι, μαρτυρεῖ δέ σφί καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς. **75.** Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Λυσιμάχου ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου, οὗτος ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ τῷ περὶ Σαλαμίνα γενομένῳ τάδε ἐποίηε· παραλαβὼν πολλοὺς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, οἱ παρατετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμινίης χώρας, γένος ἔοντες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον ἀπέβησε ἄγων, οἱ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησίδι ταύτῃ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.

76. Ὡς δὲ ἡ ναυμαχία διελέλυτο, κατειρύσαντες ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα οἱ Ἕλληνες τῶν ναυηγίων ὅσα ταύτῃ ἐτύγχανε ἔτι ἑόντα, ἐτοίμοι ἦσαν ἐς ἄλλην ναυμαχίην, ἐλπίζοντες τῇσι περιεούρησι νηυσὶ ἔτι χρῆσεσθαι βασιλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυηγίων πολλὰ ὑπολαβὼν ἄνεμος ζέφυρος ἔφερε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡίονα τὴν καλεομένην Κωλιάδα· ὥστε ἀποπλῆσαι τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν τε ἄλλον πάντα τὸν περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης ταύτης εἰρημένον Βάκιδι καὶ Μουσαίῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ναύηγια τὰ ταύτῃ ἐξενειχθέντα τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐν χρησμῷ Λυσιστράτῳ Ἀθηναίῳ ἀνδρὶ χρησμολόγῳ, τὸ ἐλελήθεε πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας,

Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἐρετμοῖσι φρύξουσι·

τοῦτο δὲ ἔμελλε ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέος ἔσεσθαι.

77. Ξέρξης δὲ, ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος, δείσας μὴ τις τῶν Ἰώνων ὑποθῆται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἢ αὐτοὶ νοήσωσι πλῶειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμφθεὶς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσει, δρησμὸν ἐβούλενε· ἐθέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπίδηλος εἶναι μήτε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μήτε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα χῶμα ἐπειράτο διαχοῦν, γαυλούς τε Φοινικηίους συνέδεε, ἵνα ἀντὶ τε σχεδίσῃς ἑωσι καὶ τείχεος, ἀρτέετό τε ἐς πόλεμον, ὡς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος. ὀρέοντες δὲ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, εὐ ἠπιστέατο ὡς ἐκ παντὸς νόου παρεσκευάσται μένων πολεμήσειν· Μαρδόνιον δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλάνθανε, ὡς μάλιστα ἔμπειρον ἑόντα τῆς ἐκείνου διανοίης. 78. Ταῦτά τε ἅμα Ξέρξης ἐποίεε, καὶ ἔπεμπε ἐς Πέρσας ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφιν συμφορὴν. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἔστι οὐδὲν ὃ τι θάσσον παρὰ γίνεται θνητὸν ἑόν· οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξεύρηται

τοῦτο. λέγουσι γὰρ, ὡς ὅσων ἂν ἡμερέων ἦ ἡ πᾶσα ὁδὸς, τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες διεστᾶσι, κατὰ ἡμερησίην ὁδὸν ἐκίστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἀνὴρ τεταγμένος, τοὺς οὔτε νιφετὸς, οὐκ ὄμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νύξ ἔργει μὴ οὐ κατα-
νύσαι τὸν προκείμενον ἑωυτῷ δρόμον τὴν ταχίστην. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος δραμὼν παραδιδόι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη κατ' ἄλλον διεξέρχεται παραδιδόμενα, κατὰπερ Ἑλλησι ἡ λαμπαδη-
φορίη, τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέουσιν. τοῦτο τὸ δράμημα τῶν ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἀγγαρήϊον. 79. Ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη ἐς Σούσα ἀγγελίη ἀπικομένη, ὡς ἔχει Ἀθήνας Ξέρ-
ξης, ἔτερψε οὕτω δὴ τι Περσέων τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας, ὡς τὰς τε ὁδοὺς μυρσίην πύσας ἐστόρεσαν, καὶ ἐθυμίουν θυ-
μίσματα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐν θυσίῃσι τε καὶ εὐπαθείῃσι· ἡ δὲ δευτέρη σφί ἀγγελίη ἐπεξελθοῦσα συνέχεε οὕτω, ὥστε τοὺς κιθῶνας κατερρήξαντο πάντες, βοῇ τε καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἐχρέοντο ἀπλῆφ, Μαρδόνιον ἐν αἰτίῃ τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίουν, ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ δειμαίνοντες.

80. Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς τοὺς παῖδας Ἀρτεμισίῃ ἐπέτρεψε ἀπάγειν ἐς Ἐφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδόνιον ἐκέλευσέ μιν τῆς στρατιῆς διαλέγειν τοὺς βούλεται, καὶ ποιέειν τοῖσι λό-
γοισι τὰ ἔργα πειρεόμενον ὁμοίᾳ. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγίνετο· τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς, κελεύσαντος βασιλέως, τὰς νέας οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ τοῦ Φαλήρου ἀπήγον ὀπίσω ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, ὡς τάχεος εἶχε ἕκαστος, διαφυλαξούσας τὰς σχεδίας πορευθῆναι βασιλείῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγγχοῦ ἦσαν Ζωστήρης πλώοντες οἱ βύρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γὰρ ἄκραι λεπταὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης, ἔδοξύν τε νέας εἶναι καὶ ἐφευ-
γον ἐπὶ πολλόν. χρόνῳ δὲ μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ νέες εἶεν ἀλλ' ἄκραι, συλλεχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο. 81. Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐγέ-

νετο, ὀρέοντες οἱ Ἕλληνες κατὰ χώραν μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζὸν, ἡλπιζον καὶ τὰς νέας εἶναι περὶ Φάληρον, ἐδόκεόν τε ναυμαχῆσειν σφέας, παραρτέοντό τε ὡς ἀλεξσόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὰς νέας οἰχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειν. τὸν μὲν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Ξέρξεω στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπείδον διώξαντες μέχρι Ἄνδρου, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἄνδρον ἀπικόμενοι ἐβουλεύοντο. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο, διὰ νήσων τραπομένους καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τὰς νέας, πλώειν ἰθέως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας. 82. Εὐρυβιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίην ταύτην γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων ὡς, εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας, τοῦτ' ἂν μέγιστον πάντων σφεῖς κακὸν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐργάσαιντο. εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθεὶς ἀπολαμφθεὶς ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, πειρῶτο ἂν ἡσυχίην μὴ ἄγειν· ὡς ἄγοντι μὲν οἱ ἡσυχίην οὔτε τι προχωρεῖν οἶόν τε ἔσται τῶν πρηγμάτων, οὔτε τις κομιδὴ τὸ ὀπίσω φανήσεται, λιμῶ τέ οἱ ἡ στρατιὴ διαφθαρέεται· ἐπιχειροῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργου ἐχομένῳ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἶά τε ἔσται προσχωρῆσαι κατὰ πόλιν τε καὶ κατ' ἔθνεα, ἥτοι ἀλίσκομένων γε ἢ πρὸ τούτου ὁμολογεόντων. τροφήν τε ἔξιν σφέας τὸν ἐπέτεον αἰεὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καρπὸν. ἀλλὰ δοκέειν γὰρ νικηθέντα τῇ ναυμαχίῃ οὐ μενέειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσεα, ἐατέον ὦν εἶναι φεύγειν, ἐς δ' ἔλθῃ φεύγων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ποιέεσθαι ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκέλευε. ταύτης δὲ εἴχοντο τῆς γνώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατηγοί.

83. Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐ πείσει τοὺς γε πολλοὺς πλώειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (οὔτοι γὰρ μάλιστα ἐκπεφευγόντων περιημέκτεον, ὥρμέατό τε ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλώειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι, εἰ ὅλλοι μὴ βουλοίατο) ἔλεγέ

σφι τάδε· Καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη πολλοῖσι παρεγενόμεν, καὶ πολλῷ πλέω ἀκήκοα τοιαύτε γενέσθαι· ἄνδρας ἐς ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας νενικημένους ἀναμάχεσθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα. ἡμεῖς δὲ (εὖρημα γὰρ εὐρήκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, νέφος τοσοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀνωσύμενοι) μὴ διώκωμεν ἄνδρας φεύγοντας.

84. τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τε καὶ ἥρωες, οἳ ἐφθόνησαν ἄνδρα ἓνα τῆς τε Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῦσαι, εἶοντα ἀνόσιόν τε καὶ ἀτύσθαλον· ὃς τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιέετο, ἐμπιπρύς τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγύλματα· ὃς καὶ τὴν θύλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατήκε. ἀλλ' εὖ γὰρ ἔχει ἐς τὸ παρεὸν ἡμῖν, νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταμείναντας ἡμέων τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τῶν οἰκετέων· καὶ τις οἰκίην τε ἀναπλασίσθω καὶ σπόρου ἀνακῶς ἔχέτω, παντελέως ἀπελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Ἰωνίης. Ταῦτα ἔλεγε ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσέα, ἵνα, ἣν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος, ἔχῃ ἀποστροφὴν· τὰ περ ὦν καὶ ἐγένετο.

85. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπείθοντο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ, καὶ πρότερον δεδογμένος εἶναι σοφός, ἐφάνη ἐὼν ἀληθὲς σοφός τε καὶ εὖβουλος, πάντως ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν λέγοντι πείθεσθαι. ὥς δὲ οὗτοί οἱ ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε ἔχοντας πλοῖον, τοῖσι ἐπίστευε σιγαῶν, ἐς πᾶσαν βάσανον ἀπικνεομένοισι, τὰ αὐτὸς ἐντεῖλατο βασιλεῖ φρῖσαι· τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκέτης αὐτὶς ἐγένετο. οἳ ἐπεὶ τε ἀπίκοντο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οἳ μὲν κατέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβὰς παρὰ Ξέρξεα ἔλεγε τάδε· Ἐπεμψέ με Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλῆος, στρατηγὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίων, ἀνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων ἄρι-

στος καὶ σοφώτατος, φράσσοντά τοι ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, σοὶ βουλόμενος ὑπουργέειν, ἔσχε τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰς νέας βουλομένους διώκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γεφύρας λύειν. καὶ νῦν κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλὴν κομίζεο. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα σημήναντες ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω.

86. Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ Ξέρξεα, ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην, ἐξήλυνον ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν. ἔδοξε γὰρ Μαρδονίῳ ἅμα μὲν προπέμψαι βασιλέα, ἅμα δὲ ἀνωρίη εἶναι τοῦ ἔτεος πολεμέειν· χειμερίσαι δὲ ἄμεινον εἶναι ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, καὶ ἔπειτεν ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου. ὥς δὲ ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέγετο πρῶτους μὲν Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς ἀθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Ἰδάρνεος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ (οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος), μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν χιλὴν, καὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Σάκας καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἵππον. ταῦτα μὲν ἔθνεα ὅλα εἴλετο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐξελέγετο κατ' ὀλίγους· ὥστε σύμπαντας τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἱππεύσι. 87. Ξέρξης δὲ, Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καταλιπὼν, αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς διαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσαεράκοντα ἡμέρῃσι, ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος ὥς εἰπεῖν. ὅκου δὲ πορευόμενοι γινοῖατο καὶ κατ' οὐστῖνας ἀνθρώπους, τὸν τούτων καρπὸν ἀρπάζοντες ἐσιτέοντο· εἰ δὲ καρπὸν μηδένα εὗροιεν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ποίην τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναφυσομένην καὶ τῶν δενδρέων τὸν φλοιὸν περιλέποντες καὶ τὰ φύλλα καταδρέποντες κατήσθιον, ὁμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρων καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων, καὶ ἔλειπον οὐδέν· ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεον ὑπὸ λιμοῦ. ἐπιλαβὼν δὲ λοιμός τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερίη κατ' ὁδὸν διέφθειρε. τοὺς δὲ καὶ

νοσέοντας αὐτῶν κατέλιπε, ἐπιτάσσων τῇσι πόλεσι, ἵνα
 ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο ἐλαύνων, μελεδαίνειν τε καὶ τρέφειν, ἐν
 Θεσσαλίῃ τέ τινας καὶ ἐν Σίρῃ τῆς Παιονίης καὶ ἐν Μακε-
 δονίῃ. ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἄρμα καταλιπὼν τοῦ Διὸς, ὅτε
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤλανε, ἀπιὼν οὐκ ἀπέλαβε· ἀλλὰ δόν-
 τες οἱ Παῖονες τοῖσι Θρήξι, ἀπαιτέοντος Ἑέρξεω, ἔφασαν
 νεμομένης ἀρπασθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνω Θρηϊκῶν τῶν περὶ
 τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος οἰκημένων. 88. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι,
 ὡς ἐκ τῆς Θρηϊκῆς πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον,
 ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον τῇσι νηυσὶ διέβησαν ἐς
 Ἀβυδον· τὰς γὰρ σχεδίας οὐκ εὗρον ἔτι ἐντεταμένας,
 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλελυμένας. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι
 σιτία τε πλέω ἢ κατ' ὁδὸν ἐλάγχχανον, οὐδένα τε κόσμον
 ἐμπιπλάμενοι, καὶ ὕδατα μεταβάλλοντες, ἀπέθνησκον τοῦ
 στρατοῦ τοῦ περιεόντος πολλοί. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅμα Ἑέρξῃ
 ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις. 89. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὁδε λόγος
 λεγόμενος, ὡς, ἐπειδὴ Ἑέρξης ἀπελαύνων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἀπύ-
 κητο ἐπ' Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκέτι ὁδοιπο-
 ρίῃσι διεχρᾶτο, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν Ὑδάρνει ἐπιτράπει
 ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ νεὸς Φοινίσ-
 σης ἐπιβὰς ἐκομίζετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. πλώοντα δέ μιν
 ἄνεμον Στρυμονίην ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν καὶ κυματίνην. καὶ
 διῆ, μᾶλλον γάρ τι χειμαίνεσθαι, γεμούσης τῆς νεὸς ὥστε
 ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπεόντων συχνῶν Περσέων τῶν
 σὺν Ἑέρξῃ κομιζομένων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς δεῖμα πεσόντα τὸν
 βασιλέα εἶρεσθαι βώσαντα τὸν κυβερνήτην, εἴ τις ἐστί
 σφι σωτηρή. καὶ τὸν εἶπαι· Δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι οὐδεμία,
 ἣν μὴ τούτων ἀπαλλαγὴ τις γένηται τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιβα-
 τέων. 90. καὶ Ἑέρξα λέγεται ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα εἶπαι·
 Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, νῦν τις διαδεξάτω ὑμέων βασιλεὺς κηδό-
 μενος· ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι ἐμοὶ ἡ σωτηρή. Τὸν μὲν

ταῦτα λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ προσκυνέοντας ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὴν νέα ἐπικουφισθεῖσαν οὕτω δὴ ἀποσωθῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. ὥς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν Ξέρξεα, ποιῆσαι τοιόνδε· ὅτι μὲν ἔσωσε βασιλέος τὴν ψυχὴν, δωρήσασθαι χρυσὴν στεφάνῃ τὸν κυβερνήτηα, ὅτι δὲ Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε, ἀποταμείν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

91. Οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος περὶ τοῦ Ξέρξεω νόστου, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστὸς, οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος. εἰ γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρήθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτηα πρὸς Ξέρξεα, ἐν μυρίησι γνώμησι μίαν οὐκ ἔχω ἀντίξουν μὴ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι βασιλεῖα τοιόνδε, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβάσαι ἐς κολίην νέα, ἐόντας Πέρσας καὶ Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, τῶν δ' ἐρετέων ἐόντων Φοινίκων ὅκως οὐκ ἂν ἴσον πλήθος τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐξέβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ὁδῷ χρεόμενος ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

92. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ δηῶσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, ἀπαλλάσσονται ἐς Σαλαμίνα. πρῶτα μὲν νυν τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἐξεῖλον ἀκροθίνια ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήρεας τρεῖς Φοινίσσας, τὴν μὲν ἐς Ἴσθμὸν ἀναθεῖναι, ἣ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σούνιον, τὴν δὲ τῷ Αἰ-αντι αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμίνα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διεδάσαντο τὴν ληϊήν καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδρίας ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκρωτήριον νεὸς, ἐὼν μέγαθος δυώδεκα πηχέων. 93. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς ληϊῆς ἔπλωον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἀριστήϊα δώσοντες τῷ ἀξιώτατῳ γενομένῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον. ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ διενέμοντο τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντας ἐκ πάντων, ἐνθαῦτα πᾶς τις αὐτῶν ἐωυτῷ ἐτίθετο τὴν ψήφον, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος δοκέων ἄριστος

γενέσθαι, δεύτερα δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνοντας. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐμουνούντο, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ δευτερείοισι ὑπερεβάλλετο πολλόν. 94. Οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φθόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀποπλῶνόντων ἐκάστων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἀκρίτων, ὅμως Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐβώσθη τε καὶ ἐδοξώθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ πολλὸν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὅτι δὲ νικῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχησάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπῆκετο ἐθέλων τιμηθῆναι. καὶ μιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλῶς μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν. ἀριστήϊα μὲν νυν ἔδοσαν Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἐλαίης στέφανον, σοφίης δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος Θεμιστοκλείϊ, καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἐλαίης. ἐδώρήσαντο δὲ μιν ὄχρῳ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύοντι. αἰνέσαντες δὲ πολλὰ, προέπεμψαν ἀπῖόντα τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὗτοι οὔπερ ἱππέες καλέονται, μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Τεγεστικῶν· μῦνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Σπαρτιῆται προέπεμψαν. 95. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος, τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἑὸν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθόνῳ καταμαργέων ἐνείκεε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἄπιξιν προφέρων, ὡς διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχοι τὰ γέρεα τὰ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἑωυτόν. ὁ δὲ, ἐπεῖτε οὐκ ἐπαύετο ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Τιμόδημος, εἶπε· Οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὗτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἐὼν Βελβινίτης ἐτιμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὗτ' ἂν σὺ, ὦνθρωπε, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος.

96. Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ὁ Ξέρξῳ περιγεγόμενος, ὡς προσέμιξε τῇ Ἀσίῃ φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπόρθμευσε ἐς Ἀβυδον, ἐχειμέρισε ἐν Κύμῃ.



NOTES.

XENOPHON: ANABASIS.

THE Expedition of Cyrus the Younger against his brother Artaxerxes to wrest from his possession the throne of Persia — the ANABASIS — was made in the year 401 B. C. The march from Sardis began in the spring, and about six months later a battle was fought at the village of Cunaxa, some forty or fifty miles from Babylon. In this battle Cyrus was killed in a hand-to-hand encounter with his brother; and the Greeks, though victorious over that part of the opposing force which they had attacked, suffered virtual defeat in losing their leader. They had marched more than 1800 miles from Ephesus to Cunaxa. (See ii. 2. 6.) But this route, the only one with which they were acquainted, was closed to them; for the first part of it lay through the desert of Arabia, in which, had they undertaken to return as they came, they would have perished of hunger. They set out, therefore, northward under the guidance of Ariaeus, who had been the commander of the barbarian forces of Cyrus; but subsequently they entered into negotiations with the King which led to a treaty. By the terms of this treaty Tissaphernes, one of the King's four generals in the battle, was to lead them back in safety to Ionia. Beyond the Tigris, however, Tissaphernes treacherously entrapped five of the generals, four of whom were soon after put to death. Great dejection fell in consequence upon the army; but recovering their courage, especially under the exhortations of Xenophon, they elected new generals, and began their retreat along the upper waters of the Tigris and through the highlands of Armenia to the Greek colonies on the Black Sea. This "Retreat of the Ten Thousand" from the river Zapatas to Trapezus was one of incredible hardship, — a constant fight for about 700 miles through an enemy's country in the winter-time. The account of it by Xenophon contains by far the most vivid picture that has ever been given of the temper, discipline, and endurance of those citizen-soldiers who constituted the armies of Greece; and along with that an authentic and most interesting account of the tribes of

Asiatic mountaineers, who lived just outside the circle of the then civilized world. The Greeks reached Trapezus, the modern Trebizond, at the end of the winter of 400 B. C., and after a month's halt proceeded westward, partly by land and partly by sea, to Chrysopolis on the Thracian Bosphorus opposite Byzantium, which they reached in the summer. After passing over into Thrace and subsequently returning to Asia, in the spring of 399 B. C. they joined the army of Thibron, and, as the "Ten Thousand," disappeared from history. Consult more at length, on the events here described, Smith's *History of Greece*, Chap. XXXVI., or the three excellent chapters of Grote, LXIX. - LXXI. The last constitute a good running commentary on the *Anabasis*.

Cyrus the Younger, the unfortunate leader of this expedition, was the second of the four sons of Darius II., who was the grandson of Xerxes I. In 407 B. C. he was made by his father satrap of Lydia, Phrygia the Greater, and Cappadocia, and military commander (κάρανος) of the forces that mustered at Castölus (*Anab.* i. 1. 2). He could not have been at this time more than seventeen years of age at most, for he was born after his father's accession to the throne. The commission given him by Darius is found in *Hell.* i. 4. 3: καὶ Κύρος (sc. ἀπήντησεν), ἀρξων πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ συμπολεμήσων Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιστολὴν τε ἔφερε τοῖς κάτω πᾶσι τὸ βασιλεῖον σφράγισμα ἔχουσαν, ἐν ᾗ ἐνῆν καὶ τάδε, Καταπέμψω Κύρον κάρανον τῶν εἰς Καστωλὸν ἀθροιζομένων. His high position made it possible for him to aid the Lacedaemonians in the war they were then waging with Athens. And he did this, partly at the direction of his father, who had sent with him large sums of money for this purpose, and partly from his own desire. For there is evidence that even at this time he aspired to the throne, and that foreseeing as possible what eventually took place, the succession of his brother, he was preparing to wrest the government from him by violence if need be. He became the warm friend of Lysander; and, on being summoned to his father's bedside at Babylon in 405 B. C., he turned over to the Spartan admiral the money which he had in hand, and placed at his disposal his entire personal revenue from the province of which he was satrap. The timely aid thus rendered to the Lacedaemonians did much to hasten the end of the Peloponnesian War. As to the fact that funds were furnished by Cyrus, see Thucydides ii. 65: Κύρῳ τε (sc. ἀντεῖχον) ὕστερον βασιλέως παιδί προσγενομένῳ, ὃς παρείχε χρήματα Πελοποννησίοις ἐς τὸ ναυτικόν. An account of him from this time until his death is given in the first book of the *Anabasis*. Consult further Smith's *Dict. of Biography and Mythology*, s. v. CYRUS THE YOUNGER.

Xenophon, the historian of the expedition, was an Athenian gentleman of culture, the pupil and friend of Socrates the philosopher. Neither the date of his birth nor that of his death is known with certainty. It is generally believed, however, that he lived to be more than ninety years of age. From a story that was current in antiquity that he fought at Delium in 424 B. C., it has been concluded that at the time of the expedition of Cyrus he must have been past forty; but judging from the internal evidence afforded by the *Anabasis* itself, he could not have been at this time more than thirty. He himself relates (*Anab.* iii. 1) the circumstances under which he came to join the army of Cyrus. His friend Proxenus was already with the Persian prince, and invited Xenophon to come and join him at Sardis, promising to introduce him to Cyrus. Xenophon did this after consulting the oracle at Delphi, and at the urgent solicitations of Cyrus he joined the expedition. He does not appear, however, with any prominence until after the murder of the generals, when his rare qualities became known and he became the inspiration of the army. During their perilous retreat northward to the sea, he always showed that high-born courage and endurance that have since won the admiration of posterity as they then gained him the complete confidence of his fellow-soldiers. When in 399 B. C. the "Ten Thousand" became incorporated with the forces of Thibron, Xenophon appears to have returned to Athens, but in 396 B. C. he was again in Asia, and in 394 B. C. fought at the battle of Coronæa with the Spartans against the allies. Though an Athenian, he was anti-democratical, and much more in sympathy with the institutions of Sparta than with those of his native city. He was now banished, and took up his residence in Scillus in Elis, where in entertaining his friends, hunting, and writing, he is reported to have lived a happy life. He was subsequently expelled from Scillus by the Elæans and went to Corinth, where he died. Though the decree of banishment against him was eventually repealed, there is no evidence that he ever returned to Athens. Xenophon was a prolific writer. His most celebrated works besides the *Anabasis* are the *Memorabilia* (Memorials of Socrates) in 4 books, the *Hellenica* (a continuation of the history of Thucydides) in 7 books, and the *Cyropædæia* (an historical novel) in 8 books. His style is perspicuous and unaffected. Consult also Smith's *Dict. of Biography and Mythology*, s. v. XENOPHON; and on the question of his age at the time of the *Anabasis*, an interesting article by Professor Morris in the *Proceedings of the American Philological Association* for 1874.

BOOK FIRST.

THE LEVYING OF AN ARMY.—THE MARCH TO THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF
BABYLON.—THE BATTLE AT CUNAXA AND DEATH OF CYRUS.

CHAPTER I.

SYNOPSIS: Darius, falling dangerously sick, summons to him his two sons, Artaxerxes and Cyrus (1, 2). On the King's death the former succeeds to the throne, and being persuaded by the satrap Tissaphernes that his brother is plotting against him, he has him arrested. Cyrus, saved from death only by his mother's entreaty, returns disgraced to his province and conceals measures against the king (3, 4). He conciliates all who come to him, sees to his own native troops (5), and secretly collects Greek mercenaries. A part of this army he enlists in western Asia Minor, alleging as a reason that the Greek cities which have put themselves under his protection are in danger from the machinations of Tissaphernes, and lays siege to Miletus (6-8). Other Greek mercenaries are enlisted in the Thracian Chersonesus (9), in Thessaly (10), and in Greece (11).

1. **Δαρείου**, Darius II. or Nothos (**νόθος**, *bastard*), a natural son of Artaxerxes I., and a man of feeble character. He died late in 405 B. C., after a reign of nineteen years. For the case, a predicate gen. of possession, see G.* 169, 1. — **Παρυσάτιδος**, Parysatis, the half-sister, as well as wife, of Darius, a woman of an intriguing and cruel disposition, and of great influence with her husband. — **γεννούνται**, *were born*. For this use of the pres., see G. 200, N. 1. — **δύο**: there were other sons (thirteen children in all), but these are the two now prominently in the mind of the writer. — **πρεσβύτερος . . . Κίρος**, Artaxerxes (*being*) the older, Cyrus the younger. These were Artaxerxes II., surnamed Mnemon (**μνήμων**), on account of his great memory, and Cyrus the Younger, so named to distinguish him from Cyrus the Great, founder of the Persian empire. — **ἡσθένει**, *was sick*, the impf. to denote the continuance of the state (G. 200). The aor. **ἡσθένησε** would mean *fell sick* (G. 200, N. 5 b). **ἀσθενέω** is a denominative verb (G. 128, 2 b; 130, 2) from **ἀσθενής**, *weak*, and this from **α-** priv. (G. 131, 4 a) and **σθένος**, *strength*. — **ὑπώπτεται**: peculiar in augment (G. 105, 1, N. 2). Give its derivation (G. 130, 4) and Latin equivalent. — **τοῦ**, *his* (G. 141, N. 2). — **τὰ παῖδε**: dual, but above, the pl. (G. 33, 1). For the case, see G. 134, 2. — **παρ-εἶναι**, *to be by (him)*, i. e. at Babylon, where he died.

2. **μὲν . . . δέ**: used to correlate the two sentences. See the lexicon, and cf. the case in § 1. **μὲν** is not to be translated. — **ὄν**, *now*, is here continuative, not inferential. Cf. *igitur* in Lat. — **παρὸν ἐρύχχαι**, *was, as it happened, (already) there* (G. 279, 4). — **μετα-πέμπεται**, *sends for, sends after* (G. 191, VI. 3, end), *summons*. — **ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς**, *from his province*.

*The references under G. are to the sections of Goodwin's *Greek Grammar*, revised and enlarged edition of 1879.

For the prep. *ἀπό*, see G. 191, I. 2. — *σατράπην*: pred. acc. (G. 166). The satrap was a *viceroy*, but with great discretionary powers. According to Herod. (iii. 89), Darius I. divided the Persian empire into twenty satrapies. — *ἐποίησε*, *had made*. The Greek was content simply to refer the action to the past, without specifying the time as exactly as we do by the plup. — *καὶ . . . δὲ . . . ἀπέδειξε*, and (*δέ*) *he had also (καὶ) appointed him*, etc., a transition from a relative to an independent clause; not uncommon in Greek. *καὶ* adds the new particular of the investment of Cyrus with military authority (the office of satrap was at first chiefly a civil one); *δέ* is the conjunctive word, and the word between the two is emphatic. — *πάντων*: accent (G. 25, 3, N. 1). — *ἔσοι*, *who*, lit. (*so many*) *as*, the rel. of quantity or number (G. 87, 1). — *ἐς . . . ἀθροίζονται*, *muster in the plain of Castolus*, lit. *gather themselves into*, etc. For the prep. *ἐς*, see G. 191, III. 1. *ἀθροίζονται* is not the historical pres., but pres. to denote a standing fact. It is derived from *ἀθρόος*, *close together* (G. 130, 6). The position of the plain of Castolus, a large and level tract of land in which the troops were annually reviewed, is uncertain, though probably it was in Lydia. — *ἀναβαίνει, ἀνέβη*: this change of tense from the historical pres. to the aor. is common. Note the chiasmic arrangement (*χiasmós*, *crossing*, named from the letter *χ*), *ἀναβαίνει λαβὼν Τισσαφέρην, ἔχων ὀπλίτας ἀνέβη*. — *ὁ Κῦρος*: proper name with the art. (G. 141, N. 1 a). — *λαβὼν*: the part. denotes the attendant circumstance (G. 277, 6). So *ἔχων* following. — *ὡς Φίλον*: Tissaphernes, at this time satrap of Caria, whom Cyrus had superseded on becoming satrap himself, was in fact his enemy, and Cyrus had him accompany him, probably because he feared to leave him behind. He proved, however, a dangerous companion. — *καὶ . . . δέ*: see above. — *τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀπλίτας τριακοσίους*: a body-guard selected from the Greeks then in his service. Cyrus knew well the superiority of the Greeks over the Persians as soldiers. The *hoplite*, lit. *heavy-armed (foot) soldier* (*ὀπλον*), was armed with shield, helmet, breastplate, greaves, spear, and sword. Note the suffix *της*, signifying in denominatives *one who has to do with* (G. 129, 2 b). — *ἀρχοντα*: *appos.* (G. 137, N. 4). — *Παρράσιον*: Parrhasia was a district of Arcadia (in the Peloponnesus) about Mt. Lycæus.

3. *ἐτελεύτησε*, *had ended (his life), died*. See note on *ἐποίησε* in § 2. This use of the aor. for the plup. is especially common after particles of time like *ἐπει*, etc. Cf. the Lat. historical (aoristic) perf. with *postquam*. *τελευτάω* (G. 130, 1) is derived by successive steps from *τέλος*: *τέλος, τελείω, τελευτή, τελευτάω*. — *καὶ κατέστη . . . Ἀρταξέρξης*, and *Artaxerxes had been established in the kingdom*, lit. *settled into*, and so *ἐς* with the acc. — *διαβάλλει*, *falsely accuses*. The current story, that Cyrus had planned to kill Artaxerxes at the time of his coronation, Xenophon evidently believed to be false. For the prep. *πρός*, see G. 191, VI. 6. — *ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει*: opt. by quot. after the idea of *saying* in *διαβάλλει* (G. 243; 201, Rem.). Give the dir. form. — *αὐτῷ*: after the compound verb (G. 187). — *ὁ δέ*, *but he* (G. 143, 1, N. 2). — *συνλαμβάνει*: cf. *comprehendere* in Lat. — *ὡς ἀποκτενών*, *with the avowed object of putting him to death* (G. 277, 3, and N. 2 a). — *ἔκωπησα*

μένη . . . πάλιν: note the diff. between the Greek and English idioms. In Eng., *rescues (ξ) him by entreaty and sends him off again*; but in Greek, *having rescued* (G. 277, 1), lit. *begged him off, sends him*, etc. The use of the part. is much more frequent in Greek than in Eng., and in translating this fact must be constantly kept in mind. — ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν: for the prep. ἐπὶ, see G. 191, VI. 2.

4. ὁ δέ: cf. note on ὁ δέ in § 3. — ὥς, *as, when*, rel. adv. of time. — ἀπῆλθε: accent (G. 26, N. 1). — ἀτιμασθείς: ἀτιμάζω is derived (G. 130, 5) from ἀ-τιμος (*without honor*). Cf. τιμή, τίω. — βουλεύεται . . . ἐκείνου, *plans that he may never* (G. 283, 2) *in future be* (G. 217) *in the power of* (G. 191, VI. 2, 2, end) *his brother, but if possible may be king* (G. 223) *in his stead*. For the accent of δύνηται, see G. 122, 2, N. 2. For the prep. ἀντί, see G. 191, I. 1. — μέν: correl. to δέ, § 5; his mother's support is contrasted with the steps taken by Cyrus himself to bring about the desired end. — ὑπῆρχε, *supported*, followed by the dat. (G. 184, 2). ὑπάρχω, *to be a foundation or beginning* (ἀρχή): τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, *what one can depend on*. So fond was Parysatis of Cyrus, who in energy and spirit probably resembled her much more than did his brother, that she had endeavored before the death of Darius to induce him to name Cyrus as his successor to the throne, on the ground that he was the first son born after his own succession. It was on this ground, that he was the first son of the King, that Xerxes I. obtained the sovereignty. — βασιλεύοντα: the simple attributive part. (G. 276, 1) modifying as an adj. the foll. noun.

5. ἀφικνεῖτο: common usage would require ἀφικνοῖτο (G. 233, N. 1: *Moods and Tenses*, § 62, N. 1). — παρὰ βασιλέως, *from the presence of the King*, is used with τῶν as an adj., the noun ἄνδρες being omitted (G. 141, N. 3). The whole expression is compressed and would read in full: δοῦντις δ' ἀφικνεῖτο παρὰ βασιλέως τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ, κ. τ. λ. For the prep. παρά, see G. 191, VI. 4. — βασιλέως: βασιλεύς, when used to designate the king of Persia, commonly omits the art. — πάντας: pl., because of the distributive force of δοῦντις. — οὕτω διατιθεῖς . . . ὥστε, *so disposing (them) that*, etc. With δια-τίθημι, cf. Lat. dispono. — αὐτῷ: case (G. 185). So αὐτῷ below at the end. — εἶναι: result (G. 266, 1). — καὶ . . . δέ: this position of δέ, so far from the beginning of the sent., is rare. — τῶν βαρβάρων: to give a substantive a more emphatic position, it is often transferred, generally with change of case, from the dependent to the principal clause. E. g. ὁρῶ τὸν ἄνδρα, δοῦντις ἐστίν, and in Eng., "See the learned Bellario how he writes." So here, normally, we should have ἐπεμελεῖτο ὡς οἱ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ βάρβαροι πολεμῇν, κ. τ. λ. For the case of βαρβάρων as it stands, see G. 171, 2. — πολεμῇν: with ἱκανοί (G. 261, 1). — ὡς εἴησαν, ἔχουσιν: object clause with ὡς and the opt. (G. 217, N. 1). — εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχουσιν: ἔχω and an adverb are often joined in the sense of the verb *to be* and an adj., as καλῶς ἔχα = καλόν ἐστιν, *it is well*, lit. *it has (itself) well*, bene habet. For the formation and derivation of εὐ-νοϊκῶς, see G. 74, 1; G. 129, 13 a.

6. τὴν δὲ . . . βασιλέα, *and he collected his* (G. 141, N. 2) *Greek force as secretly as possible* (lit. *concealing himself*, G. 277, 2, *as most he was able*),

that he might catch the King as unprepared as possible. Cyrus knew that an army of Greeks was his only hope for wresting the throne from his brother with all the resources of the empire at his command. Cf. i. 7. 3. — 'ΕΛληνικήν: a denom. in κίς (G. 129, 13 a).

Page 2. — **ἔτι ἀπαρασκευότατον**: **ἔτι** or **ὥς** is very often prefixed in this way to the superlative to strengthen it. (Cf. *quam maxime*.) In these constructions there is an ellipsis of some form of **δύναμαι**. Sometimes in the case of the superlative with **ὥς** the verb is expressed, as in iii. 4. 48, **ὥς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἐπορεύετο**. Cf. with this the simple **ὥς τάχιστα** in i. 3. 14. Cf. also with **ἔτι πλείους**, as many as possible, in this section, **ὥς ἂν δύνῃται πλείους** in i. 3. 3. — **ὅπως λάβοι**: purpose (G. 216). — **ὣδε**, in the following manner. — **ἰσροίετο**: middle (G. 199, 2). — **συλλογὴν**: from **συλλέγω**. — **φυλακάς**: antecedent attracted (G. 154). Normally **τῶν φυλακῶν ὀπόσων** (G. 153) **εἶχε**, κ. τ. λ. The accent shows that **φυλακάς** is from **φυλακή**, and not from **φύλαξ** (G. 25, 1). State the difference in meaning of the two nouns, and for the suffix of **φυλακή**, see G. 129, 1. — **ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι**: for the prep. **ἐν**, see G. 191, II. 1. — **φρουράρχοις**: **φρουρός**, watcher, guard (**πρό** and **ὄρώ**), and **ἀρχω** (G. 131, 1 & 3). — **λαμβάνειν**, enlist. — **ὥς . . . πόλεσι**, on the ground that Tissaphernes was plotting against the cities (G. 278, 1). Compare **ὥς ἀποκτενῶν** in § 3. — **καὶ γάρ . . . τὸ ἀρχαῖον**, and (this was a plausible reason), for the cities of Ionia had originally (**τὸ ἀρχαῖον**, G. 160, 2) belonged to Tissaphernes (G. 169, 1). **ἦσαν**: impf. used with **τὸ ἀρχαῖον** of a time prior to the main action. **ἀρχαῖος** is derived from **ἀρχή**, beginning (G. 129, 12; cf. 128, 2 b). — **ἐκ βασιλέως δεδομένα**, having been given (G. 277, 6) him by (ἐκ to express the agent) the King. For the prep. **ἐκ**, see G. 191, I. 3. — **ἀφειστήκεσαν**: the perfect of **ἵσστημι** was originally **σε-στη-κα**, which with the ε of the plup. (G. 101, 4) prefixed would become **ε-σε-στη-κεν**. The σ was then transposed and became τ, and from this form by contraction came **εἰστήκεν**. The form **ἑστήκεν** also occurs (G. 101, 4, n.). — **Μιλήτου**: case (G. 191, I. 5). Cyrus had not been invested by his father with the command of the Greek cities of Ionia (Grote, Chap. LXIX.), but these remained, so far as they were subject to Persian control, under the charge of Tissaphernes. When, however, after the accession of Artaxerxes, trouble arose between Cyrus and Tissaphernes, these Greek cities revolted to the former with the single exception of Miletus. See i. 9. 8, 9. This was greatly to the advantage of Cyrus, as it kept his way open to the sea. See the map.

7. **προαισθόμενος**, having become aware (or in Eng. more commonly, becoming aware) beforehand. — **τὰ αὐτά**: distinguish carefully from the following **ταῦτα** (G. 79, 2). In the pl., because the Greek looked at the action of revolting with reference to its parts; but in Eng., this same thing. — **βουλευομένους** (sc. **τινάς**) is in indirect discourse (G. 280). — **ἀποστήναι**: in app. to the preceding **τὰ αὐτά ταῦτα**. — **τοὺς μὲν . . . τοὺς δέ**: relic of the original demon. meaning of the art. (G. 143, 1). — **αὐτῶν**: part. gen. (G. 168). — **ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας** is subordinated to **συλλέξας ἰσχυρὰ**

ὄρκα, when he had taken the fugitives under his protection, he collected an army and laid siege, etc. ἐπολαβὼν καὶ (mark the conjunction) συλλέξας ἐπολιόρκα would mean when he had taken, etc., and had collected, etc., he laid siege, etc. — ἐπολιόρκει: continued action. From πόλις and εἶργω, to hem in. — καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, both by land and sea. For the prep. κατὰ, see G. 191, IV. 2 — ἐκβάλλω, to eject, banish; φεύγω, to flee, be in banishment; κατὰγω, to lead back, restore from banishment; ἐκπίπτω, to fall out, be banished. — καὶ αὕτη . . . στράτευμα, and in this again he had (G. 184, 4) another pretext for collecting (G. 262, 2) an army. αὕτη in agreement with the noun in the pred., since otherwise it would be τοῦτο.

8. ἤξιου . . . αὐτοῦ: he urged (ἄξιω, to think ἄξιον, to claim) on the ground that he was (G. 277, 2) a brother of his, etc. — δοθῆναι: obj. of ἤξιου (G. 260, 1), with πόλις for its subj. — οἱ: the indir. reflex. (G. 144, 2). Accented because it is emphatic (G. 28, N. 1). — ἀρχαν: parallel in const. to δοθῆναι, i. e. he thought it right rather that the cities should be given to him than (he thought it right) that Tissaphernes should control them. — αὐτῶν: case (G. 171, 3). — συνέπραττεν . . . αὐτῷ, co-operated with him in this, lit. did this with (σύν) him. Why is ταῦτα in the pl.? See note on τὰ αὐτὰ in § 7. — πρὸς αὐτόν: used adj. (G. 141, N. 3). πρὸς of personal relation that is hostile (G. 191, VI. 6, 3 δ). — ὥστε ἵσθάνετο: ὥστε with the ind. after a full stop (G. 287). Cf. ὥστε εἶναι in § 5. — Τισσαφέρνη . . . δαπανᾷ, but thought that he (αὐτόν, i. e. Cyrus) was incurring expense (G. 260, 2) about his forces, because he was at war (G. 277, 2) with Tissaphernes (G. 186, N. 1). For the prep. ἀμφί, see G. 191, VI. 1. — ὥστε . . . πολεμοῦντων, consequently he was not at all (οὐδέν, G. 160, 2) displeased at their being at war (G. 278, 1). — καὶ γάρ, and (the more) because, involving an ellipsis, as always. Cf. § 6. — ἀποπέμπω, to send what is due (ἀπό), remit. — ὧν: assimilation in case (G. 153). — ἐτύγγαθεν ἔχων, had previously, as it happened, possessed. Cf. παρὼν ἐτύγγαθεν in § 2. For the tense of ἐτύγγαθεν, cf. ἦσαν in § 6. Note throughout this sect. the use of the impf. to express continuance.

9. ἐν Χερρονήσῳ: the Thracian Chersonēsus (χέρσος, later χέρρος, dry land, as opposed to water, and νῆσος, island; Lat. peninsula). See map. — Ἀβύδου: case (G. 182, 2). — τόνδε τὸν τρόπον, in the following (G. 148, N. 1) manner (G. 160, 2), equal to ὅδε in § 6. — Κλέαρχος: the general most trusted by Cyrus. An account is given of him in ii. 6. 1-15. — ἡγήσθη, came to admire (G. 200, N. 5 δ), aor. of ἀγαμαι. — δίδωσιν: change to the historical pres. Cf. ἀναβαίνειν, ἀνίστη in § 2 and N. — δαραικοῖς: the darics mentioned here were gold coins worth about \$5.40. See note on i. 7. 18. — χρυσίον, gold money, more lit. a gold piece, der. from χρυσός with the suffix -ιον (see G. 129, 8). — ἀπό, by means of. — συνῴλεον, ἐπολέμα: note the diff. in tense. — τοῖς θραξὶ τοῖς . . . οἰκοῦσι: position of the attributive adj. phrase (G. 142, 2). Cf. ἐν Χερρονήσῳ τῇ, κ. τ. λ., above. The acc. Ἑλλησποντον with reference to a preceding state of motion, as in the phrase εἰς τόπον οἰκᾶν, to (go into and) dwell in a place. For the prep. ὅτι, see G. 191, IV. 3. — εἰς, for, of purpose (G. 191, III. 1 δ).

— ἐκούσαι: to be translated by an adv. (G. 138, N. 7). — τοῦτο . . . στή-
τευμα, and in this way again this army was secretly supported (G. 279, 4)
for him.

Page 3. — 10. ξένος: in the sense often of *guest-friend*, a citizen of an-
other state with whom one has a treaty of hospitality, used of both parties,
though commonly, as here, of the *guest* as contrasted with the *host*. The
word often means also simply *stranger*, and again, as below, *hired soldier*,
mercenary. — ὑπό: for this prep., here used to express agency, see G. 191,
VI. 7. — οἱκοι: used as adj. (G. 141, N. 3). For its accent, see G. 22, N. 1. —
ἀντι-στασιωτῶν, *opponents, antagonists*. στασιότης from στάσις, *faction*
(ἵστα-μαι), the suffix -σι- signifying *action* (see G. 129, 3). On the force
of the suffix -τα-, cf. ὁπλίτας in § 2 and note. — αἰτεῖ . . . μισθόν, *asks him*
for pay for (eis) 2000 mercenaries (and) for three months (G. 167, 5). Some-
times rendered, *asks him for about (eis, cf. note on eis, i. 2. 3) 2000 merce-*
naries, etc., but it seems impossible that Cyrus should have been willing to
send off 4000 Greeks on so distant an expedition, when his whole aim was to
gather Greek troops about him as rapidly as possible. On the other
hand, it was an easy matter for him to furnish Aristippus the *means* for col-
lecting this number. — ὥς . . . ἀντιστασιωτῶν, *on the ground that* (cf. the
use of ὥς with ἐπιβουλευόντος in § 6) *in this way he would get the better of*
his opponents. περιγενόμενος ἂν (G. 277, 2) would, if expressed by a finite
mood, be περιγένοιτο ἂν (G. 211). The prot. to this apod. is contained in
οὕτω (G. 226, 1). — μή: with the inf. (G. 283, 3). — καταλίσσai, *to end* (sc.
his quarrel). — πρὶν ἂν συμβουλευέσθῃται: πρὶν with the subj. (G. 240, 1
and 2).

11. Πρόξενον: the particular friend of Xenophon, at whose invitation
the latter took part in the expedition. An account is given of him in ii. 6.
16–20. — ὥς βουλόμενος, ὥς παρεχόντων: the first ὥς shows that βουλόμε-
νος, κ. τ. λ., gives the cause assigned by Cyrus for his command to Proxenus,
the second ὥς shows that παρεχόντων does the same for βουλόμενος, while
ὥς further on before πολεμήσων shows that this part. gives the purpose
declared by Cyrus for ἐκέλευσεν, κ. τ. λ. The further idea, implied in the
first and third cases, that the cause and the purpose were not the *true*
grounds of his action, is derived from the context and is not necessarily
implied by this use of ὥς. Neither is there any conditional force in the
part. with ὥς. Cf. with these three cases of ὥς with the part., the places
where it occurs in §§ 3, 6, and 10. — eis, *into the country of*. — Πισιδας:
the Pisidians were a marauding race, occupying the western range of
Mt. Taurus. See map. — ξένους . . . τούτους, *these* (G. 137) *also being guest-*
friends (G. 136) *of his*. — σὺν τοῖς φύγασι, *with the aid of the exiles*. Cf.
with this the simple dat. Τισσαφέρνει that precedes (G. 186, N. 1), and for
the prep. σὺν, see G. 191, II. 2. — As stated in the prefatory note, Cyrus,
on coming down to the coast as satrap, had used all the means in his power to
get the good-will of the Lacedaemonians. On the termination of the
Peloponnesian War in the spring of 404 B. c., many men whose lives had
been wholly spent under arms were left without employment. This made it

the easier now for Cyrus to collect the army that he wished, an army of trained veterans that could be thoroughly depended upon in a dangerous enterprise. Some of those who accompanied him were, like Xenophon, men of a superior grade, disheartened by the political condition of things that followed the war, and drawn into this expedition by personal admiration for the prince, or personal attachment to some of his officers.

CHAPTER II.

SYNOPSIS: Cyrus, being now ready to set out inland, assembles his troops at Sardis, announcing, in order to conceal his real object, his intention of expelling the Pisidians from their territory (1-4). The king, informed of the real facts by Tissaphernes, makes ready to meet him. Cyrus sets out from Sardis and marches through Lydia across the Maeander to Colossae in Phrygia, where he is joined by Menon (5, 6). Thence he proceeds to Celaenae, a city which the historian describes at some length, where he waits a month and is joined by the rest of his Greek troops. He reviews and numbers these (7-9). Thence he proceeds northwest through Peltae to Κεραμῶν ἀγορά (11), and then east to Καβστρου πεδίον, where Epyaxa, the wife of the king of Cilicia, meets him and furnishes him money with which to pay his troops (11, 12). Thence southeast to Thymbrium and Tyriaeum, where he reviews his whole army (13-18). Thence through Iconium into Lycaonia (19). From here Menon, accompanied by Epyaxa, proceeds due south into Cilicia; Cyrus northeast to Dana (20). After some delay caused by the king of Cilicia, Cyrus himself crosses the mountains and enters Tarsi, which had been abandoned by the king (21-24). Menon had reached this city five days before, having lost two companies in the passage of the mountains (25). Syennesis the king finally obeys a summons from Cyrus, and they seal their compact of friendship with gifts (26, 27).

1. ἐπεὶ . . . ἄνω, *but when at length it seemed good* (not simply *it seemed*, cf. note on i. 3. 11) *to him to proceed* (G. 202, with 1) *inland*. More than a year had been spent in preparation. ἄνω, *up, inland, from the coast*. So ἀνα-βαίνω, ἀνά-βασις. — τὴν μὲν . . . βουλόμενος, *he gave as his pretext indeed (that he was going) because he wished*. Note the voice of ἐποιεῖτο (G. 199, 2). μὲν *implies* the clause with δέ, which if expressed might be, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ ἐπορεύετο. On ὡς βουλόμενος, cf. the note on ὡς βουλόμενος in i. 1. 11. — ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ: prep. repeated, as often. — παντῶν-πασιν: *der.? — ὡς ἐπὶ τούτους, avowedly against these*. — τὸ βαρβαρικόν: sc. στρατεύμα. So with τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. Note the suffix κός (G. 129, 13 a), and cf. ξενικοῦ, below. — ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἦκαν, *to come there also*, i. e. to Sardis, § 4. — λαβόντι, *with* (G. 277, 6). — ὅσον . . . στρατεύμα, *whatever troops he had*. Cf. ὅσους εἶχε φυλακάς in i. 1. 6, with the note, and δ' εἶχε στρατεύμα, below. This attraction of the antecedent (G. 154) is a common const. in Eng. also. — Ἀριστίππῳ: Aristippus did not come in person, but sent Menon (i. 2. 6, and ii. 6. 28). — συνάλλε-γόντι: cf. for the meaning καταλίσσαι in i. 1. 10. — ἀπο-πέμψαι: cf. note on ἀπέπεμψε in i. 1. 8. — τοῦ ξενικοῦ: sc. στρατεύματος, and for the case

see G. 171, 3. — **λαβόντα** : so far removed from **Ξενί**, with which we should expect it to agree (cf. **λαβόντι** and **συναλλαγέντι**, above), that it takes the case of the (unexpressed) subject of **ἦκαν**. See G. 138, n. 8 δ (*Dat.*). — **πλήν** : sc. **τοσοῦτων** (G. 191, I. 5) as antecedent to **ὅποσοι** (G. 87, 1). — **ἀκροπόλει** : show how **ἀκρό-πολις** came to have the meaning of *citadel*.

2. **ἐκάλεσε** : short vowel of the stem retained (G. 109, 1, n. 2 b). — **ἐκέλευσε**, *urged*. Note the chiasmic arrangement, **ἐκάλεσε δὲ τοὺς πολιορκούντας καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐκέλευσε**. — **ὑποσχόμενος . . . οἴκαδε**, *promising* (see **ὑπισχνέμαι**) *them, if he should successfully accomplish the objects* (G. 152) *for which he was taking the field, not to stop until he should restore them to their homes* (**οἴκαδε**, G. 61). Verbs of *promising* (G. 203, n. 2) may take the infinitive either in indirect discourse (i. e. the future), or not in indirect discourse (G. 202) as here. (The fut. **παύσεσθαι** here has only the authority of a correction in one MS.) The dependent verbs, however, except **ἐστρατεύετο**, are constructed on the principles of indirect discourse (G. 248, 1), and we might have had **ἐὰν καταπράξῃ** and **πρὶν ἂν καταγάγῃ**, representing **ἐὰν καταπράξω** and **πρὶν ἂν καταγάγω** of the direct form. On the other hand, **ἐστρατεύετο**, for which, on the principles of indirect discourse, we might have had either **στρατεύοιτο** or **στρατεύεται** (as representing **στρατεύομαι** of the direct form), is not included in the indirect discourse, but is constructed like an ordinary past verb (like those mentioned in G. 243, n. 2); for a fuller explanation of this, see *Moods and Tenses*, § 77, 1, n. 2; § 74, 2, n. 2; § 70, n. 2. — **πρόσθεν πρὶν** : cf. i. 1. 10, and *Moods and Tenses*, § 67, n. 4. — **ἡδύς** : adv. der. from **ἡδύς** (G. 74, 1).

Page 41. — **αὐτῷ** : dat. of indir. obj. (G. 184, 2). — **παρήσαν εἰς**, *arrived at*, i. e. *came to* (**εἰς**) *Sardis and were by* (**παρ-ἦσαν**) *it*. The army was encamped probably outside the city, so that **εἰς** means simply *to*. Sardis was the capital of Lydia and at this time the residence of Cyrus as satrap. See map.

3. **τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων** : cf. **τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως** in i. 1. 5, and the n. — **εἰς**, *to the number of*, with numerals (G. 191, III. 1, c). This word and **ἀμφί**, *about* (G. 191, VI. 1, 3), when used in this sense, are still prepositions and take the numeral in the accus. Cf. **πελτασταὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους**, *about two thousand* (acc.) **pellasts** (nom.) below in § 9, where **ἀμφί . . . δισχιλίους** is an adj. phrase. **ὥς** and **ὅσον**, on the other hand, are in this sense adverbs and do not affect the case of the numeral that follows. — **γυμνήτας** : the accent determines the dec. to which the noun belongs, the termination **-ας** being long in the first dec. and short in the third (G. 22, 2). The term **γυμνής**, *light-armed soldier* (der. from **γυμνός**, with which cf. the use of **φίλοι** in iii. 3. 7), as opposed to *hoplite*, is generic, and comprehends the **πελταστής**, *targeteer*, **τοξότης**, *bowman*, and **σφενδονήτης**, *slinger*. — **ὥς**, *about*, see note on **εἰς**, above. — **Μεγαρεὺς** : for the suffix see G. 129, 10. — **ἦν** : in agreement with the nearer subj. (G. 135, n. 1). — **τῶν στρατευσάντων** : pred. part. gen. (G. 169, 1).

4. **οὗτοι μὲν** : in contrast with those who joined him later (§ 6 and § 9). Sentences in Greek begin in general, contrary to the practice in Eng., with a conjunction. The exceptions to this principle in Xen. are mainly such

sentences as begin with demonstratives or adverbs of place; cf. οὗτοι μὲν, κ. τ. λ., here, τοῦτον τὸ εὖρος, κ. τ. λ., in § 5, τοῦτον διαβάς, κ. τ. λ. and ἐνταῦθα ἤμυνεν, κ. τ. λ., in § 6, etc. Such sentences are called cases of *asyndeton* (ἀ-σύν-δεσν, δέω, to bind). — αὐτῷ: dat. of advantage (G. 184, 3). — Τισσαφέρνης πορεύεται, κ. τ. λ.: he declares this himself in ii. 3. 19. — κατα-νόησας, remarking, seeing. — ἡγησάμενος: der. from the same root as ἄγω. It has, like *duco* in Lat., the two general meanings of *to lead* and *to think*. — εἶναι: quoted inf. (G. 260, 2). — μέλιστα ἢ ὥς, too extensive to be, lit. *greater than as (it would be, if)*, etc. — ὥς before βασιλέα, to, used only with the acc. of a person (G. 191, III. 2). — βασιλέα: cf. note on βασιλεῖν in i. 1. 5. — ἡ . . . τάχιστα, as rapidly as possible, lit. *in what way* (sc. ὁδῷ, G. 188, 1) *he could most quickly*. — ἱππίας: a denominative in εὖς (G. 129, 2 a).

5. ἤκουσε: with double obj. (G. 171, 2, n. 1). — οὗς: antec. omitted (G. 152). — ὥρμητο: the march began in the spring of 401 B. C. — ἀπό: not ἐξ, out of, because the army was not encamped within the city. — διὰ, through (G. 191, IV. 1). — σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, three days' journey (G. 161). The σταθμός was properly the halting (ἵσταμαι) place (cf. Lat. *sta-bulum*), and so the day's journey or march that preceded. — παρασάγγας: acc. of extent of space (G. 161). The *parasang* was a Persian measure equal to 30 stadia (ii. 2. 6), or about a league (3½ statute miles). — εἰκοσι καὶ δύο: note the conj. (G. 77, 2, n. 2). This made their rate of travel greater than ordinary; according to vii. 8. 26, the average rate was 5½ parasangs per day. — Μαίανδρον: position (G. 142, 2, n. 6). Give the Eng. der. See map. — πλῆθρα: the *plethrum* measured about 101 Eng. feet. — γέφυρα . . . ἑπτὰ, and there was a pontoon-bridge over (it) made of seven boats (G. 188, 1).

6. διαβάς: relatively past (G. 204). Still we render loosely, *crossing this*, etc. — οἰκουμένην, inhabited, many of the cities of Asia being then, as now, deserted, ἔρημοι. — εὐδαίμονα, prosperous. Give its der. — ἡμέρας: acc. of extent of time (G. 161). — Μένων: the general sent by Aristippus. An unfavorable account of him is given in ii. 6. 21–29.

7. ἐνταῦθα . . . ἦν, there Cyrus had (G. 184, 4) a palace. — βασιλᾶς: sc. δόματα. With the pl. used in this way of the separate buildings composing the palace, cf. *aedes* in Lat. Distinguish this word from βασιλᾶς and βασιλεία (both of the first dec.) respectively. — ἦν: agreeing with the nearer subj. (G. 135, 2, and n. 1). — παραδῆσος: a Persian word meaning properly a walled place. What is the Eng. der.? — θηρίων: limiting πλήρης (G. 180, 1; 172, 1). — ἀπὸ ἵππου, on horseback, lit. from a horse, because in hunting the attack upon the animal hunted proceeds from the horse. Where this relation is not to be expressed, the phrase is ἐφ' ἵππου, as in iii. 4. 49, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἦγεν, he led them on horseback. — ὅποτε βούλουτο: a cond. rel. sent. expressing a gen. supposition in past time (G. 233). — διὰ . . . παραδείσου, and through the middle (G. 142, 4, n. 4) of the park, etc. — αὐτοῦ: in the pred. pos. (G. 142, 4, n. 3 a). — πηγαὶ εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων: the more precise statement would be ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, but the gen. is used with ἐκ with reference to the subsequent flowing of the water out from (under) the palace.

Page 5. — 8. ἔστι: accent (G. 28, N. 1 (1), end). — ἐπὶ, *close upon*, with the dat. and a verb of rest. So ὑπὸ (next line), *under, at the foot of*. — καὶ οὗτος, *this also*, i. e. the Marsyas as well as the Maeander. — ἐμβάλλε, *empties*, intransitively. — ποδῶν: pred. gen. of measure (G. 169, 3). — λέγεται . . . ἐκδεῖραι, *Apollo is said to have flayed, etc.*, the pers. const. for the impers., λέγεται Ἀπόλλωνα ἐκδεῖραι. The dir. form of the anecdote would be ἐνταῦθα Ἀπόλλων ἐξέδρασε . . . ἐκρέμασε (G. 246, with note). Μαρσύαν: Marsyas is said to have challenged Apollo to a musical contest, on the terms that the vanquished should be at the mercy of the victor. When Apollo gained the day, he punished Marsyas for his insolence by hanging him to a tree and flaying him alive. (See *Marsyas* in a Class. Dict.) — ἐρίζοντα (G. 277, 2), *in a contest*. — οἱ as indir. reflexive (G. 144, 2 a) refers to Apollo. — περὶ: properly *around* (G. 191, VI. 5). So in a derived sense here, *concerning*, Lat. *de*. — σοφίας, *musical skill*, lit. *wisdom*, der. from σοφός (G. 129, 7). — δῆγμα: note the suff. ματ-, signifying the *result* of the action (G. 129, 4), and for the stem cf. ἐκ-δεῖραι (δερ-), above. δέρω shows the same root that the Eng. word *tear* does. — ὅθεν, *whence*, for ὅθι or οἷ, *where* (G. 87, 2). Cf. εἶναι ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων in § 7 and note. — διὰ: with the acc. *on account of* (G. 191, IV. 1, 2). — Μαρσύας: pred. nom. (G. 136).

9. τῇ μάχῃ, *in the well-known (τῇ) battle* (G. 188, 1), that of Salamis, 480 B. C. For the suffix of μάχη, see G. 129, 1. — λέγεται οἰκοδομησάι: cf. λέγεται ἐκδεῖραι in § 8 and the note. — τοξότας Κρήτας: the Cretan bowmen were celebrated in antiquity. — Σοφαίνερος: if this is the genera mentioned in § 3, the purpose for which he had been left behind must remain in doubt. The numbers given in the preceding sections and the sum total given here (at the end of the section) will not tally. — ἐξέτασιν: from ἐξ-ετάω, *to examine thoroughly*, ἐτάω, from ἐτεός, *real*. — ἔγνοντο οἱ σύμπαντες, *the whole together amounted to*. — ὀπλίζεται, *πελτασταί*: a case of part. appos. (G. 137, N. 2). The second of these nouns is used generically for *light-armed troops* in general, including the γυμνῆτες (§ 3) and the τοξόται (mentioned in this section). — ἀμφὶ τοὺς δυσχάλους: see note on εἰς in § 3.

10. Up to this time the march has been southeast. Cyrus now turns back and marches northwest as far as Κεραμῶν ἀγορά, probably with the double object of increasing his supplies and getting on the main high-road to the east. — ἐν αἷς: sc. ἡμέραις. — τὰ Δύκαια ἔθυσσε, *celebrated the Lycaea with sacrifice*, a festival in honor of Ζεὺς Λυκαῖος, so named from Mt. Lycaeus in Arcadia. τὰ Δύκαια is a cogn. acc. (G. 159). Cf. the phrase πέμπειν Βοηδρόμια, *to celebrate the Boedromia by a procession*. — ἦσαν: in agreement with the pred. nom. (G. 135, N. 4). — σπλεγγίδες: a sort of tiara, made of gold, as here stated, and worn as an ornament for the head. — χρυσαί: der. from χρυσός (G. 129, 14). — Κεραμῶν: probably the gen. of Κεραμοί, the *Ceramians*, though this is uncertain. With Κεραμῶν ἀγορά cf. the Eng. *Newmarket*. — ἐσχάτην πρὸς, *the last bordering on, on the road to*.

11. The rate at which Cyrus marched these three days was very rapid.

His object probably was to meet Epyaxa before his troops became clamorous for their pay. — **Καύστρου πείδιον**, the name of a town (lit. *plain of the Castjer*), a compound noun like **Κεραμῶν ἀγορά**, above. Cf. the Eng. names of places, *Dartmoor* and *Springfield*. — **ᾠφείλετο**, *there was due*. — **πλέον**: used indeclinably for **πλέονων**. — **θύρας**, *quarters*, just as **ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις** in i. 9. 3 means *at court*. — **ὁ δὲ . . . διήγε**, *but he continually put them off with the hope (of getting their pay)*. — **ἀνέμενος**: quoted after **δῆλος ἦν** (G. 280, N. 1). — **πρός**, *in accordance with* (G. 191, VI. 6, 1 a). — **τοῦ Κύρου τρόπον**: the article limits **τρόπου** (G. 142, 1). — **ἔχοντα**, *when able* (G. 138, N. 8 b).

Page 6. — **ἀπ-ήρουν, ἀπο-διδόναι**: note the force of the preposition. But in § 12 simply **δοῦναι**, because Cyrus had in fact no claims on Epyaxa.

12. Syennesis is said to have pursued a double policy and to have endeavored to propitiate both Cyrus and Artaxerxes, determined to keep his throne whichever of the two prevailed. The kings of Cilicia were at this time tributary to Persia. On the Ionic gen. in **Συεννήσιος**, see G. 53, I, N. 3. — **τοῦ βασιλέως**: note the article. — **ἐλέγετο δοῦναι**: the pers. const., but below **ἐλέγετο συγγενίσθαι Κύρον**. — **οὖν**, *at any rate*, i. e. however he got the money, he *at any rate* certainly had it to pay his troops with. Cf. **οὖν**, below, in §§ 22, 25. — **στρατιᾷ**: his *Greek* army. — **φύλακας**: note the accent, and cf. the note on **φυλακάς** in i. 1. 6.

13. **παρά**: with the acc. because of the course of the water, after it has left the **κρήνη**, *along by* the road. Cf. **πηγαὶ ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων** in § 7 and the note. — **κρήνη . . . καλουμένη**, *the so-called* (G. 276, 1) *spring of Midas*, lit. *the spring called (that) of Midas*. — **τὸν Σάτυρον**: Midas, the proverbially wealthy king of Phrygia, is said to have caught the satyr Silenus (the early protector and constant companion of Bacchus) by making the fountain here mentioned flow with wine, instead of water. Another form of the story appears in the account of the "Gardens of Midas," placed by Herodotus (viii. 158) in Macedonia, in which Silenus is said to have been made prisoner by garlands of roses. — **οἶνον . . . αὐτὴν**, *by mixing wine in it*, lit. *by mixing it with wine* (the means, G. 188, 1).

14. **Κύρου**: genitive object of **δεσθῆναι** (G. 172, N. 1). The object inf. **ἐπιδείξαι** (G. 260, 1) is in this case the acc. — **βουλόμενος**: Cyrus was the more willing to gratify her, since he saw the advantage of giving Syennesis a vivid impression of the strength of his army. — **τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων**: the article repeated, because the Greeks and barbarians are not viewed as a single army, but as separate forces.

15. **ὡς . . . μάχην**, *as their custom (was) for battle* (sc. **ταχθῆναι**). **νόμος**, *regulation, custom, law*, from **νέμω**, *to distribute, portion out*. — **στήναι**, *to take their places, not to stand*. — **ἑκαστον**: sc. **στρατηγόν**. — **ἐπὶ τετάρτων**, *four deep*. This made the front of the army very extended. — **εἷχε**: in agreement with the nearer subj. (G. 135, N. 1). — **τὰ μὲν δεξιόν, κ. τ. λ.**: the positions were respectively *the right, the left, and the centre*, named in the order of danger and honor. *The right* was the most honorable position, because a flank attack on this side left the soldier unprotected, the shield

being carried on the left arm. — εὐώνυμον: εὖ and ὄνομα, properly of good name or omen. Hence left, used euphemistically to avoid the ill-omened word ἀριστερός, omens from the left being unlucky with the Greeks.

16. πρῶτον μὲν: correlated by εἶτα δέ in the next line. For the comparison of πρῶτος, see G. 73, 2. — κατ' ὤας . . . τάξεις, by (G. 191, IV. 2, 2 c) troops and companies, respectively of cavalry and infantry. — τάξεις (ταγ-σις), properly a drawing up, as of troops, see G. 129, 3. — τοὺς Ἕλληνας: governed by ἐθεώρει, above. — παρελαύνων: Cyrus rode by the Greeks with Epyaxa rather than have them march by him, probably because in this way they presented a more solid and imposing front. — ἄρμα, chariot (two-wheeled); ἄμαξα, wagon; ἄρμ-ἄμαξα, easy-carriage (four-wheeled), for women and children. — χαλκᾶ: derived from χαλκός (G. 129, 14). — ἔκκεκαλυμμένας, uncovered, a circumstantial part. of manner (G. 277, 2).

17. στήσας: first aorist and so transitive; for its relation to πέμψας, see note on ὑπολαβόν in i. 1. 7. — πρό, before (G. 191, I. 4 a). — μέσης: cf. μέσση in § 7 and note. — προβαλίσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, to present (throw before themselves their) arms. — ὄλην τὴν φάλαγγα, the phalanx in a body (G. 142, 4, n. 5). — οἱ δέ, but they (G. 143, I, n. 2). — ἐσάλπιγγε: an impers. verb (G. 134, n. 1 a). — ἐκ δέ . . . σκηνάς, and they (sc. αὐτῶν, G. 278, 1) after this (G. 191, I. 3 b) advancing more and more rapidly with a shout, of their own accord the soldiers (G. 184, 4) began to run toward the camp.

Page 7. — αὐτόματος, acting of one's own will (αὐτός and μάω, to desire eagerly), Eng. automaton. — ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς: to give the barbarians the impression that they intended an attack. In the next section the Greeks, it is said, ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς ἦλθον, dispersed to their own tents.

18. βαρβάρων: subjective gen. (G. 167, 2). With φόβος, sc. ἦν. — καὶ . . . τε . . . καί: the first καί connects the statement that precedes with the double (τε . . . καί, both . . . and) one that follows. — οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔφυγον, i. e. οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔφυγον. Cf. § 3, and i. 1. 5. — λαμπρότητα: from λαμπρός (see G. 129, 7). — τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύματος: position (G. 142, 2, n. 2, end). — ἦσθη: see ἦδομαι. — τὸν . . . ἰδών, seeing the terror with which the Greeks inspired the barbarians (G. 141, n. 3).

19. ταύτην . . . Ἕλλησιν, this country he gave over to the Greeks to plunder (G. 265). It is at this point that Cyrus first gets out of his own satrapy. — πολέμιος: from πόλεμος (G. 129, 12). — ὡς οὖσαν, on the ground that it was (G. 277, n. 2).

20. τὴν ταχίστην ὁδόν, by the shortest road (G. 159, n. 5), peculiar use of the cogn. acc. (G. 159) to include the road or way over which motion proceeds. — ἀποπέμπτει, συνέπεμψεν: cf. note on ἀναβαίνειν, ἀνέβη, i. 1. 2. — στρατιώτας: without the article, as if attracted into the rel. clause, οὗς στρατιώτας, κ. τ. λ. (G. 154). — αὐτόν, himself, i. e. Menon. — μετὰ: properly among (G. 191, VI. 3). Here in company with. — Δάνα: a neut. pl. See map for the two routes into Cilicia here mentioned. — ἐν ᾧ: sc. χρόνω, and cf. ἐν αἷς in § 10. — φοινικιστὴν βασιλειον, a wearer of the royal purple (φοινίξ), i. e. a nobleman of the highest rank. — καὶ ἕτερον . . . δυνάστην, and a certain other powerful man of his subordinates. In i. 8. 5

Ariæus is called ὑπαρχος (lit. *subordinate commander*). Give the Eng. der. from δυνάστης. — ἐπιβουλευέν αὐτῷ: his charge was, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἡμοί (G. 260, 2).

21. ἡ εἰσβολή: the so-called Πύλαι τῆς Κιλικίας. — ἀμαξ-ιτός: give the der. and cf. G. 131, 1. — ἀμήχανος . . . στρατεύματι, *impracticable for an army* (G. 184, 3) to enter (261, 1). — εἰ τις ἐκάλυνε, *if there was anybody to oppose* (lit. *trying to prevent*, G. 200, N. 2) *them*. — εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων: not with the intention of real opposition, but to give color to his asserted allegiance to the king. — εἶναι: quoted (G. 246). — διδ, *wherefore*, i. e. διὰ δ. — ὅσπερ αἶψα: sc. ἡμέρᾳ. For the case, see G. 189. — ὅτι λελουπὸς εἴη, κ. τ. λ.: the messenger's announcement continues to the end of the section. He said, λελουπὲ, or λελουπὸς ἐστὶ (see G. 118, 4), Συέννης, κ. τ. λ., *Syennesis has left the heights since (ἐπεὶ) he learned, etc., and because (καὶ ὅτι) he heard, etc.* The clause beginning ὅτι τὸ Μένωνος is quoted after ἥσθετο (see on this form G. 247, with N. 2), ἦν occurring where εἴη or ἐστὶ would be more regular (G. 243, N. 2). The order of the last of the sentence is, ὅτι ἤκουε (G. 247) Ταμῶν (G. 42, 2) ἔχοντα (G. 280) τριήρεις περιπλεούσας. The τριήρεις περιπλεούσας, being a much more important fact than the Ταμῶν ἔχοντα, is put first, and seems to be the clause quoted after ἤκουε, but is not.

22. οὖν, *at any rate*, i. e. whatever the reason was that Syennesis left the heights. Cf. § 12. — οὐδενὸς καλύοντος, *without hindrance*, manner (G. 278, 1). — τὰς σκηνάς, *the camp*, antecedent of the relative adverb οὗ, *where*.

Page 8. — ἐφύλαττον: cf. ἦσαν in i. 1. 6, ἐτύγγανεν in i. 1. 8. — ἀνέβη, κατέβαιναν: mark the change of tense. — ἐπύρρυνον: der.? see G. 15, 2. — δένδρων: with σύμπλεων (G. 180, 1). — σύμπλεων: Attic second dec. (G. 64). — πολύ: agreement (G. 138, N. 1 a). — φέρε: not the hist. pres. Cf. note on ἀδροῖζονται, i. 1. 2. — ὄρος (Mt. Taurus) δ' αὐτὸ (i. e. τὸ πεδίον) περιέχεα, κ. τ. λ.: see the map.

23. Ταρσοῦς, *Tarsi* or *Tarsus*, the birthplace of St. Paul. — ἦσαν: irregular agreement (G. 135, 2). Cf. § 7. — μέσον: neut. of μέσος used as a noun, as in the phrase μέσον ἡμέρας, *midday*. The following gen. is part. (G. 167, 6). — ὄνομα, εὔρος: acc. of specification (G. 160, 1). — πλείων: limits ποταμός (G. 167, 6), not εὔρος.

24. οἱ ἐνοικούντες: substantively (G. 276, 2). — εἰς, ἐπὶ: with the acc. in each case, because of the subsequent motion implied in ἐξέλιπον, *abandoned the city for (and fled into) a stronghold up on the mountains*. — πλὴν οἱ . . . ἔχοντες: sc. οὐκ ἐξέλιπον. — οἱ παρὰ . . . οἰκούντες: cf. τοῖς πᾶσι Ἑλλησποντον οἰκοῦσι, i. 1. 9 and note. Those that remained did so for purposes of trade with the army and fleet respectively.

25. προτέρα . . . ἀφίκετο, *reached Tarsi five days* (G. 188, 2) *before* (G. 138, N. 7) *Cyrus* (G. 175, 1). For the comparison of πρότερος, see G. 73, 2. — εἰς τὸ πεδίον: adjectively (G. 142, 1 N. & 2). — οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δέ, *some . . . others* (G. 143, 1). — ἀρπάζοντάς τι κατακοπήναι, *had been cut to pieces* (G. 260, 2) *while committing some act of plunder* (G. 159, N. 2). — τὸ ἄλλο, *the rest of* (G. 142, 2, N. 3). — εἴτα, *then*, taking up the two pre-

ceding participles. — οὖν, *however that was*. Cf. § 22. — ἑκατόν: ordinarily a single λόχος numbered 100 men.

26. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, i. e. of Menon's army. Emphatic position, as also below, Κύρος δὲ ἐπεὶ, κ. τ. λ. — τοὺς Ταρσοὺς: appositive (G. 137). — διήρπασαν: mark the force of the prep. — μετεπέμπετο πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, *summoned repeatedly to himself*. Cf. μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, i. 1. 2. — ὁ δ' οὕτε . . . οὕτε . . . ἤθελε, *but he both declared that he had never before, etc., and was then unwilling*, etc. The Greek often says οὐκ ἔφη εἰθεῖν, where we say *he said that he did not go*, οὐ φημι having the sense *I deny*. Here οὕτε . . . ἔφη . . . οὕτε . . . ἤθελε, lit. *he neither declared (i. e. he denied) nor wished*, is perfectly regular, though it cannot be translated literally. In οὕτε . . . ἔφη the direct discourse was ἦλθον (G. 246); in οὕτε . . . ἤθελε there is no indirect discourse. — οὐδενί (G. 283, 9): the dat. follows εἰς χεῖρας εἰθεῖν (G. 186, n. 1), which implies *union or approach*, and commonly means *to come to a conflict with some one*, and here properly *to come into close relations with (or into the hands of) some one*. See Lidd. and Scott, s. v. χεῖρ, II. d. — ἔναι: sc. εἰς χεῖρας. — πρὶν ἐπεισε, ἔλαβε (G. 240, 1). Note the change of subject in ἔλαβε.

27. Κύρος δέ: sc. ἔδωκε. — παρὰ βασιλεῖ, *at court*, i. e. at the great King's, the article being omitted. — χρυσο-χάλινον, *with gold-studded bridle (χαλινός)*. — ἀκινάκην, *a short sword*.

Page 9. — ἀφαρπάξισθαι: one of the obj. of ἔδωκε supplied above (G. 260, 1). So ἀπολαμβάνειν in the next line. — τὰ δὲ . . . ἀπολαμβάνειν, *and (the privilege of) taking back the slaves that had been seized, if they (i. e. Syenesis and the Cilicians) should fall in with them (i. e. the slaves) anywhere* (G. 223). The apodosis is the inf. (fut. in time) ἀπολαμβάνειν. In place of ἦν που ἐντυγχάνουσιν we might have had εἰ που ἐντυγχάνουσιν (G. 248, 1).

CHAPTER III.

SYNOPSIS: A delay of 20 days at Tarsi is caused by the Greek soldiers, who now suspect that they are being led against Artaxerxes and refuse to go farther. Clearchus, who attempts to force his own troops forward, narrowly escapes being stoned to death. Afterwards, seeming to yield to their wishes, he calls them together and after shedding many hypocritical tears (1-3) details the benefits he has received at the hands of Cyrus, but nevertheless declares his intention to desert him and accompany them wherever they may go (4-6). More than 2000 men desert Xenias and Pasion, and encamp with Clearchus (7). Cyrus sends for Clearchus, who refuses to go but returns an encouraging message (8). Clearchus again assembles his soldiers, and in a cunningly constructed address points out to them the difficulties which lie in the way of their withdrawal from Cyrus (9-12). He is followed by several others (13), one of whom proposes a plan at some length which another immediately proves to be nonsense, both acting at the secret suggestion of Clearchus. They finally agree to send to Cyrus and ask his designs (14-19). Cyrus answers that he wishes to march against Abrocōmas, and promises them half again as much pay as before, whereupon they agree to follow him (20, 21).

1. οὐκ ἔφασαν λῖναι, *refused to go, said they would not go.* Cf. i. 2. 26, and note, and *μισθωθῆναι δι' οὐκ ἔφασαν*, below. — τοῦ πρόσω, *forward*, a prose use of the gen. of place (G. 179, 2), like the adverbs in *οὐ, as τοῦ, where, ὁμοῦ, in the same place, together*, etc. — ὑπώπτευνον: cf. i. 1. 1. — ἐπὶ τούτῳ, *for this* (G. 191, VI. 2, 2 a). — πρῶτος: he was the first to do it; πρῶτον would mean, he did this *first*, and something else afterwards. πρῶτον μὲν, on the other hand (correl. to εἰτα δέ below in § 2), means *in the first place*. Cf. i. 2. 16. — ἐβιάζετο: *attempted action* (G. 200, N. 2). But below the aor. ἤρξατο, (*actually*) *began to move forward*. Clearchus is said in ii. 6. 8 to have been a man of stern will. — ἐβαλλον, *stoned*, sc. τοῖς λίθοις (G. 188, 1), as appears from καταπετρωθῆναι in § 2.

2. μικρόν, *by a little, narrowly* (G. 160, 2). — μή: added to the inf. to strengthen the neg. idea contained in ἐξέφυγε (G. 283, 6). — καταπετρωθῆναι, *being stoned to death* (κατά). — ἔγνων, *had come to know* (cf. note on ἐπελεύτησε, i. 1. 3), and so *perceived*. — ὅτι δυνήσεται: quoted (G. 243; 280, N. 3). — ἐκ-κλησία (καλέω): the Eng. der.? — ἰδάκρυε . . . ἰστάς, *stood* (G. 124, 1) and *wept a long time* (G. 161). — τοιάδε: with ref. to what follows (G. 148, N. 1).

3. ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, *fellow-soldiers*, ἄνδρες prefixed as a term of respect, as in the phrase of the courts, ἄνδρες δικασταί. Clearchus deals with the difficulty with great skill. — μὴ θανμάζετε: pres. imperative in prohibition (G. 254). — χαλεπῶς . . . πράγμασιν, *am greatly distressed* (φέρειν intrans.) *on account of the present troubles* (G. 188, 1). πρᾶγ-μα is properly *the thing done* (G. 129, 4). — ξένος: cf. note on ξένος in i. 1. 10. — ἐγένετο, *became, not was*, cf. i. 1. 9. — τά τε . . . καί, *both honored in other ways* (G. 160, 1) and *in particular*, etc. — οὓς . . . οὐκ . . . ἰδαπάνων, *which I did not, when I had received them, lay up for myself* (used reflexively) *for private use* (or, more freely, *did not devote to my own personal use*), and (lit. but) *did not even squander in pleasure* (κατά, ἡδύς, πάσχω), but *expended* (impf.) *on you*.

4. ὑπέρ, *for, in behalf of* (G. 191, IV. 3, 1 b). — ἐτιμωρούμεν (sc. αὐτούς), *took vengeance upon or punished (them)*. τιμωρεῖν = *to avenge*, τιμωρεῖσθαι (mid.) = *to avenge one's self upon* (some one). — ἀφαιρεῖσθαι: double obj. (G. 164, with N. 2). — ἴνα . . . ἐκείνου, *that, in case he should have* (we might have had ἐάν τι δέηται, G. 248, N.; *Moods and Tenses*, § 55, 2) *any* (G. 172, N. 1) *need (of me)*, *I might aid* (G. 216, 1) *him in return for the benefits I had received from him*, i. e. ἀντὶ τούτων ὧν (G. 153, with N. 1) ἐβέβαλον (G. 165, N. 12) ὑπ' ἐκείνου.

5. ὑμεῖς: emphatic (G. 144, 1). So ἐγώ, below. Cf. also the beginning of § 6. — ἀνάγκη: sc. ἐστὶ. — φιλία: an instrumental dat. (G. 188, 1, N. 2). — εἰ, *whether* (G. 282, 4). — δίκαια: der. from δίκη (G. 129, 12). — οὖν: cf. note on οὖν, i. 2. 12. — ὅ τι ἂν δέη (sc. πάσχειν): a cond. rel. sent. (G. 232, 3). — οὐποτε οὐδέις: emphatic negation (G. 283, 9). — ὡς εἰρόμεν: quoted without change of mood (G. 243). Give the form of the verb in dir. disc. — ἀγαγάν, προδοῦς: for the relation of the two participles, see the note on ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας in i. 1. 7, and cf. στήσας . . . πέψας . . . ἐκένυσε in i. 2. 17.

Page 10. — 6. ἡμοί: dat. of indir. obj. (G. 184, 2). — δ τι . . . πέσομαι: for the use of the moods, cf. § 5, above. — καὶ . . . καὶ . . . καί, *equally* . . . and . . . and. — σὺν ὑμῖν, i. e. *if I should remain with you*, is the prot. (G. 226, 1) to the following ἂν εἶναι, which stands by quot. (G. 246) for ἂν εἴην. In the alternative sentence that follows, the prot. to ἂν εἶναι lies in ἔρημος ἂν, = εἰ . . . εἴην (G. 226, 1; 277, 4). The cond. rel. clause ὅπου ἂν ᾧ, *ubique ero*, presents the supposed future case more vividly than the more regular ὅπου εἴην would have done, — *wherever I may be*, for *wherever I might be*. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 63, 4, (a). The opt. with ἂν, it should be remembered, is sometimes merely a softened expression for the fut. indic. (G. 226, 2, N. 1). — τίμος: der. from the same stem with τιμή (G. 129, 12). — ὑμῶν: gen. after an adj. of *want* (G. 180, 1). — οὐκ ἂν ἱκανὸς εἶναι (= οὐκ ἂν ἱκανὸς εἴην): ἂν (still belonging to εἶναι) is repeated after οὐτε before each of the dependent infinitives (G. 212, 2). — ὠφελησθαι, *ἀλέσασθαι*: infinitives limiting ἱκανός (G. 261, 1). — ὥς . . . ἔχετε, *be of this opinion, therefore, that I shall go*, etc.; or more lit., to show the force of the causal gen. abs. with ὥς (G. 278, 1², end), *since, therefore, I shall (as I say, ὥς) go*, etc., *be of this mind*. — ὅπη ἂν καὶ ὑμεῖς: sc. ἴητε (*Moods and Tenses*, § 42, 3, N. 2²).

7. ταῦτα: with reference to what precedes (G. 148, N. 1). — οἱ τε, the art. receiving the accent from the following enclitic. — ὅτι . . . πορεύεσθαι: explanatory of ταῦτα (G. 243). The direct discourse of οὐ φαίη πορεύεσθαι would be οὐ φημι πορεύεσθαι, *I deny that I am going* (see note on i. 2. 26). — πλείους for πλείονες (G. 72, 2, N. 1). — ἑστρατοπέδουσιν: der. from στρατοπέδον (G. 131, 1). — Note that παρά occurs in this section with each of the three cases (G. 191, N. 1).

8. τοῖς: dat. of cause (G. 188, 1). — στρατιωτῶν: gen. with adverb (G. 182, 2, end). — αὐτῷ: indir. obj. (G. 184, 1). — ἔλεγε θαρρεῖν, *bade him not to be discouraged* (G. 260, 1): λέγω in this use is equivalent to κελεύω; so εἶπον when used with the inf. (G. 260, 2, N. 1). — ὥς . . . δεόν, *since this matter would be settled (G. 278, 1²) in the right way* (G. 139); ὥς (G. 277, N. 2) shows that the participial sentence gives the ground on which Clearchus bade Cyrus to be encouraged. — μεταπέμπεσθαι, *to continue to send for (him)*. — αὐτὸς . . . εἶναι, *but for himself* (modifies subj. of εἶναι, G. 138, N. 8) *he said he should not go*. αὐτός marks the opposition of the two persons, the thought being: "You continue to send for me, but still I'll not go."

9. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, *after this* (G. 191, VI. 3, 3 b). — θ', i. e. τε (G. 17, 1). τῶν . . . βουλόμενον, *any one of the rest* (G. 168) *that wished* (G. 276, 2). — τὸ Κῦρον: πράγματα omitted (G. 141, N. 4). — δῆλον: sc. ἔστι. — οὕτως . . . ἐκείνον, i. e. *his relations to us are in just (περ in ὥσπερ) the same position as ours to him*. — ἐπεὶ γε, *since at any rate*. — ἡμῖν: with the following noun (G. 185). — μισθο-δότης: compound noun expressing the agent (G. 131, 1; 129, 2 b).

10. μέντοι: used in sinister sense: "Though our relations are at an end, he may, *however*, not be done with us." — καὶ μεταπεμπομένου αὐτοῦ, *though*

he continues to send, etc. (G. 277, N. 1b). — τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, chiefly (G. 160, 2): the correl. follows in ἔπατα καὶ — ἀσχυρόμενος, from shame. — ἐφυσμένους: quoted after σύννοια (G. 280, N. 2). — μὴ . . . ἐπιθεῖ: obj. clause (G. 218). — δίκην ἄν . . . ἡδικῆσθαι, punishment for those things (sc. τοῖς) limiting δίκην, G. 153, N. 1) in which (ἄν for ἀ, cognate acc., G. 159, N. 2) he thinks he has been wronged (G. 260, 2) by me, — i. e. punishment for the wrongs he thinks he has suffered from me.

11. ἐμοί . . . καθεύδων, the time, therefore, does not seem to me to be (one) for sleeping (G. 261, 1). δοκέω in the sense simply of to seem takes the inf. in indir. disc. (G. 246). In the sense of to seem good or best, as in the phrase δοκεῖ ἀπέναι, below, the accompanying inf. is not in indir. disc. In either case it is the subj. (not obj.) of δοκέω. Cf. the uses of videor in Lat. — ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ourselves (G. 80; 171, 2). — ὅ τι χρῆ: an indir. question (G. 149, 2^a). — ἐκ τούτων, next (G. 191, I. 3 b), expressing time (sequence) with an implied idea of consequence, in consideration of, in consequence of, the present circumstances. — ὥς μένομεν αὐτοῦ, as long as, while, we are staying here (αὐτοῦ, adv.). ὥς with the pres. ind. never can mean until. — σκεπτικόν εἶναι: in the dir. form (G. 246) σκεπτικόν ἐστὶ (G. 281, 2). — ἀσφαλέστατα: superlative adv. (G. 75). — ὥπως μένομεν: an obj. clause after a verb of caring for with the subj. (G. 217, N. 1). But in the alternative sentence we have the reg. constr. (G. 217), ὥπως ἀπικεν (G. 200, N. 3 b), ὥπως ἔρχομεν. Many editions have μενούμεν for μένομεν by conjecture.

Page II. — ἀνευ, without (G. 191, I. 5). — οὔτε . . . οὐδέν, neither general (G. 167, 1) nor private is of any use.

12. ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος . . . φίλος ᾗ, but the man (i. e. Cyrus) is a valuable (lit. worth much, G. 178, N.) friend, to whomsoever he is a friend (G. 233). — ἐχθρός, πόλεμος, i. e. whomsoever he is at war with (ἐν πολέμῳ), he comes to hate as a personal enemy, so earnest is he. — ναυτικός: from ναῦτης, a sailor, and that from ναῦς. Note the suff. in each case, ἰκός, τής. — ὁμοίως: with πάντες, which we all alike. — δοκοῦμέν μοι καθήσθαι: cf. δοκεῖ in § 11, and the note. — αὐτοῦ: construe with πόρρω, at a distance from him (G. 182, 2). — ὥρα (sc. ἐστὶ): cf. § 11, above.

13. ἐκ τούτου, after this, upon this. — ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου: cf. ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, i. 2. 17. — λέγοντες, to say (G. 277, 3); in the next line ἐπιδικνύντες, showing (G. 277, 3 and 6; Moods and Tenses, § 109, 5, last ex.). — ἐκείνου, i. e. Clearchus. — εἰ: indir. question (G. 243). — ἀπορία: give its derivation. — μέναι, ἀπέναι: with ἀπορία (G. 261, 1).

14. εἰς δὲ δὴ εἶπε, but one in particular proposed. Both this man and the one who answered him in § 16 doubtless spoke at the instigation of Clearchus. — ἐλέσθαι: with εἶπε, with which in the sense of propose or command the inf. is not in indirect disc. (Moods and Tenses, § 15, 2, N. 3). Cf. § 8. The six following infinitives, beginning with ἀγοράζεσθαι, have the same construction with ἐλέσθαι. The conditional sentences dependent on these inf., εἰ μὴ βούλεται and ἐὰν διδῷ (bis), — being dependent clauses in indirect discourse, — might have been each in the opt. (G. 248, 1), although εἰ βούλοιντο would have been ambiguous. So ὥπως μὴ φθάσωσι might have

been opt., like *ὡς ἀποπλίουεν*, above (G. 248, N.). — *ἡ δ' ἀγορὰ . . . στρατεύματι*: thrown in parenthetically by the historian to show the absurdity of the proposition. — *αἰτεῖν*: with two accs. (G. 164). — *πλοῖα*: *transport-vessels, boats*. — *ἐὰν μὴ διδῷ*: the verb of the apod. is *αἰτεῖν*, which after *εἶπε*, *proposed*, is fut. in force. See G. 223. — *φίλλας* (sc. *οὐσης*): pred. adj. (G. 138. Rem.). — *ὅστις ἀπάξει*: purpose (G. 236). — *μηδέ, not even* (G. 283, 2). — *συντάττεσθαι, ἀγοράζεσθαι, συσκευάζεσθαι*: the three uses of the mid. voice (G. 199, 1, 2, 3). — *τὴν ταχίστην*: adv. acc. (G. 160, 2). — *προκαταληψομένους*: sc. *ἀνδρας*. The part. expresses purpose (G. 277, 3). — *τὰ ἄκρα*, i. e. of Mt. Taurus, the pass by which they had entered Cilicia. — *ὅπως φθάσωσι*: purpose (G. 216). Note the three ways in which purpose has been expressed in this section. — *ὅπως . . . καταλαβόντες*, *might not seize them first* (G. 279, 4). — *ὧν* (the antec. is *οἱ Κιλικεῖς*) is a part. gen. with *πολλούς*, but a poss. gen. with *χρήματα* (G. 167, 1 and 6). — *πολλούς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα*, *many men* (as captives) *and much property*. — *ἔχομεν ἀνηρπακότες* = *ἀνηρπάκαμεν καὶ ἔχομεν*: notice the sudden change to direct discourse. — *τοσοῦτον*, *so much only* (as follows). This refusal to take the lead would embarrass them still more.

15. *ὡς μὲν . . . λεγέτω*, *let no one speak of me as likely to be general on this occasion*; the part. with *ὡς* after *λεγέτω* on the analogy of the constr. explained in G. 280. See also *Moods and Tenses*, § 113, N. 10, (c). — *στρατηγίαν*: cogn. acc. (G. 159). — *μηδεῖς*: prohibition (G. 254). — *ἐν-ὧρῳ*, *see in the undertaking*. — *ποιητέον*: sc. *ἐστί* (G. 281). Since *τοῦτο* is in the neut. sing. the construction may be regarded either pers. or impers. at pleasure. — *ὡς πέισομαι*: sc. *οὗτω λέγετε* from the preceding *μηδεῖς λεγέτω*. — *ὅν ἂν ἐλησθε* (G. 232, 3), *quemcunque elegeritis*. We might have had *ᾧ ἂν* (G. 153), for which there is slight MS. authority. — *ἡ δυνατόν μάλιστα*, *to the best of my ability*; *μάλιστα* belonging to *πέισομαι*, and *ἡ*, as (G. 87, 2), to *ἐστί* understood with *δυνατόν*. Cf. *ὡς μάλιστα, ὡς τάχιστα*, and note on *ἐπὶ ἀπαρασκευότατον*, i. 1. 6. — *ἵνα εἰδῇτε*: purpose (G. 216). — *ὅτι καὶ . . . ἀνθρώπων*, *that I know how also to submit to authority as well as any other man that lives*; *μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων*, *in the highest degree* (*best of all men*, G. 168), belongs to *ἐπίσταμαι*, and is really superfluous to the sense after *ὡς τις καὶ ἄλλος*, (*as well as any other man whatsoever* (*καὶ* being emphatic)). For the latter, *εἰ τις καὶ ἄλλος* is more common (see i. 4. 15).

16. *εὐήθειαν*: from *εὐήθης*, *simple-minded*, from *εὖ* and *ἥθος*. Note the suffix (G. 129, 7). — *ὥσπερ . . . ποιοῦμένον*, *just as (we might ask for them, G. 277, N. 3), if Cyrus should make his expedition back again*, i. e. should give up his plans and return home, so as not to need the boats longer. *Κύρου ποιοῦμένον* = *εἰ Κῦρος ποιοῖτο*. — *ὡς εὐήθες εἶη*, *that it was silly* (G. 243), corresponding to *τὴν εὐήθειαν* in the clause with *μὲν*. In the dependent clause *ᾧ λυμαινόμεθα* there is a change to direct discourse (otherwise we should have *λυμαίνονται* or *λυμαίνοντο*, G. 247), which continues to the close of the speech in § 19. — *παρὰ τούτων*: in the place of the simple *τοῦτον*. (Cf. the const. with *αἰτεῖν* in § 14). — *ᾧ*: dat. of dis-

advantage (G. 184, 3). — **πράξις**, i. e. **πραγ-σις** (G. 129, 3), i. e. *plan of operations*.

Page 12. — **εἰ πιστεύομεν** (G. 221, N.), *if we propose to trust*; not equivalent to **ἐὰν πιστεύωμεν**, *if we shall trust*. — **τί κωλύει . . . προκαταλαμβάναν** (ironical): the order is **τί κωλύει** (sc. **ἡμᾶς**) **καὶ κελεύειν Κ. προκ. τὰ ἄκρα ἡμῖν**; The meaning is, that if they propose to trust Cyrus's guide, they might as well show still greater confidence in Cyrus himself, and tell him to secure the heights for them!

17. **ἐγώ**: emphatic. — **γάρ**: the sect. states the grounds for the distrust of Cyrus which the speaker would entertain under the conditions supposed. — **ἂ δόλη**: cond. rel.-clause (G. 232, 4); so also **ᾧ** (G. 153) **δόλη**, following. — **μὴ καταδύση**: obj. clause after a verb of *fearing* (G. 218); so **μὴ ἐγῶν**, following. — **αὐταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι**, *triremes and all* (G. 188, 5). The trireme (**τρεῖς, ἄρῳ**; Lat. *tri-rēmis*) was a war-vessel with three banks of oars. It is hardly possible that the **πλοῖα**, *transports* for troops, here mentioned, can be soberly called *triremes*; it is probable that **αὐταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι** is added to **καταδύση** to heighten the absurdity, — “*fleet and all*,” as we sometimes say “*horse, foot, and dragoons*” or “*bag and baggage*.” There is, however, some MS. authority for omitting **αὐταῖς**, in which case **ταῖς τριήρεσι** will mean *by his own triremes*. — **φοβόμην**: a stronger word than **ὀκνέω**, used to indicate a climax of feeling. — **ἔθεν**, i. e. **ἐκείσε ἔθεν**, *to the place from which*. — **οὐχ οἷόν τε ἔσται**, *it will not be possible* (G. 151, N. 4²). The antecedent of **ἔθεν** is obviously definite (note the neg., G. 230). If he had wished to speak less vividly he would have said, **ἔθεν οὐκ ἂν οἷόν τε εἴη**. — **ἀπιών** = **ἐλπίοιμι** (G. 277, 4). — **ἄκοντος Κύρου**, sc. **δντος**: the adjs. **ἐκών** and **ἄκων** are often used in this way without **ὦν**, as if themselves participles. — **λαθεῖν . . . ἀπελθών**, *to get off without his knowing it* (G. 279, 4).

18. **ἄνδρας**: subj. of **ἐρωτᾶν**. The whole sentence from **ἄνδρας** to the end of § 19 (except the parenth. **οὕτω . . . ἀπιοῖμεν**) is the subj. of **δοκεῖ**. — **οἷτινες**, *such as are* (sc. **εἰσὶ**). — **τί . . . χρῆσθαι**, *what* (G. 149, 2²) *use he wishes to make of us* (G. 188, 1, N. 2, entire). The same use of the cases in **οἷα περ** (for **οἷαν περ** by assimilation, G. 153) . . . **τοῖς ξένοις**. — **πρόσθεν**: for the time referred to, cf. i. 1. 2.

19. **τῆς πρόσθεν**, *than the former one*, sc. **πράξεως** (G. 175, 1). — **ἐὰν φαίνηται, ἄξιόν**: note the not infrequent use of the inf. in a future sense as the apod. of this class of cond. sentence (G. 223). A case just precedes in § 18 in **ἐὰν ᾗ, ἔπεσθαι**, and another follows in **ὅ τι δ' ἂν λέγῃ ἀναγγεῖλαι** (G. 232, 3). — **ἄξιόν**, *demand*, i. e. the deputies (**ἄνδρας**) mentioned in § 18. **ἀναγγεῖλαι** has the same subj.; but **βουλευέσθαι** has **ἡμᾶς** expressed. — **πέισαντα**: e. g. by means of greater pay. Cf. § 21. — **πρὸς φίλων**, *in friendship*. — **ἐπόμενοι, ἀπιόντες**: these might be respectively **ἐλπίομεθα**, **ἐλπίοιμεν** (G. 277, 4). — **φίλοι, πρόθυμοι**: pred. adjs. Give the der. of **πρό-θυμος**. — **πρὸς ταῦτα**, *with respect to this* (G. 191, VI. 6, 3 c).

20. **ἔδοξε ταῦτα**, *this was approved*. The ordinary beginning of an Athenian decree was **ταῦτα ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ**, i. e. *be it enacted by the*

Senate and the People. — *ἠρώτων τὰ δοξαῖα*, made the inquiries agreed upon (i. e. & *δοξεν*). For the dat. with *δοκέω* in this sense (*to seem good or best*), see G. 184, 2. — *ὅτι ἀκούει*: he said *ἀκούει*, *I have heard*, etc. The Greek, like other languages, often uses the pres. of such verbs as *I hear, I learn, I say*, even when their action is strictly finished (*Moods and Tenses*, § 10, 1, N. 5). — *ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα*: note the difference between *ἐχθρός* and *πολέμιος* (see note on § 12, above). — *εἶναι*, *was*, as a matter of hearsay, while *δντα* would have implied more responsibility for the fact on the part of the speaker (G. 280, with N. 3). — *ἀπέχοντα . . . σταθμούς*, *twelve stages off or distant* (*ἀπέχοντα* with *Ἀβροκόμαν*, G. 276, 1). — *πρὸς τοῦτον*, *to him*, with an implied sense of *against*, which would be expressed properly by *ἐπὶ*. — *χρῆζαν ἐπιθεῖναι*: give the dir. form. — *ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ*, κ. τ. λ.: the quot. here becomes direct. It should be noted with what remarkable ease the Greek, contrary to the Eng. idiom, allows this transition from the indirect to the direct form. Cf. § 16.

21. *αἰρετοί*: verbal from *αἰρέω* (G. 117, 3). — *τοῖς δὲ . . . ἦν*, *but they had*, etc. (G. 143, 1, N. 2; 184, 4). — *ὑποψία*: the suff. expresses action (cf. G. 129, 3). — *ὅτι ἀγα*: quoted without change of mood after *τοῖς δὲ ὑποψία ἦν* = *ὑπάπτειον δέ*. But below, after *ἤκουσεν*, with change of mood, *ὅτι ἀγοι* (G. 243). — *πρὸς βασιλία*: as *πρὸς τοῦτον* in § 20. — *ἔδοκει*: why *ἔδοκε* here, but *ἔδοξε* (aor.) in § 20? — *προσαιοῦσι μισθόν*, *ask additional* (*πρὸς*) *pay*. — *ἡμι-όλιον*: der.? — *δώσαν*: note the tense (G. 203, N. 2). — *οὐ*, i. e. *τούτου οὐ*, *than that which*, *οὐ* for *ὅ* by attraction: cf. *ὅ* in § 17 and *ὀλίγω* in § 18. The gen. goes with *ἡμιόλιον*, which has the force of a comparative, *a half more* (G. 175, 1, N. 1). — *δαρεκού*: see note on i. 7. 18. — *τοῦ μηνός*, *each month* (G. 179, 1). — *ἐν τῷ φανερώ* = *φανερῶς* (G. 139, 2). This implies that there was a secret understanding of the real facts on the part of some. The soldiers accuse the generals of this in i. 4. 12. — By the expedient here described Cyrus led the Greeks nineteen stages farther inland (in place of the twelve proposed in § 20) before announcing publicly his real purpose.

CHAPTER IV.

SYNOPSIS: Cyrus proceeds to the river Psarus, thence to the river Pyramus, and finally reaches Issi upon the sea-coast, the last city in Cilicia (1). Here he remains three days, during which time his fleet arrives. He is also joined by the Greek mercenaries who desert from Abrocōmas (2, 3). Hence he proceeds to the Gates of Cilicia and Syria. Abrocōmas does not attempt to bar his passage, but retreats towards Babylon (4, 5). Cyrus advances through Syria, and is deserted at Myriandrus by Xenias and Pasion. It is rumored that he will pursue them (6, 7); but calling his Greek generals together, he announces that he shall not do so. This decision pleases the Greeks, and they accompany him with greater alacrity (8, 9). He crosses the Psarus and reaches the sources of the Dardas, where he burns the palace of the Syrian governor (9, 10). At Thapsacus on the Euphrates he announces the real object of his expedition (11).

The troops refuse to go on without extra pay (12), which Cyrus agrees to give them. Menon, in the mean time, urges his troops to cross the Euphrates before the others decide, and so win the favor of Cyrus by seeming most forward in his service (13-15). They comply, and Cyrus expresses his satisfaction (16). He then crosses the Euphrates with the rest of his troops, and proceeds to the Araxes, where he remains three days (17-19).

Page 13. — 1. It is now the last of spring, and the army has been on the march four months. The distance from Sardis thus far travelled is 222 parasangs. Review on the map the route travelled up to Tarsi. — **στάδιον**: the common Greek standard of length, equal to 606½ Eng. feet, somewhat less than a furlong. This was the length of the **στάδιον**, or course for foot-races, at Olympia, which measured exactly 600 Greek feet. The noun is *heterogeneous* (G. 60, 2): cf. **στάδιοι** in § 4. — **εσχάτην**: without the art., where we should use it. Cf. i. 2. 10. — **ἐπὶ . . . οἰκουμένην**, *situated* (lit. *being inhabited*) *close upon the sea*.

2. **Κύρῳ**: for the case cf. **αὐτῷ** in i. 2. 4, and note. The fleet is the one already mentioned in i. 2. 21. — **ἐπ' αὐταῖς**, *over them*, but below in § 3 **ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν** (**ἐπὶ** with the gen.), *on board the ships*. — **ναύ-αρχος**, *admiral* (for **ναυ-** see G. 131, 1, N.). — **ἡγήτο δ' αὐταῖς**, *conducted them* (G. 171, 3, N.). — **ἐτέρας**, *besides*. So often **ἄλλος**. — **ἐπολιόρκα**, *had been besieging*; so **συνεπολέμα**: the subj. of both of these verbs is a pronoun referring to Tamos. Cf. for the tense **ἐτίγγχανεν**, i. 1. 8. — **ὅτε ἦν**, *since it had been* (G. 250). — **αὐτόν**, i. e. Tissaphernes.

3. **μετάπεμπτος**, *sent for* (G. 117, 3), equal to **μεταπεμφθείς**, and so followed by **ὑπὸ Κύρου** (G. 197, 1). Chirisophus was sent with these troops from Sparta in return for the aid rendered the Lacedaemonians by Cyrus during the Peloponnesian War. He became in the retreat senior commander. — **ὦν . . . Κύρου**, *the command of whom he (now) held under Cyrus*. — **ἄρμουν**, *lay at anchor*, from **ἄρμος**, *a roadstead*. The quarters of Cyrus, it would appear, were pitched close upon the sea. — **οἱ παρ' Ἀβροκόμα**: cf. **τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως** in i. 1. 5, and note. For the gen. **Ἀβροκόμα**, see G. 39, 3. This Doric gen. in Attic is found chiefly in foreign proper names. — **μισθο-φόροι**: give its der. (G. 131, 1).

4. **πύλας**: the article omitted, the noun being used almost as a proper name. The pass itself is here meant. — **ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα**, *and these (gates) consisted of*: **ταῦτα** for **αὐταῖ** because of **τείχη**, and **ἦσαν** for **ἦν** (G. 135, 2) because the two walls were in the writer's mind. — **τὸ . . . τὸ πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας**: position of the attrib. phrase (G. 142, 2). After **ἰσθμῶν**, sc. **τείχος**. — **εἷχε**: not, of course, in person. — **διὰ μέσου τούτων**: cf. **διὰ μέσου τῆς πόλεως**, i. 2. 23, and note. — **ἅπαν τὸ μέσον**, *the entire distance between*. — **τειχῶν**: poss. gen. (G. 167, 1). — **ἦσαν** agrees with **στάδιοι** (G. 135, N. 4). — **καθήκοντα**: to be connected with **ἦν**, **ἦν καθήκοντα** being equivalent to **καθήκε**. — **ὑπερθεν**, i. e. *overhanging* the pass. — **ἐφειστήκεισαν πύλαι**, *gates had been set in each wall*. Here **πύλαι** has its proper meaning of *gates*, large and double like those in a city wall.

5. *ἐνεκα*, on account of (G. 191, I. 5). Commonly placed after the word it governs, or one of the modifiers of that word (as here). — *ἀποβιβάσειν, παρέλθοιεν*: change of subj. Diff. between *βιβάζω* and *βαίνω*? — *εἶσω καὶ ξυ*, i. e. on both sides of the Syrian wall, that he might attack A. both in front and rear. The distance between the two walls was over a third of a mile (three stades). — *εἰ φυλάττουεν*: if the preceding optatives were subjunctives (G. 216, 2) this clause might be *ἐὰν φυλάττωσιν*.

Page 14. — *ὅπερ*, just the thing which, referring to the clause just preceding. — *ἔχοντα*, since he had (G. 277, 2). — *ὄντα*: quoted (G. 280). Cf. *ἀκούει εἶναι* in i. 3. 20, and note. — *ὥς ἔλέγετο*: probably personal, as he was said. Cf. i. 2. 8, note. — *μυριάδας*: Eng. der.?

6. *ἐμπορίον*, mart, Lat. and Eng. *emporium*, from *ἐμπορος* (*περάω, πέρα*, cf. *πορεύω*), a traveller, merchant, distinguished from the *κάπηλος* (cf. *τὰ καπηλεία*, i. 2. 24) by his importing goods in person. — *ἦν*: we might have had *ἔστί*. Cf. *ἀθροίζονται* in i. 1. 2, and note. — *τὸ χωρίον*: the subject; the predicate noun (here *ἐμπορίον*) generally omits the article. — *αὐτόθι*: formed with the suff. *θι* (G. 61). — *ἄλκας* is (properly) a ship that is towed (*ἄλκω*), merchantman.

7. *Μεγαρεὺς*: a gentile noun (see G. 129, 10). — *τὰ . . . ἐνθήμενοι*, putting on board (G. 199, 3) their most valuable effects. — *ὥς μὲν, κ. τ. λ.*: the correl. clause with *δέ* is omitted; but *μὲν* implies that there was another opinion in the camp. — *ἰδούκουν*: personal; cf. note on *δοκεῖ*, i. 3. 11. — *φλοισμηθέντες*, since they were jealous (G. 277, 2): *ὅτι . . . εἰα Κύρος* is also causal (G. 250). — *ἀπελθόντας*: see i. 3. 7. — *ὥς ἀπίνοντας*: purpose (G. 277, 3; 200, n. 3 b). Cf. *ὥς ἀποκτενών*, i. 1. 3. — *καὶ οὐ*: sc. *λόντας* from the preceding *ἀπίνοντας*. — *διήλθε λόγος*, a report went abroad. — *ὅτι διώκοι*: quoted (G. 243). — *τριήρεσι*: the means (G. 188, 1). — *ὥς δειλοὺς . . . ληφθῆναι*, that they might be captured, because (in the opinion of *οἱ μὲν*, G. 277, n. 2) they were cowards. — *εἰ ἀλώσονται*: fut. of *ἀλίσκομαι*. For the mood, G. 226, 4, n. 1; 248, 2. For *εἰ ἀλώσονται* of the direct form, see G. 223, n. 1. Cyrus had already shown how severe he could be. Cf. i. 2. 20. A striking general instance of this is given in i. 9. 13.

8. *ἀλλ' . . . ἐπιστάσθωσαν*, but, however, let them well (emphasized by *γε*) know. — *ἀποδεδράκασιν, ἀποπεφύγασιν*: the first means to escape by stealth, like a runaway slave; the second, to escape by rapid flight, so as not to be caught. The clauses that follow make this distinction clear. — *ὅπη σχόνται*, in what direction (G. 87, 2) they are gone (G. 200, n. 3). — *τριήρεις, πλοῖον*: cf. note on i. 3. 17. — *ὥστε εἶναι*: result (G. 266, 1). — *μὰ τοὺς θεούς*: note that the oath is neg. (G. 163). — *οὐδ' . . . οὐδέεις*: emphatic neg. (G. 283, 9). — *ἕως ἂν παρῇ τις*, as long as any one stays by me, general suppos. in pres. time (G. 233). So *ἐπαδὸν βούληται*. — *αὐτοὺς*: pl. though referring to *τις*. Cf. *πάντας*, i. 1. 5, and note. — *κακῶς ποιῶ*, maltreat (G. 165, n. 1'). — *περὶ*, in respect to, to. — *φρουρούμενα*, guarded, i. e. under the protection of the resident garrison. Though the modifier of both *τέκνα* and *γυναικας*, *φρουρούμενα* is neut., since these are looked upon as articles of property. For Tralles, see the map, Lydia. — *τούτων στερήσονται*:

the passive (G. 197, 1) of the const. explained in G. 164, x. 2. — By this unlooked-for clemency Cyrus got the good-will of the Greeks (cf. what immediately follows) and lost little; for though the generals deserted, their troops remained, numbering some 5000 or 6000.

9. *εἰ τις . . . ἀνάβασιν*, if (there was) any one (who) was even somewhat discouraged in regard to the expedition. — *τὴν ἀρετὴν*, the magnanimity.

Page 15. — *μετὰ ταῦτα*: mark the asyndeton. — *δύνα*, which was (G. 276, 1). — *πλέθρου*: pred. gen. of measure (G. 169, 3) after *δύνα* modifying *ποταμόν*, τὸ εἶδος being an acc. of spec. (G. 160, 1); but below in § 10 τὸ εἶδος is the subj. of ἦν understood, πλέθρου having the same const. that it has here. For still another const., see i. 2. 5. — *πραίων*, tame (G. 70, x. 2). — *ἐνόμιζον*, εἶων: cf. ἦν in § 6, and the note. For the two accs. after ἐνόμιζον, see G. 166. — *ἀδικεῖν*: sc. *τινά* as subj. — *Παρυσατίδος . . . δεδομένα*, belonged to Parysatis (G. 169, 1), having been given her for girdle-money (cf. our "pin-money").

10. *Δάρδατος*: the *Dardas*. See the map. Cyrus now gets into the valley of the Euphrates, but does not cross this river until eight days later at Thapsäcus. — *ἦσαν*: cf. for the number, i. 2. 23, and note. — *ἀρξάντος*: note the tense. Belšys had probably fled on the approach of Cyrus, who in consequence treated the country as that of an enemy. — *αὐτὸν ἐξέκοψε*, cut it off; *ἐκ-κόπω* means lit. to cut trees out of a wood. — *κατέκαυεν*: *κατα-καίω*, to burn down (or, as we sometimes say, to burn up); but *ἀνακαίω*, to kindle (kindle up), with reference to the direction of the flames.

11. Cyrus now openly declares the real object of the expedition, which must have already been apparent to the Greeks for some time. Cf. i. 3. 20, and i. 4. 5. They had continued on, however, intending at the Euphrates to demand higher pay (§ 12), which Cyrus now agrees (§ 13) to give them. — *δοτεῖσθαι*: note the tense and give the dir. form (G. 243). — *εἰς βαβυλῶνα*: not at *Babylon*, but connect with ἡ ὁδὸς ἔσονται directly.

12. *ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν*: cf. *συνήγαγεν ἐκκλησίαν* in i. 3. 2. — *ἐχέλιπαινον*: a denom. verb in αἰνω (G. 130, 7) from *χαλεπός*. This anger of the soldiers was, doubtless, more or less feigned, to force from Cyrus the greater pay. — *στρατηγούς*: ease (G. 184, 2). — *αὐτοὺς . . . κρύπτειν*: what they said (speaking of them) was *πάσαι ταῦτ' εἰδότες κρύπτουσι* (G. 200, x. 4), though they have known (G. 277, 5) this for a long time, they have been keeping it secret (G. 246); or, if they addressed them directly, which is more spirited, *πάσαι ταῦτ' εἰδότες κρύπτετε*. Eng. der. from *κρύπτω*! — *οὐκ ἔφασαν ἵνα*: cf. the same phrase i. 3. 1, and note. — *τίς*: Cyrus, of course. — *χρήματα*: it was not an increase of their regular pay (*μισθός*) that they demanded, but a *bounty*. — *ὥσπερ*: sc. *ἔδωκε*, as he had given it. — *προτέροις*: pred. to *ἀναβάσι* (G. 138, 7); the verbal form would be of *ἀνέβησαν πρότεροι*. Cf. *πρότερα*, i. 2. 25. The reference is to the 300 Greeks who accompanied Cyrus to Babylon at the time of his father's death. — *καὶ ταῦτα*, and that too, sc. *ἐποίησε*. — *λόντων*: sc. *ἐκείνων*, referring to the *οἱ ἀναβάντες*. The part. *λόντων* is concessive (G. 277, 5), but *καλοῦντος* causal (G. 277, 2); the latter is opposed to *ἐπὶ μάχην*, not to *λόντων*.

13. ὑπέσχετο δόσειν: he might have used δοῦναι or διδόναι (G. 203, N. 2). — πέντε μνᾶς: about \$90.00. The μνᾶ of 100 drachmas was $\frac{1}{3}$ of a talent; the latter was a weight of silver which at the present day would be worth about \$1080. — ἀργυρίου: genitive of material (G. 167, 4). — ἐπὶ ἡκωσι: cond. rel. clause (G. 232, 3). So μέχρι ἂν καταστήσῃ (G. 239, 2). — τὸν μισθόν: a daric and a half a month (i. 3. 21). — ἐντελής: predicate adj. The der. of ἐν-τελής? — τὸ πολὺ, *the greater part* (G. 142, 2, N. 3 δ). — πρὶν εἶναι, *before it was* (G. 274). This const. occurs again in § 14 (in exactly the words used here) and in § 16. — πότερον . . . ἤ: double indir. quest. (G. 282, 5). — οὐ: accented at the end of the sentence (G. 29, N. 1). The meaning of the word *proclitic*? — τῶν ἄλλων: case (G. 182, 2). — Give the dir. form of all the quoted sentences in this and the preceding section.

Page 16. — 14. πασθήτε: the aor. mid. of this verb is not used, but the aor. pass. has the sense of the mid., *obey*. — οὔτε . . . πονήσαντες, *without either toil or danger* (G. 277, 2). — τῶν ἄλλων: with στρατιωτῶν, *the rest of the soldiers* (G. 142, 2, N. 3). The gen. is in a sort of double const., first with πλέον (G. 175, 1), and then with προ-τιμήσεσθε (G. 177). The object is to emphasize the great advantage over the rest to be gained by following his advice. προτιμήσεσθε is a mid. with pass. force. — τοῖς Ἑλλησιν: subj. of ἐπεσθαι, which in turn is the obj. of δαίται.

15. ψηφίσονται, *to vote*, properly by depositing the white or black pebble (ψήφος) in the urn, but in fact of much broader application: ψήφος, *a worn stone, pebble*, from ψάω, *to rub*. — ὑμεῖς . . . διαβαίνειν, *you (emphatic) will have credit of being the cause of it, since you were the first to cross* (G. 262, 2; 171, 1). — ὑμῖν . . . ἀποδώσει: χάριν οἶδα (fut. εἰσομαι) is the Lat. gratiam habeo, χάριν ἀποδίδωμι is gratiam refero. Transl. *Cyrus will feel his obligation to you and meet it*. — ἐπιστάται: sc. χάριν ἀποδιδόναι. — εἰ τις καὶ ἄλλος: cf. the clause at the end of i. 3. 15. — ἀπο-ψηφίσονται, *vote "No."* — τοῦμπαλιν, i. e. τὸ ἐμπαλιν (G. 11). — ὥς . . . πειθομένους (G. 277, N. 2) *because (as he will feel) you alone carried out his wishes*. — πιστοτάτοις χρήσεται, *will treat you as most trustworthy*: see note on τῶν πιστῶν, i. 5. 15. — λοχαγίας: from λοχ-αγός, as στρατηγία from στρατ-ηγός. — ἄλλον . . . δέησθε (G. 232, 3), *whatever else you may want*: ἄλλον (for ἄλλο) agrees with οὐτινος by inverted assimilation (G. 153, N. 4); it may, however, be explained as a genitive after ταῖςεσθε (G. 171, 1), although τυγχάνω generally takes the accus. when a gen. of the source is added (G. 176, 1), as Κύρου here.

16. ἐπέβηοντο, διέβησαν: note the diff. in tense. — διαβεβηκότες, *that they had crossed* (G. 280). — ἦσθη: see i. 2. 18. — Γλοῦς, *Glus*, son of the admiral Tamos, ii. 1. 3. — Ἐγὼ μὲν . . . μελήσει: note the frequent expression of the pers. pron. in this section to emphasize the contrast. — ὅπως ἐπαινέσεται: this obj. clause (G. 217) is in fact here a gen. (G. 171, 2, N. 2).

17. εὐτυχῆσαι: from εὐ-τυχής, *fortunate* (G. 130, 2). — ἐλέγετο πέμψαι, *he was said to have sent*, personal construction. — μεγαλοπρεπῶς, *with great liberality*, from μεγαλο-πρεπής (G. 74, 1; 131, 1). — τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἄπαν: the order of crossing was: Menon's force, Cyrus and the barbarians,

and then the rest of the Greek army. — ἀντρέω: the comp. of the advrb ἄνω (G. 75, n. 1). — τῶν μαστῶν: μαστός is one of the breasts, στήρνον (i. 8. 26) the breast, chest.

18. οἱ δὲ . . . πλοῖοις: what the inhabitants of Thapsacus said, supplying the ellipses necessary to the const., was οὐ πάποθ' (οὐ-πά-ποτε) οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς διαβατὸς (διαβαίνω, G. 117, 3) ἐγένετο πρὶν εἰ μὴ νῦν (except now, emphasizing οὐ πάποτε), ἀλλὰ (διαβατὸς ἐγένετο) πλοῖοις (G. 188, 1). Note the change of νῦν to τότε in passing from dir. to indir. disc. In the same way the person of the quoted verbs is often changed. — ἀ τότε . . . διαβῆ: a statement added by the historian. — κατέκασεν: plup. in force. — ἴνα . . . διαβῆ: note the mood (G. 216, 2). — ἰδοὺ δὲ . . . βασιλεύουσιν, it appeared accordingly that it (i. e. the lowness of the river) was a divine intervention (G. 139, 1), and that the river had plainly retired before Cyrus, because (he was) about to be king. The sentiment rather of the truculent Thapsacēni than of the historian.

19. ἐπευρίσαντο: because they were about to cross the desert of Arabia. See the map.

CHAPTER V.

SYNOPSIS: The march is continued through the desert of Arabia along the northern bank of the Euphrates (1). The horsemen hunt the wild animals in which the plain abounds (2, 3). The deserted city Corsôte on the river Mascas is reached (4). Thence Cyrus marches thirteen days through the desert, and many of the beasts of burden perish from hunger (5). Grain failing, the soldiers live upon flesh (6). Once during this time the wagons are stuck in the mud, and the Persian nobles assist the barbarians in getting them out (7, 8). Cyrus marches with the greatest speed possible, hoping to find the King unprepared (9). The soldiers cross the Euphrates, on rafts made of skins, to Charmande, where they purchase food and wine (10). Here a dispute arises between the troops of Clearchus and Menon, and Clearchus narrowly escapes being killed (11-14). Cyrus comes up and succeeds in quelling the disturbance (15-17).

Page 17. — 1. τῆς Ἀραβίας: occupied by roving tribes of Arabs called by Strabo Ἀραβες Σκηνῖται (from σκηνή). See map. — ἔχων, wild (G. 277, 6). — ἐρήμους, desert. Eng. der.? — τόπος, region. — ἦν μὲν . . . θάλαττα, the ground was wholly a level plain, just like the sea: ἄπαντα to be construed with πεδῖον, where we should expect rather ἅπαντα modifying γῆ. Cf. iv. 4. 1. — ἀψυθίου: cf. Tristia per vacuos horrent absinthia campos. Ovid. Pont., iii. 1. 23. — ἅπαντα: plur., though the preceding ἴ is sing., if there was anything else, etc., they were all, etc. Cf. ὅστις . . . πάντας, i. 1. 5. — δένδρον . . . ἐνῆν, but there was no tree (emphatic) in it.

2. πλείστοι, very many. — ὄνοι ἀγριοί: Crosby cites Job xxxix. 5-8. — στρουθοί: the στρουθός was properly a small bird of the sparrow kind, but ὁ μέγας στρουθός, the ostrich. (Note the der. of the Eng. word ostrich.) ἡ στρουθός also (fem.) was used without μεγάλη in the same sense. Cf. § 3, below. — ἐπεὶ διώκοι, ἔστασαν (G. 124, 1): for the opt. see G. 233.

So *ἐπεὶ πλησιάζουσιν, ἐποιοῦν*. — *ταῦτόν*: for *τὸ αὐτό* (G. 79, 2, κ., end). — *καὶ οὐκ . . . διαδεχόμενοι*, and it was impossible to capture them, unless the horsemen, taking their places at intervals, hunted (G. 225) them in succession (*διαδεχόμενοι*, sc. *ἀλλήλοις*). — *ἐλαφείοις*: sc. *κρέασι*.

3. *πολὺ γὰρ . . . χρωμένη*, for it withdrew to a great distance in its flight, using its feet in running (manner, G. 188, 1), and its wings (by) raising them like a sail. — *ἂν* (i. e. *ἐάν*) *ἀνιστῇ, ἔστι* (G. 28, N. 1, end): general supposition in present time (G. 225). — *ἦν* resumes the narrative style.

4. *πλεθρίαῖον*: we might have had *πλέθρου* (cf. i. 2. 23). — *ἐρήμη*: not *uninhabited* as opposed to *οἰκουμένη* (i. 2. 6), but *abandoned*. — *ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ* (sc. *ἔστι*) has *Κορσωτή* as pred. nom., as if it were *ὀνομάζεται δέ* (Krüg.). For a different const. used to express the same thought, cf. i. 4. 11. — *περιεφρέτο*: the pass. of a verb made trans. (the simple *ρέω*, to flow, is intrans.) by the prep. in comp., as in Eng., *was flowed about*. — *κύκλῳ*: manner (G. 188, 1). — *ἐπιστρίσαντο*: Corsöte thus appears to have been a depot of supplies in the midst of the desert.

5. *Πύλας*, i. e. *τὰς Βαβυλωνίας*, the pass into Babylonia, on the north of the Euphrates. See map. — *ὑπὸ λιμοῦ*, from hunger (G. 191, VI. 7, 1 c). — *ἄλλο*, besides. — *οὐδέ οὐδέν* (G. 283, 9). — *ὄνους ἄλέτας*, mill-stones. From the ass, as a beast of burden, the term *ὄνος* came to have various derived meanings, as *windlass* in Her. vii. 36 (*ὄνοισι ξυλίνουσι*), and here *the upper mill-stone* — *ἄλέτας* is a noun used adj., lit. *grinders*. — *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν*: why the acc.?

Page 18. — 6. *Λυδίᾳ*: Cyrus the Great, after subduing the Lydians, forbade them, at the suggestion of Croesus himself (Her. i. 155), the use of arms, and required them to teach their sons the arts of music and selling at retail. So they became a race of hucksters. — *καὶ πρίασθαι . . . σίγλων*: expressed in full this would be *καὶ πρίασθαι (τὸν σίτον) οὐκ ἦν, εἰ μὴ . . . βαρβαρικῶ (πρίασθαι ἦν) τὴν καπθῆν, κ. τ. λ.* — *ἀλεύρων*: gen. of material (G. 167, 4). — *τεττάρων σίγλων*: gen. of price (G. 178). — *δύναται, ἰς worth*, transitive. The *siglus* was worth in our money about 22½ cts. — *Ἀττικοῖς*: in agreement with *ὀβολούς*, though modifying also *ἡμιοβόλιον*. — *ἐχώρει*, held, lit. *had room* (*χώραν*) for. The *choenix* was about a quart, and this amount of meal or flour cost about 45 cents in the desert, or more than fifty times as much as it cost at Athens about this time. (See Boeckh's *Public Econ. of the Athen.*, Bk. I. § 15.) — *κρέα . . . διεγίγνοντο*, the soldiers subsisted therefore by eating (or simply on) flesh.

7. *ἦν . . . οὓς*, some of these marches, *ἦν οὓς* being a past form of the common *ἔστιν οἱ* (G. 152, N. 2). In such irregular phrases the verb keeps a fixed form, without regard to the unexpressed subject. — *οὓς*: cogn. acc. (G. 159) to *ἤλαυνεν*. — *μακροῖς*: pred. adj. (G. 138, Rem.). — *ὅποτε βούλουτο*: cf. *ἐπεὶ διώκοι* in § 2, and note. — *καὶ δὴ*: adding a special fact, and once in particular. — *ταῖς ἀμάξαις δυσπορεύτου*, hard (G. 131, 4 b) for the wagons (G. 184, 3) to get through. — *στρατοῦ*: part. gen. with a verb (G. 170, 1). — *συν-εκ-βιβάζαν*, to aid in getting out. So two lines below *συνεπισπεύσαι*, to aid (σύν) in hurrying on.

8. ὥσπερ ὀργῇ just as if (sc. κελεύων as protasis, G. 277, N. 3) in anger (manner, G. 188, 1). — θεάσασθαι: prop. to look upon (with interest or wonder), while ἰδεῖν is to see in general. — πορφύροισι: from πορφύρα, the purple fish, murex (cf. G. 129, 14). — ἑντο, sent themselves, rushed. — ὥσπερ . . . νίκης, just as one would run (i. e. in a foot-race at the public games) to get the victory. περὶ νίκης implies the prot. (G. 226, 1), if he should be running for (περὶ, about, concerning, expressing the aim) victory. — καὶ . . . γηλόφου, even (modifying the entire phrase that follows) down a very (μάλα) steep hill. — ἔχοντες . . . ἀναξυρίδας, having on both the costly tunics and colored trousers which they are in the habit of wearing: τοῦτους marks the dress as one generally known. — ἐνιοι: see note on ἦν οὖς in § 7, and G. 152, N. 2. — εἰς-πήδησαν εἰς: cf. ἐκ-βαλεῖν ἐκ, i. 2. 1, and note. — θάπτον ἢ . . . φέτο, more quickly than (omit ὥς, as, in Eng.) one would have thought (it possible, if he had not seen it). For ἂν φέτο (see οἶμαι) see G. 226, 2 b. — μετέωρους ἐξεκόμισαν, i. e. lifted and carried out.

9. τὸ σὺμπαν, upon the whole, in general (G. 160, 2). — δῆλός . . . σπεύδων, Cyrus himself (ὥς) showed that he was making haste (G. 280, N. 1 and N. 4). — ὁδὸν: acc. of extent of space (G. 161). — ἀναγκαῖον: from ἀνάγκη (G. 129, 12). — ὅσῳ . . . τοσούτῳ, quanto . . . tanto, the . . . the (G. 188, 2). — ὅσῳ . . . μαχεῖσθαι: the thought of Cyrus was, in the dir. form, ὅσῳ ἂν θάπτον ἔλθω, τοσούτῳ . . . μαχοῦμαι (G. 247). — ἀπαρασκευαστοί: pred. adj. — σχολαίτερον: comparative adv. (G. 75) formed as if from σχολῇ rather than σχολαῖος. See the lexicon. — συναγείρεσθαι: in the dir. form, ὅσῳ ἂν σχολαίτερον ἔλθω, τοσούτῳ πλέον συναγείρεται βασιλεὺς στρατεύμα, the greater (will be the) army (that) is now collecting for the King, where συναγείρεται expresses an action in progress, but implies the future size of the army which is now collecting, and would, therefore, be a natural apod. to ὅσῳ ἂν ἔλθῃ (G. 232, 3; cf. 223). — καὶ συνιδεῖν . . . ὅσα, but, further (καί), the attentive observer could see at a glance (συν-ιδεῖν) that the King's empire was strong in its extent of territory and number of inhabitants, etc. συνιδεῖν is first introduced as subj. of ἦν, it was possible to see, and the natural constr. would have been τὴν ἀρχὴν ἰσχυρὰν εἶδαν. But after τὸν νοῦν the writer's point of view changes, and the rest of the sentence is constructed (by *anacoluthon*) as if for συνιδεῖν ἦν the nearly equivalent δὴλὴ ἦν had been used (G. 280, N. 1). — προσέχεν τὸν νοῦν, animum advertere or animadvertere. — πλῆθει, both extent and number, takes the two gen. by *zeugma* (ζεύγμα, joining). — διεσπᾶσθαι: perf. — διὰ ταχέων, with speed, lit. through quick (measures). — εἰ . . . ἐπομένο, i. e. in case of a vigorous attack.

Page 19. — 10. πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, across the river (G. 182, 2), i. e. on its southern bank. — κατά, over against, opposite. — ἐρήμους σταθμούς: see § 1 and § 5, above. — ὄνομα διὰ Χαρμάνδη: see note on § 4, above. — δι-φθέρας: Eng. der.? — σκεπάσματα, as coverings (G. 187, N. 4). — διφθέρας, χόρτου: double obj. (G. 172, 2). — συνίσπων: see συ-σπᾶω (G. 16, 5, N. 3). — ὥς μὴ ἀπεισθαι: result (G. 266, N. 1). — ἐκ, ἀπό: the one out of, the other off of (G. 191, I. 2 and 3). — τοῦτο . . . πλείστον, for this (thing) was very abundant in the country, τοῦτο neuter, though referring to μέλιτης.

11. ἀμφιξάντων τι, *having had some dispute*. — δδικεῖν . . . Μένωνος, *that Menon's soldier* (probably one of two who began the quarrel) *was in the wrong* (G. 260, 2). Note the perf. force of δδικεῖν, to be *δικος*, to have done wrong (*Moods and Tenses*, § 10, 1, N. 4). — ἐνίβαλεν: probably on the spot, with his own staff, after the Spartan fashion. Cf. ii. 3. 11. — ἐχάλεπαινον . . . Κλέαρχω, *took it hard* (χαλεπός), and were exceedingly angry at Clearchus (G. 184, 2).

12. ἡμέρα: dat. of time (G. 189). — διάβαιον: a crossing, first the act (see G. 129, 3) and then, as here, the place. — τὴν ἀγοράν, *the marketing* (see § 10). — σὺν . . . αὐτόν, *with few* (G. 138, Rem.) *about him*, lit. *with those about him (being) few*. — προσ-ήλανε, δι-ελαύνοντα (G. 280): note the force of the prepositions in comp. — ἔησι τῇ ἄξιν, *hurls his axe at him*, lit. *sends* (at him, sc. αὐτοῦ, G. 171, 1) *with his axe* (G. 188, 1). — αὐτοῦ (G. 171, 1). — λίθω: sc. ἔησι.

13. καταφεύγα: diff. in meaning from ἀπο-φεύγω, i. 4. 8? — αὐτοῦ, *there*, i. e. where they were. — τὰς ἀσπίδας . . . θέντας: the left knee was slightly advanced, the shield set firmly in rest upon it, and the spear held in readiness for defence. Clearchus saw that he might be repulsed and obliged to fall back upon his heavy-armed troops. — τοὺς ἰππείας: not mentioned in i. 2. 9. — οἱ ἦσαν αὐτῷ = οὗς εἶχεν. — οἱ πλείστοι: sc. ἦσαν. — ἐκπεπληῆσθαι, *were thoroughly frightened* (G. 202, 2, N. 2; 266, 1). — οἱ δέ, *but others*, as if τοὺς μὲν stood with τρέχειν. — ἔστασαν, *stood (still)*. See G. 124, 1. — τῷ πράγματι: cause (G. 188, 1).

14. ἔτυχε . . . προσιών, *happened to be coming on later* (G. 279, 4). — αὐτῷ (G. 186). — ἐπομένη: in the same construction as προσιών. ἔτυχε . . . ὀπλιτῶν is parenthetic, and σὺν resumes the narration. — εἰς τὸ μέσον, *between*. — ἄγων: sc. τὴν τάξιν.

Page 20. — ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα, *halted under arms*. τίθεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα literally means *to ground arms*, i. e. to stand with the spear and shield resting on the ground. But it sometimes means *to take up any military position* or simply *to appear under arms* (properly in military line), where the original meaning disappears. In § 17, below, κατὰ χώραν ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα means *they moved back to their former places*, i. e. to their quarters, where they had been before the quarrel. It is probable that τίθεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα never means *to stack or pile arms*. — αὐτοῦ . . . καταλευσθῆναι, *when he* (i. e. Clearchus) *had barely escaped*, lit. *had wanted little* (G. 172, 1) *of, being stoned to death*. — λόγοι: optative in a causal sentence (G. 250, N.). — αὐτοῦ refers to Clearchus; but the preceding use of αὐτοῦ is strange, and Krüger proposes to omit it. Others have αὐτοῦ here. — ἐκ τοῦ μέσου, *out from between (them)*.

15. ἐν τούτῳ, *during this time* (sc. τῷ χρόνῳ), *meanwhile*. — καὶ Κύρος, *Cyrus also*. — τῶν πιστῶν: part. gen. (G. 168). The trusty counsellors or attendants of a Persian prince were called οἱ πιστοί. In the *Persians* of Aeschylus, the twelve elders who form the chorus say of themselves (vs. 1) τάδε . . . Πιστὰ καλεῖται (for καλούμεθα Πιστοί).

16. Πρόξενε: Proxenus now seemed more prominent than Menon. — κατακεκόψεσθαι, *shall be instantly cut to pieces* (G. 200, N. 9). — κακῶς . . .

ἐχόντων = ἔδν τὰ ἡμέτερα κακῶς ἔχῃ (G. 226, 1). — τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ὄντων, i. e. ἡ οἱ παρὰ βασιλεῖ ὄντες.

17. ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο, *came to himself, recovered his senses*, Lat. ad se rediit. — παυσάμενοι : sc. τῆς μάχης. — κατὰ χάραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα : see note on § 14, above.

CHAPTER VI.

SYNOPSIS: As the army advances, traces of the King's cavalry are observed. Orontas, a Persian nobleman, turns traitor to Cyrus and offers to go forward with a thousand horse and cut off the cavalry that is laying the country waste by fire, and to this Cyrus consents (1, 2). Orontas then writes to the King, saying that he shall desert to him with his command; but his messenger betrays him and carries the letter to Cyrus, who arrests the traitor and summons seven Persian noblemen and Clearchus to his tent to try him (3, 4). Clearchus afterwards relates how the trial was conducted (5). Cyrus, he says, stated how Orontas had on two previous occasions proved false to him, but had been again received into favor, and then asked the prisoner if he had since received any injury from him. Orontas acknowledged that Cyrus had never been unjust to him, and that he had no reason to expect further mercy (6-8). Cyrus then referred the case to those present, and Clearchus advised that the culprit should be put to death, in which opinion the others concurred. Orontas is led away to the tent of Artapâtes, and is never seen again (9-11).

1. Ἐντεύθεν : from opposite Charmande. See map. — προϊόντων (sc. αὐτῶν), *as they advanced*, but two lines below, προϊόντες, *keeping ahead* (of the army). — ἐφαίνετο, *there appeared continuously* (G. 135, 2, and N. 1). — ὡς . . . ἱππων, *of about 2000 horse* (G. 169, 1). — οὗτοι : to be referred to the ἱππεῖς implied in ἱππων. — εἴ τι ἄλλο, i. e. *whatever else* (cf. i. 5. 1). — γίνα : dat. of respect (G. 188, 1, N. 1). But for βασιλεῖ, see G. 184, 2. — τὰ πολέμα λεγόμενος, *reckoned, in matters pertaining to war* (G. 160, 1). — Περσῶν : part. gen. (G. 168). — καὶ πρόσθεν, *previously also*. — πολέμασας, καταλλαγείς δέ (G. 277, 6).

2. εἰ αὐτῷ δοίη, κ. τ. λ. : Orontas said, εἰ ἡμολ δοίης, ἡ κατακάνοιμι (see κατα-καίνω) ἂν ἡ θλοιμι, κ. τ. λ. (G. 245). — ὅτι : in unusual pos.; we should expect rather ὅτι εἰ αὐτῷ, κ. τ. λ. — ἂν : to be taken also with each of the following opts. (G. 212, 4). — τοῦ κάειν ἐπιόντας, *from attacking* (ἐπιόντας modifying the subj. of κάειν) and *burning* (G. 263, 1). — ποιήσιν . . . δύνασθαι, *would cause that they should never be able*, etc. ὥστε would generally be omitted in this construction. — ταῦτα : subj. of ἔδοκα.

3. ἤτοι, δύνηται : change of mood in part (G. 247, N. 1). — ὡς ἂν δύνηται πλείστους (G. 232, 3) might have been simply ὡς πλείστους. See note on i. 1. 6. — ὑποδέχσθαι : for the force of ὑπό in comp., cf. ὑπο-λαβόν, i. 1. 7. — ἐν-ἦν ἐν : cf. i. 2. 1, and i. 5. 8.

Page 21. — τῆς πρόσθεν : cf. i. 3. 19, and i. 4. 8. — ὁ δέ, *but he* (G. 143, 1, N. 2).

4. ἑπτὰ, *seven of them*, added to restrict τοὺς ἀρίστους. — θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, *to stand under arms*. Cf. ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα in i. 5. 14, and note. —

τρισχάλους: the great number of men detailed (one quarter of the entire Greek force) would seem to show apprehension on the part of Cyrus. Orontas was a man of influence, and doubtless had many friends among the barbarians. It should be noticed, however, that some of the seven Persians summoned to judge Orontas were his relatives (cf. οἱ συγγενεῖς in § 10).

5. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, *not only to him* (i. e. Cyrus) *but also to the rest* (i. e. of the Persians); that is, it was generally known that Clearchus was the most prominent man among the Greeks. — τῶν Ἑλλήνων: part. gen. with μάλιστα (G. 168), the thought being strengthened by πρό in προτιμηθῆναι, *was honored before (the rest)*. — τὴν κρίσιν ὡς ἐγένετο: for ὡς ἡ κρίσις ἐγένετο, *how the trial was conducted*. Cf. note on τῶν βαρβάρων in i. 1. 5. — κρίσις (see G. 129, 3). — οὐ γὰρ ἀπόρρητον ἦν, i. e. ὡς ἡ κρίσις ἐγένετο. — τοῦ λόγου, *the conference* (G. 171, 1).

6. σὺν ὑμῖν βουλευόμενος, *taking counsel with you*. — εἰ τι . . . ἀνθρώπων, *whatever is just*, etc., rel. clause, summed up emphat. in τοῦτο. — πρὸς, *in the sight of* (G. 191, VI. 6, 1, a). — πράξω: subj., not fut. (G. 216, 2). — τούτου: with an emphatic gesture (G. 83, n. 2). — ἐμός: with the art. (G. 147). — εἶναι: purpose (G. 265). — ἐμοί: with ὑπήκουον (G. 185). — ὡς ἔφη αὐτός, *as he himself said* (G. 145, 1). In such cases αὐτός is always adj. (= ipse), never substantive; although in English we can often render it (as here) by an emphatic *he*. Cyrus discredits the statement. Cyrus, probably, in his capacity of military commander (κάρανος) of Western Asia Minor had put Orontas in charge of Sardis. When, therefore, Artaxerxes became King and Orontas renounced the authority of Cyrus, it was an easy matter for him to take forcible and absolute possession of the city. — καὶ ἐγὼ ἐποίησα, *and I brought it about*, dependent on ἐπεὶ, above. The principal clause begins at μετὰ ταῦτα in § 7. — αὐτόν: not the obj. of προσπολεμῶν, which takes the dat. Cyrus began to say, ἐγὼ αὐτόν (*him*, emphat.) προσπολεμῶν (manner) ἐποίησα τοῦ πρὸς ἐμὲ πολέμου παύσασθαι (αὐτόν being subj. of παύσασθαι), but changed the constr. to an *anacoluthon* by inserting ὥστε δόξαι τοῦτω (on which see note on § 2). — δεξιὰν . . . ἔδωκα: among the Persians a pledge of especial solemnity.

7. μετὰ ταῦτα, *since that*, i. e. the pledge given and received. Notice the abrupt change of address from the council to Orontas. — ἔστιν . . . ἡδίκησα, *is* (G. 28, n. 1, end) *there any wrong which I have done you?* — οὐ (G. 29, n. 1): sc. ἔστι (or εἴη); or we may consider οὐ as a direct quotation, “No” (G. 241, 2, n.), like οὐδ’ . . . δόξαμι, below, in § 8. — ἡρώτα, *went on asking*, but the aor. ἡρώτησεν in § 8 with reference to the single question, *asked*. — Οὐκοῦν: expecting an affirm. answer (G. 282, 2). The diff. between this word and οὐκουν? See the lexicon. — οὐδὲν ἀδικούμενος (G. 277, 5): see note on τί ἀδικηθεῖς in § 8. For ἀδικούμενος see the note on ἀδικεῖν, i. 5. 11. — κακῶς ἐπολεῖς (G. 165, n. 1). — εἰ τι ἔδυνω, *in what* (G. 160, 1) *you were able*. — ἔφη, *said* “Yes.” — ἔγνω, *came to know, had ascertained, saw*. — μεταμελεῖν σοι: in the dir. form, μεταμελεῖ μοι (G. 184, 2, n. 1). — ὁμο-λογέω: der.?

8. ἀδικηθεῖς (G. 277, 2), though pass., has τί as cogn. accus. (G. 159;

197, 1, N. 2). So, below, οὐδὲν ἀδικηθεὶς, and οὐδὲν ἀδικούμενος in § 7. — ἐπιβουλευόν (G. 280, N. 1): cf. δηλὸς ἦν ἀνιόμενος in i. 2. 11.

Page 22. — οὐδὲν ἀδικηθεὶς: either a direct quotation, or an indirect quotation with ἐπιβουλευόν . . . γέγρονε understood. — περὶ ἐμῆ: cf. περὶ ἡμῶν, περὶ ἐκείνων in i. 4. 8. — γεγενῆσθαι (G. 246). — Ὅτι γάρ, (I confess) *for in truth*, etc. — ἂν γένοιτο (G. 226, 2 δ). — ἀδελφῶ (G. 186). — ἐπ (G. 241, 2, N.).

9. πρὸς ταῦτα, *in view of this, thereupon*. — πρῶτος, *the first*: what would πρῶτον mean? — ἀποφῆναι: voice? Distinguish from ἀποφῆναι and ἀποφῆναι. — ὅ τι σοι δοκεῖ: indir. quest. depending on the idea of *declare* in ἀποφῆναι γνόμεν. — τοῦτον: expressed three times, contemptuously. — ἐκποδῶν ποιέσθαι, *to put out of the way*. — ὡς δέη, ἦ: final (G. 216). — ἡμῖν, i. e. to you and me, said arrogantly. Why dat.? — τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι, *as far as this fellow is concerned* (G. 268, N.). — τοὺς . . . τούτους, *these (with a gesture) who are your friends of their own free will*, lit. *these your volunteer friends* (ἐθελοντάς, noun, not ἐθελοντας). — εὐ ποιῆν: cf. κακῶς ποιεῖς in § 7.

10. ἐφῆ, i. e. Clearchus, when the trial was over. — Διαβον . . . Ὀρόνταν, *took Orontas by the girdle* (G. 171, 1, N.). — ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, *as a sign that he was capitally condemned*, but, below, ἐπὶ θάνατον, with a verb of motion, *to execution*. — καί, even. — οἷς προσετέχθη, *to whom it was appointed*, sc. ἐξάγειν. — προσεκύνησαν, *προσεκύνησαν*: why a change of tense? προσεκύνησε in application to Orientals means *to prostrate one's self*. — καίτωρ εἰδότες, *although they knew* (G. 277, N. 1 δ). — ἄγουντο: why opt.?

11. σκηπτούχων: der.? Der. of σκήπτρον? — οὕτε οὐδέεις: emphatic neg. (G. 283, 9). So οὐδὲ οὐδέεις, following. — ὅπως (how) ἀπέθανεν: perhaps he was buried alive; see Her. vii. 114, where the historian states that this was a Persian custom. — εἰδώς, *from his own knowledge*. — ἄλλοι ἄλλως, *some in one way, others in another*.

CHAPTER VII.

SYNOPSIS: Cyrus proceeds through Babylonia, and at the end of the third day's march reviews his troops (1). He receives information respecting the King's army, and assembles his Greek officers for consultation (2). He exhorts them to display their zeal in his service (3), describes the manner of a Persian onset, and promises to reward them magnificently in case of victory (4). Gaulites says there are doubts as to the sincerity of Cyrus and his ability to fulfil his promises (5), whereupon the latter reviews the extent of country he hopes to conquer and promises a crown to each Greek (6, 7). The Greeks are much encouraged by these assurances (8). Cyrus expresses a decided opinion that his brother will not refuse to engage with him (9). The Greeks and barbarians are numbered (10), and some account is given of the King's forces (11–13). Cyrus advances a day's march further, and at midday comes to a deep trench dug by the King, beyond which he succeeds in making his way (14–16). The King does not come to an engagement, and traces of his retreat are observed (17). Cyrus rewards the soothsayer Silānus (18), and, concluding that the King has given up the intention of fighting, proceeds with less caution (19, 20).

1. **Ἐντεῦθεν**: probably from near Pylae (i. 5. 5). See i. 6. 1, and note. — **μέσας νύκτας**, *midnight*, pl. with reference to the various watches (φυλακαί) into which the night was divided. — **ἔδοκε**, *he thought*. See lexicon, **δοκέω**. — **εἰς . . . ἔω**, *at daybreak* (G. 42, 2, N. 1); **εἰς** with reference to the time when the dawn shall have been reached (G. 191, III. 1, b). — **μαχοῦμενον**: future (G. 277, 3). — **κέρως**: form and case? See G. 56, 2; 171, 3. — **τοῦ εὐωνύμου**, i. e. of the Greeks, who were next the river. Cyrus drew up (**διέταξε**, *disposuit*) his barbarian force (**τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ**) on the left of the entire Greek force.

2. **ἡμέρα**: case (G. 186). — **αὐτό-μολοι**: **αὐτός** and **μολ-**, *go*; cf. **ἔμολον**, 2 aorist of **βλάσκει**. See also G. 131, 1.

Page 23. — **πῶς ἂν . . . ποιοῖτο**, *how* (G. 282, 1) *he should make the fight*, i. e. if there should be one (G. 226, 2 b). — **παρήγει** . . . **τοιάδε**, *exhorted and encouraged them as follows* (G. 148, N. 1).

3. **ἀνθρώπων**: with **ἀπορῶν** (G. 172, 1), *not because in want of barbarians*. He adds **ἀνθρώπων** contemptuously to **βαρβάρων**, but calls the Greeks **ἄνδρες**. See note on § 4. — **ἀμείνους καὶ κρείττους**, *braver and mightier* (der. from **κράτος**). — **διὰ τοῦτο**: takes up **νομίζων**, *because I thought*, . . . *on this account*. — **προσ-ἔλαβον**: force of the prep. † — **ὅπως ἔσεσθε**: sc. **σκοπεῖτε** (G. 217, N. 4, ex.). — **ἣς . . . ἣς**, *which* (G. 153) *you possess* (see **κτάομαι**) and *on account of which* (G. 173, 1), etc. — **ἴσπε**: see **οἶδα**. — **ἐλοίμην ἂν**: prot. not expressed (G. 226, 2 b. — **ἐνθ' ὧν . . . πάντων**, *in preference to all that* (G. 154, N.) *I have*. The Persian government was an absolute despotism, and regarded all in dependence upon the King as his slaves. In i. 9. 29, Cyrus is called the **δοῦλος** of Artaxerxes. — **πολλαπλασίων**: a multiplicative in **πλάσιος**, derived from **πολύς**. Cf. **δι-πλάσιος**, *twice* (**δύς**) *as many*, etc.

4. **ὅπως . . . εἰδήτε** (see **οἶδα**): not object clause, as above (**ὅπως ἔσεσθε**), but final (G. 216, 1). — **εἰς οἷον . . . ἀγῶνα**, *into what sort of a struggle you are going*; indir. quest. (G. 282, 1). Cf. below, **οἷους γνῶσεσθε ἀνθρώπους**. — **τὸ πλεῆθος**: sc. **ἴστί** — **ἐπείσιν** (G. 200, N. 3 b). — **ταῦτα**, i. e. their numbers and outcry. — **τάλλα . . . ἀνθρώπους**, *as to all else, I feel* (lit. *seem to myself to be*) *even ashamed* (when I think) *what sort of men* (**ἀνθρώπους** with emphasized contempt at the end of the sentence) *you will find those in our country are* (G. 280). — **ἡμῖν** is the ethical dat. (G. 184, 3, N. 6). — **ὅμῶν δὲ . . . γενομένων**, *but since you are* (G. 277, 2) *men* (emphatic), and *if you shall prove yourselves* (= **ἐὰν γένησθε**, G. 277, 4) *of good courage*. With **ἀνδρῶν** and **ἀνθρώπων** here cf. what Herod. (vii. 210) says of the Medes at Thermopylae, **ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνθρώποι εἰεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες**. — **ὅμῶν τὸν βουλόμενον**, *whoever of you* (G. 168) *shall wish* (G. 276, 2). — **τοῖς οἴκοι**, *his friends at home* (masc.); but, just following, **τῶν οἴκοι** (neut.), *things at home*. **τοῖς οἴκοι** is a dative of the agent with the verbal **ζηλωτός**; this is the regular construction with the verbal in **-τός** (G. 188, 3 and 4).

5. **πιστὸς δὲ Κύρῳ**, *in the confidence of Cyrus*. It was probably at the direction of Cyrus that Gaulites spoke. — **καὶ μὴν**: lit. *and in truth*; free Eng., *but yet*. — **διὰ . . . προσιώντος**, *on account of your being* (G. 262, 1)

at such (a critical point) of the danger that is approaching. *κινδύνου* limits *τοιούτου* (G. 168), but *προσδύντος* is still causal (G. 277, 2), the thought being, *you promise*, etc., *because the danger is approaching*. — *ἂν εὖ γένηται* τι: a purposely vague ref. to his present undertaking. — *μεμνήσασθαι* (fut. perf.), serving as simple future to *μémνημαι* (G. 200, N. 6). — *ἐνιοι δέ*: sc. *φασί*. — *οὐδ' εἰ . . . δύνασθαι ἂν* (G. 211), *not even if*, etc., *would you be able* (G. 246; 224). — *μεμνήο*: formed without connecting-vowel (cf. G. 118, I. N.), *μεμνη-ιμην*, *μεμνήμην*, *μεμνη-ιο*, *μεμνήο*, etc. The common forms *μεμνήμην*, *μεμνήο*, etc.

6. *ἔστι* (G. 28, N. 1, end) *πρὸς μεσημβρίαν*, *is (extends) towards the south*. *ἡμῖν* is a dat. of advantage (G. 184, 3). Derivation of *μεσημβρία*? — *μέχρι οὗ*, *to the point at which (down to where)*, neut. relative with prep. (G. 191, I. 5): in full *μέχρι τούτου τοῦ τόπου ἐν ᾧ*. — *τὰ . . . πάντα*, *but all between these (limits)*: cf. *τὸ μέσον τῶν τευχῶν* in i. 4.

7. *τούτων*: with *ἐγκρατεῖς* (G. 180, 1). — *μὴ οὐκ ἔχω δ τι δῶ* (indirect question, G. 244), *that I shall not* (G. 215, N. 1) *know* (lit. *shall not have*) *what to give*; the direct form for *δ τι δῶ* would be *τί δῶ*; *what shall I give?* (G. 256). So *οὐκ ἔχω δ τι εἶπω* (or *τί εἶπω*), *non habeo quod (or quid) dicam*. Here *οὐκ ἔχω* is nearly equivalent to *ἀπορώ*, *to be at a loss*, and the indirect question in *δ τι δῶ*, etc. is plain. But the analogy of the familiar expression *οὐκ ἔχω δ τι δῶ*, *I have nothing to give* (in which the interrogative and relative constructions are sometimes hard to distinguish), gave rise occasionally to the corresponding expression *ἔχω δ τι δῶ*, *I have something to give*, in which the relative character greatly preponderates; and here we have (below) *ἔχω ἱκανοὺς οἷς δῶ*, *I have enough to give to*, where the construction is purely relative. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 65, 1, N. 3 (a). — *ἂν εὖ γένηται* (sc. *τὰ πράγματα*). — *στέφανον*: not, of course, as a badge of sovereignty, but as a mark of distinguished military service, like the medals and crosses of to-day. A crown was often bestowed in this way as a reward of merit among the Greeks.

Page 24. — 8. *ἦσαν*, i. e. the generals and captains. Cf. § 2. — *σφίσιν*: indirect reflexive (G. 144, 2). — *ἐμπιπλὰς τὴν γνώμην*, *satisfying the mind*.

9. *παρεκελεύοντο . . . τάττεσθαι*: had Cyrus followed this advice, the whole course of Persian history might have been changed. — *μάχεσθαι*, i. e. in person. — *ἐαυτῶν*: with *ᾤπισθεν* (G. 182, 2). — *γάρ*: with ref. to an unexpressed statement: (all this advice is unnecessary) or (there is no real danger) *for do you think, Cyrus*, etc. We should say, *What! do you think*, etc. — *Νὴ Δία* (G. 163), *Yes, by Zeus (he will fight)*, sc. *μαχεῖται*. — *ἐμὸς ἀδελφός*, *a brother of mine*: *ὁ ἐμὸς ἀδελφός* would be *my brother*. — *ταῦτα*: with a gesture.

10. *ἐν τῇ ἑξοπλισίᾳ*, *under arms*, in procinctu. — *ἐγένετο*, *was found to be*. — *ἀσπίς . . . τετρακοσία*, 10,400 *shield*, just as we say "a thousand horse." — The sum total here given cannot be made to tally with the numbers previously given separately; and it is unsatisfactory to speculate on the causes of the discrepancy.

11. *ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες*: probably overstated. Ctesias, the King's private physician (mentioned in i. 8. 26), gave the number as 400,000. — *ἄλλοι*, *besides*. Cf. i. 5. 5. — *αὐτὸν*, *moreover*.

12. *τοῦ*: with *στρατεύματος*. — *ἄρχοντες* . . . *ἡγεμόνες*: notice *καὶ* before both the last two titles, while the proper names below have no conjunction. These are both common forms in Greek, while in English we generally use *and* only before the last noun in such a series. — *μάχης*: after *δοτήρησε* (der. from *ὑστερος*) implying comparison (G. 175, 2). — *ἡμέραις* (G. 188, 2).

13. *οἱ* . . . *βασιλέως*, *those who had deserted from the ranks of* (lit. *out of*) *the enemy from (the side of) the great King*, etc. *τῶν πολεμίων*, at the end of the section, depends on *οἱ* (G. 168). The number of prepositional phrases in this short section is worthy of note. — *ταῦτά*: distinguish carefully from *ταῦτα* above.

14. *συντεταγμένῃ τῷ στρατεύματι*: the noun is a dat. of accompaniment (G. 188, 5), and the part. expresses the attendant circumstance (G. 277, 6). This force of the part. will be easily seen, if the idea of accompaniment is dropped and the gen. abs. is substituted, *συντεταγμένου τοῦ στρατεύματος*.

Page 25. — *μέσον* (G. 142, 4, N. 4). — *τάφρος*: the word in itself signifies an *artificial* ditch (cf. *θάπτω*, *τάφος*), but this idea is emphasized by *δρυκτῇ*. — *ὀργυαί*: in apposition to *τάφρος*, where we should expect rather *ὀργυῶν* (G. 167, 5). Cf. *ποδῶν* at the end of § 15. The *ὀργυαί*, the length of the outstretched arms (*ὀρέγω*, *to stretch out*), measured about a fathom (6 feet) and was equal to four *πῆχες*.

15. *παρετέτατο* (G. 109, 6 and 4). — *ἐπὶ*, *upon, over, to the length of*. — *τοῦ τεύχους*: see note on ii. 4. 12. The ditch was dug northward, obliquely (not at right angles, like the wall) to the Euphrates, which here runs about S. E. — *διώρυχες*: sc. *εἰσι*. Derivation of *δι-ᾠρυξ*? — *ρέουσai*, *which flow* (G. 276, 1). — *ρέουσai*, *πλεῖ* (G. 98, N. 1). — *σιτ-αγωγά*: derivation? See also G. 131, 1. — *διαλείπουσι*, *are distant* (from one another), lit. *leave an interval*. — *ποταμοῦ, τάφρου* (G. 182, 2). — Why the ditch had not been completed to the river is not stated. The most reasonable of the many conjectures that have been made with reference to this is, that Cyrus had surprised the King by his rapid marching, and that the latter had in consequence abandoned the work in alarm when almost completed.

16. *προσελαίνοντα* (G. 230). — *παρήλθε καὶ ἐγένοντο*: the point of view shifts; Cyrus being prominent as subject of *παρήλθε*, and the whole army as subject of *ἐγένοντο*.

17. *μέν*: see *τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ* in § 20. — *ἦσαν*: plural, perhaps, because two kinds of tracks are mentioned.

18. *Ἀμβρακιώτην*: force of suffix? See G. 129, 10. — *μάντιν*: der.? — *δαρεικός*: the *στατήρ Δαρεικός*, commonly called *Δαρεικός*, was a Persian gold coin, containing about 125.5 grains of gold. It would, therefore, now be worth about \$5.40 in our gold (\$1.00 having 23.22 grains). Here Cyrus pays a bet of 10 talents (80,000 drachmas) with 3000 Darics, which shows that the Daric was worth 20 drachmas, or \$3.60 in silver. The difference in these two results comes from the change in the proportional values of

gold and silver. In antiquity the proportion was about 10 : 1; now it is about 16 : 1. As the Daric was a gold coin, of course the former value (about \$5.40) is the correct one. The Daric is commonly supposed to have derived its name from Darius, the father of Xerxes. In the same way we have *Napoleon*, *Louis d'or*, etc., as names of coins. — ἀπ' ἐκείνης, i. e. *before that (day)*. — ὅτι τῇ . . . εἶπεν: causal (G. 250). — ἡμερῶν (G. 179, 1). Cf. ἡμέρα, above (G. 189), and σταθμόν, § 14 (G. 161). — Οὐκ . . . μαχεῖται, *he will not fight then at all* (lit. *hereafter*); see οὐκ ἔτι in lexicon. — οὐ: οὐ rather than μὴ μαχεῖται (G. 219, 3, N.), because he is consciously repeating the statement of Silānus (G. 223, N. 1). — ἀληθεύσης, *shall prove to be speaking the truth*; the future apodosis is in δώσειν or δοῦναι understood with ὑποσχοῦμαι. — παρήλθον: see note on i. 1. 3.

19. ἐκάλυε: attempted action. — ἔδοξε: personal. — ἀπεγνοῦναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι, *to have abandoned the idea of fighting* (G. 262, 2; 174). — τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ: sc. ἡμέρᾳ. — ὥστε ἐπορεύετο (G. 237). — ἡμελημένως: adverb formed from the perfect passive participle of ἡμελεῖν.

20. καθήμενος, ἔχων: manner (G. 277, 2). — αὐτῷ: a dative of disadvantage, but στρατιώταις, just below, one of advantage (G. 184, 3).

CHAPTER VIII.

SYNOPSIS: Near the station where he intends to halt for breakfast, Cyrus is met by Pategyas riding at full speed, who calls out that the King and his army are approaching (1). Great confusion ensues (2), and Cyrus gives orders for all to arm and fall into line (3). They begin to form as quickly as possible (4, 5), and Cyrus stations himself at their centre (6, 7). The enemy approach slowly and in silence, prepared for battle (8-11). Cyrus calls to Clearchus to attack the centre where the King is, but he is unwilling to do so (12, 13). The King's army continues to advance, the Greek force being not yet completely in line. Cyrus surveys both armies, and tells Xenophon, who rides up to him, to announce that the sacrifices are favorable (14, 15). The watchword is passed along the ranks of the Greeks, and then they advance chanting the paean (16, 17). They begin to move more and more rapidly, raising a shout to the God of War, at which the barbarians on the right of the King's army give way and take flight (18-20). Cyrus is pleased at the sight, but does not join in the pursuit. He directs his attention towards the King, who is beyond his extreme left, and then, in fear that he may be encircled, moves directly upon him, putting to rout the troops in front (21-24). He attacks the King in person and wounds him, but is himself struck with a javelin and killed. Artapātes dies upon his body (25-29).

1. ἦν (G. 134, N. 1 c). — ἀγορὰν πλήθουσιν, *the time of full market*, i. e. from nine or ten o'clock in the morning until noon. Four parts of the day were designated, πρῶ (ii. 2. 1), ἀγορὰ πλήθουσα, μέσον ἡμέρας (§ 8), and δεῖλη (§ 8).

Page 26. — σταθμός: here *halting-place*. Cf. note on σταθμούς, i. 2. 5. — ἔμελλε, i. e. *Cyrus*. For ἔμελλε καταλύνειν, expressing past intention, see G. 118, 6; *Moods and Tenses*, § 25, 2, N. 2. — καταλύνειν, *to halt* (i. e.

for breakfast), lit. *to unyoke, to loose the horses*. Cf. *καταλύσμεν ἵππους*, *Odys.* iv. 28; and *καταλείπει παρ' ἐμοί*, *he lodges at my house*. — *προφαίνεται* . . . *κράτος*, *comes into view in front, riding at the top of his speed* (lit. *up to his might*). — *ἰδρύνει τῷ ἵππῳ* (G. 188, 5), *with his horse in a sweat*: the part. expresses attendant circumstance (G. 277, 6). Cf. *συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι* in i. 7. 14, and note. — *ὡς εἰς μάχην*, *apparently for battle*.

2. *αὐτίκα*: construe with *ἐπιπείσεισθαι*; put first for emphasis. — *καὶ πάντες δέ*, *and all too*, i. e. Persians as well as Greeks (cf. i. 1. 2, and note). — *σφίσιν* (G. 144, 2). — *ἐπιπείσεισθαι*, i. e. the King (G. 260, 2).

3. Note in the first two lines the repeated use of the article as a possessive pronoun (G. 141, N. 2). — *τὰ παλτά*: each Persian horseman carried two javelins into battle. Cf. i. 5. 15.

4. *τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος*, *the right* (sc. *μέρη, parts*) *of the wing*. *κέρα* here must mean the right wing, *τὸ Ἑλληνικόν*, of the entire force of Cyrus, as opposed to the left wing where most of the barbarians stood (§ 5). This distinction is plain in *ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ* and *ἐν τῷ εὐώνυμῳ* (§ 5). But below, *τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ* means the *left wing* of this same Greek division (or *κέρα*). — *πρός*, *in front of, near*. — *ἐχόμενος*, *next to*, lit. *holding on to*, sc. *Κλέαρχου* (G. 199, N. 3; 171, 1). Cf. *ἐχόμενοι τούτων* in § 9.

5. *τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ*: part. gen. with *ἵπποις* (G. 168). — *εἰς*: cf. i. 2. 3, and note. — *ἔστησαν*, *took their position*. The Paphlagonian cavalry and Greek peltasts were stationed here to support the hoplites under Clearchus and follow up the advantage in case these slower troops should put the enemy to rout.

6. *Κύρος . . . ὀπλισμένοι* (sc. *ἔστησαν*), i. e. *stood armed*. — *ὅσον*, (so much) *as = about*. Cf. note on *εἰς* in i. 2. 3. — *θώρακι μὲν αὐτοὶ . . . Κύρου*, (the men) *themselves on their part (μὲν) with breastplates, cuisses (thigh-pieces), and helmets — all except Cyrus*. The exception refers only to *κράνεσι*, as appears from the following *Κύρος δέ κ. τ. λ. οἱ δ' ἵπποι* (in § 7) corresponds to *θώρακι μὲν αὐτοί*. *Κύρου*: case (G. 191, I. 5). — *ψαλλὴν . . . κεφαλὴν*, *with his head unprotected* (G. 138, Rem.). Ctesias (in Plutarch, *Artax.* 11) says that Cyrus wore a tiara in place of a helmet.

7. Notice the derivation of *προ-μετ-ωπίδια* and *προ-στερνίδια*. — *μαχαίρας*: difference between the *μάχαιρα* and *ξίφος*?

8. Cf. the beginning of this section with that of § 1. — *ἡνίκα . . . ἐγιγμετο*, *but when it began to be* (lit. *was becoming*) *afternoon*. Cf. note on § 1. The battle was fought between this time and dark. — *ἐφάνη*, *there was seen*. — *κοινο-ορτός*: der.? — *χρόνῳ . . . πολὺ*, *but some time* (G. 188, 2) *later* (the dust appeared) *just like a sort of blackness in the plain for a great distance* (ἐπὶ πολὺ). — *χαλκός τις ἤστραπτε*, *here and there (τις) their bronze armor began to flash*.

9. *λευκο-θώρακες*: probably of linen; cf. *λινοθώραξ*, *II. ii. 539*.

Page 27. — *ἐχόμενοι τούτων*: cf. note on *ἐχόμενος* in § 4. — *κατὰ ἔθνη*, *nation by nation* (G. 191, IV. 2, 2 c). — *ἐκαστον τὸ ἔθνος*: in appos. to *οὗτοι*, but attracting *ἐπορεύετο* into an agreement with it: *but these were all proceeding* (normally *ἐπορεύοντο*) *nation by nation, each nation in the form of a solid square*.

10. ἄρματα: sc. ἦν. — καλούμενα: cf. note on καλουμένη in i. 2. 13. — ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων: inserted into the projecting extremity of the axle and stationary. — εἰς πλάγιον, *sideways*. — βλέποντα, *pointing*. — ὡς διακόπτειν: result (G. 266, N. 1). — ὅτῳ (i. e. ὅτῳ, G. 86). — ἐντυγχάνοιεν (G. 248, 2). — ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἦν ὡς . . . ἐλῶντα (see ἐλαύνω), κ. τ. λ., *and they were designed to drive, etc.*; the partic. are nomin., as if γνώμην εἶχεν had preceded, and ὡς is used (G. 277, N. 2) as if the chariots themselves had the design. The *covinni*, or scythe-chariots of the ancient Britons, are well known.

11. δ μέντοι, *what however*, taken up in τοῦτο, two lines below. — καλέσας . . . Ἕλλησι: we might have had (cf. i. 7. 18) καλέσας τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρεκελεύετο αὐτοῖς, but in Greek the obj. is regularly expressed but once. — ἐπεύσθη τοῦτο, *in this* (G. 160, 1) *he was mistaken*. — κραυγῇ: manner: so σιγῇ, ἡσυχῇ. — σιγῇ ὡς ἀνυστὴν, *with as little noise as possible*; in full ὡς ἀνυστὴν ἦν προσιέναι σιγῇ: see note on ἡ δυνατόν μάλιστα in i. 3. 15. — ἐν ἰσῳ, *with even step*, sc. βήματι: cf. ὁμαλῶς in § 14.

12. αὐτός, i. e. attended *only* by Pigres and the few others mentioned. — ἀγειν: obj. inf. not in indirect disc., following ἐβόα as it would ἐκέλευ (G. 260, 1). — τὸ τῶν πολεμίων (G. 142, 2). — ὅτι εἶη: causal (G. 250, N.). — κἀν (καὶ ἂν) νικῶμεν (G. 223). The apod. πεποίηται, though a perf. in form, refers vividly to the fut. (G. 200, N. 7), *our whole work is (will be) done*. — ἡμῖν (G. 197, 2¹).

13. ὁρῶν τὸ μέσον στίφος, *though he saw the compact body at the centre* (στίφος from στίβω, *to tread*), i. e. the 6000 cavalry mentioned in i. 7. 11. ἀκούων is also concessive (G. 277, 5). — Κύρου: gen. of source (G. 171, 2, N. 1). The clause ἔξω ὄντα (G. 280) . . . βασιλέα constitutes the obj. acc. — τοῦ εὐωνύμου: with ἔξω (G. 182, 2). — τοσοῦτον . . . ἔξω ἦν: parenthesis. — πλῆθει, *in numbers* (G. 188, 1, N. 1). — ἀλλ' ὅμως, *but still*, resuming after the parenthesis, with emphatic repetition of ὁ Κλέαρχος. — μὴ κυκλωθεῖη, *that he might be encircled* (der. from κύκλος; cf. Eng. *cycle*). Why opt.? — ὅτι αὐτῷ . . . ἔχοι: he said ἐμοὶ μέλει (G. 184, 2, N. 1, the clause that follows being the object gen.) ὅπως καλῶς ἔχη (G. 217, N. 1). — If Clearchus had been less cautious and obeyed orders, the result of the battle might have been very different. Plutarch (*Artax.* 8) says of Clearchus: ὁ δ' αὐτῷ μέλειν εἰπὼν ὅπως ἔξει κάλλιστα, τὸ πᾶν διέφθειρεν.

14. τὸ βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα: the King's army. — ὁμαλῶς: cf. ἐν ἰσῳ in § 11, and note. — συνετάττετο . . . προσιόντων, *was forming its line from those still coming up*. — οὐ πᾶν πρὸς, *by no means near, at some distance from*. — πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι means *near the army itself*, αὐτῷ strengthening the idea of nearness. — ἐκατέρωσε (with ἀποβλέπων): cf. ἐκατέρωθεν in § 13, and see G. 61. — κατεθέατο, *took a survey*: ὁράω, *to see* in general; βλέπω, *to turn the eyes, look*; θεάομαι, *to gaze at*.

15. Ξενοφῶν: the first mention of Xenophon in the *Anabasis*. — ὡς συναντήσαι: purpose (G. 266, N. 1). — εἴ τι παραγγέλλοι, *whether* (G. 282, 4) *he had any commands* (G. 243). — ἐπιστήσας (sc. τὸν ἵππον), *pulling up*.

Page 28. — ἱερά, *omens from inspecting the inwards of the victims*; σφάγια, *omens from the acts and movements of the victims*.

16. λέγων, *while saying* (G. 277, 1). — τίς . . . εἴη, *what the noise was* (G. 243); but two lines below, δ τι εἴη, κ. τ. λ. (G. 149, 2²). — ὁ Κλέαρχος: Clearchus had ridden up in the mean time; some MSS. have Ξενοφών. — σύνθημα, *a thing agreed upon* (συν-τίθημι), *watchword*. — παρέρχεται: what might have been the mood? Cf. παραγγέλλει and εἴη, below. — δεύτερον: the watchword passed first down the line from man to man, and then back again to make sure that it was understood. — καὶ ὅς, *and he*, i. e. Cyrus (G. 151, N. 3²). — τίς παραγγέλλει, i. e. *who was giving it out* without his approval.

17. Ἄλλὰ . . . ἴστω, *well, I accept it* (the password), *and let it be this*. ἀλλά marks the opposition between his present concession and preceding surprise. — καὶ οὐκέτι . . . ἀλλήλων, i. e. *the two lines were now less than three or four stades* (G. 161) *apart*. — διεχέτην τὰ φάλαγγε (G. 33, 1; 78, N. 2). — ἐπαιάνιζον, *began to sing the paeon*, as an omen of victory. — προήρχοντο, *began first* (πρό), i. e. *before the enemy*. — ἀντίοι (G. 138, N. 8; 185).

18. ὡς δὲ . . . φάλαγγος, *but when, as they* (sc. αὐτῶν) *proceeded, a part* (sc. μέρος with τι) *of the phalanx* (G. 168) *surged forward* (beyond the rest), *lit. billowed out* (κύμα, *a wave*), etc. — δρόμῳ θεῖν, *to go on the run*, *double quick* (dat. of manner). — οἷόν περ . . . ἐλελίζουσι, *just as they raise the war-cry to Enyalios* (Ares): ἐλελίζω, *to shout* ἐλελεῖ. — καὶ πάντες δέ: cf. § 2 and note. — φόβον . . . ἵπποις (G. 277, 6), *thereby frightening* (lit. *causing fright among*) the horses (G. 184, 3).

19. πρὶν δὲ . . . ἐκινεῖσθαι: lit. *before an arrow reached them*, i. e. *before the Greeks got within bowshot of them* (G. 274). — κατὰ κράτος: cf. ἀνὰ κράτος in § 1. — θεῖν δρόμῳ: here involving the idea of confusion and disorder (cf. § 18).

20. τὰ δ' ἄρματα, i. e. *of the enemy*. — τὰ μὲν, τὰ δέ: in partitive apposition to ἄρματα (G. 137, N. 2). — ἡνιόχων (G. 180, 1): derived from ἡνία, *a rein*, and ἔχω. — ἐπεὶ προΐδοιεν, διίσταντο, *stood apart* (separated), *when ever they saw them in front of them* (G. 233). — ἴσθι δ' ὅστις: we should expect rather ἦν δέ τις ὅς. Cf. the expressions in G. 152, N. 2, and ἦν οὓς in i. 5, 7, with note. — κατελήφθη ἐκπλαγείς, *was caught* (i. e. by not getting out of the way of a chariot) *in his consternation*. — ἵπποδρόμῳ: derivation? — καὶ . . . ἴφασαν, *and yet, in fact* (καὶ μόντοι), *they said that not even he suffered any harm* (οὐδέν, G. 159, N. 2). — οὐδὲ . . . δέ: the negative expression corresponding to καὶ . . . δέ. Cf. i. 1, 2, and note. — οὐδ' οὐδὲς οὐδέν: emphatic negation (G. 283, 9). So just preceding οὐδὲν οὐδέ. — τίς, *probably, a single man*.

21. ὁρῶν, *when he saw*. — νικῶντας, διώκοντας: pred. participles in indirect discourse (G. 280). — τὸ καθ' αὐτούς: sc. πλεῖστος or στρατεύμα. — ἡδόμενος, *although he was pleased*. — οὐδ' ὥς (G. 29, N. 1), *not even then* (under these circumstances). — ἐξήχθη, *was led on, tempted* (ἐξάγω). — συνεσπειραμένην: cf. note on ἐκκεκαλυμμένης in i. 2, 16: σπειράομαι, *to be coiled up, from σπείρα* (cf. Eng. *spiral*). — ποιήσα, *would do*, might have been ποιήσοι (G. 243). — ᾔδα αὐτὸν ὅτι ἔχει, *knew him that he had*, i. e. *knew that*

he had. Cf. i. 1. 5, and note. The thought could be expressed also in this way, ἦδ' αὐτὸν ἔχοντα, but not αὐτὸν ἔχαν (G. 280, and n. 3).

Page 29. — 22. τὸ αὐτῶν (G. 142, 2; 167, 1). — ἡγούμεναι, *command*, i. e. they always hold this position in commanding their armies. — οὕτω, *thus*, takes up the idea of μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν, and is itself further defined by ἦν ἥ . . . ἐκατέρωθεν, *thus, viz. if part of their force is on either side of them*: οὕτω has besides a conditional force on αἰσθάνεσθαι ἄν. — ἐν ἀσφαλεστάτῃ: sc. τόπῳ. — εἶναι (G. 260, 2) is apod. to the general cond. ἦν ἥ (G. 225). — ἡ ἰσχύς αὐτῶν (G. 142, 4, n. 3). — εἰ χρήζοιεν . . . ἄν αἰσθάνεσθαι (G. 246; 247, n. 3): cf. also G. 226, 3; 211. — ἡμίση χρόνῳ: more commonly ἐν ἡμίσει χρόνῳ (G. 189, n. 2).

23. δὴ τότε . . . ὅμως, i. e. *the King accordingly (δὴ) on this occasion held (G. 277, 5) the centre, but still, etc.* — ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου (sc. μέρου), *from the opposite side*. — αὐτοῦ: with ἐμπροσθεν (G. 182, 2). — ἐπ' ἐκαμπτεν . . . κύκλωσιν, *wheeled round (lit. against), as if to encircle them*. By this movement the King's left, from being at right angles to the river, came to face it. — κύκλωσιν (G. 129, 3).

24. μὴ κατακόψῃ (G. 216, 2; 201, Rem.). — ἐλαύνει ἀντίος, *advances against him* (G. 138, n. 7). — τοὺς ἐξακισχίλους: identical with τοὺς πρὸ βασιλῆως τεταγμένους, but expressed to emphasize the contrast between the two forces, 600 on one side, 6,000 on the other. — αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ, *himself with his own hand*.

25. τροπή, *the turning of an enemy, rout* (G. 129, 1). — εἰς τὸ διώκειν, *in pursuit* (G. 262, 1). — πλὴν: here a conj. Cf. its use as a prep. in i. 2. 1. — σχεδὸν . . . καλούμενοι, *chiefly his so-called (cf. note on i. 2. 13) table-companions*.

26. τὸ ἀμφ' ἐκείνον στίφος: the King's ὁμοπάτριες, probably, in turn, who, now that the 6,000 had fled, formed a crowd (στίφος) about him for his protection. — ἠνέσχετο: double augm. (G. 105, 1, n. 3). — καὶ ἰάσθαι . . . φησι, *and he says that he himself healed (he said ἰάμην, G. 203, n. 1) the wound*. The present infinitive can be used for the imperfect only when something in the sentence or in the context makes it plain that this is the case: here (as often) the well-known time of the event makes the meaning plain. (See examples in *Moods and Tenses*, § 15, 3.) We should expect here a relative sentence. The conjecture has been made, ὅς καὶ ἰάσθαι, κ. τ. λ., *who says also, etc.*

27. αὐτόν, i. e. Cyrus. — ἐπὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, *under the eye* (implying motion towards the eye). — μαχόμενοι . . . ἐκατέρου: the construction begun by these subjects is not finished, except so far as it is partially resumed in Κύρος δέ; but it breaks suddenly off in the indirect quest. ὅποσοι . . . ἀπέθνησκον. — ἀπέθνησκον refers to several being killed at different times, whereas ἀπέθανε is used of Cyrus alone. — Κτησίας λέγει: we should say, *this I leave for Ctesias to tell*. — ἔκειντο, *lay dead, jacebant*.

28. ὁ πιστότατος θεράπων, *the attendant most in his confidence*. — πεπτωκότα: quoted after εἶδε (G. 280). — περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ: lit. *to have fallen about him* (G. 187), i. e. so as to embrace him. Cf. Q. Curtius, viii. 11. 16: super amici corpus procubuit.

29. καὶ . . . Κύρου: construe in the Greek order. — ἐπισφάζει αὐτὸν (Artapates) Κύρου (G. 187), *to slay him over Cyrus*, i. e. as a sacrifice. See ἐπισφάζω in lexicon. — ἑαυτὸν ἐπισφάζεσθαι: strongly reflexive, *slew himself by his own hand*, ἑαυτὸν being added to the verb already in the mid. Note the force of σπασόμενον (G. 199, 3). — εὐνοίαν, πιστότητα: substantives formed with suffixes expressing quality (G. 129, 7).

CHAPTER IX.

Biographical Sketch of Cyrus.

SYNOPSIS: Cyrus is agreed to have been the most worthy to reign of all Persians since Cyrus the Great (1). When a boy he excelled all others (2). The sons of Persian nobles are educated at the King's palace, and early learn to govern and obey (3, 4). Here Cyrus was remarkable for his modesty and obedience, as well as his love of horses and for learning warlike exercises (5). When older, he was fond of the chase (6). While satrap, he was careful to keep his promises (7); and cities, individuals, and even enemies had the greatest confidence in him (8). In his warfare with Tissaphernes all the cities, except Miletus, put themselves under his protection; and the inhabitants of Miletus feared him, because he showed by deeds and words that he would not desert the exiles whom they had banished (9, 10). He was always anxious to outdo those who did him either a kindness or an injury (11). A great number confided to his charge their property, cities, and persons (12). He was unsparing in his punishment of the criminal and unjust (13); but paid honor to warlike talents and bravery (14, 15), and rewarded those who loved justice (16). Foreign generals in his employ found it profitable to serve him well (17), for diligence was never unrewarded (18). Skillful and just managers of his lands were never deprived of their earnings (19). He was successful in attaching friends to himself, and ready to assist them in their own purposes (20, 21). He received and gave many presents, surpassed his friends in kind attentions, and was universally beloved (22–28): in proof of this no one deserted from him to the King (29). His virtues and his quickness in discerning the trustworthy are proved by the fact that, when he died, all his most intimate friends, except Ariæus, fell fighting in his behalf (30, 31).

Page 30. — 1. μὲν: without correlative. — οὗτως: what would ὡς mean? — ἀνὴρ ὢν, a man (G. 137) *who was*, etc. — Περσῶν γενομένων (G. 168): the Persians meant are those of the royal line born (γενομένων) after the time of (μετά, G. 191, VI. 3, 3 b) Cyrus the Great. — βασιλική-
τατος: note the suffix ικο- (see G. 129, 13). — παρὰ: with the gen. of the agent in place of ἐπὶ (G. 197, 1, n. 1). — τῶν δοκούστων γενέσθαι, *those who are reputed to have become (γενέσθαι, G. 260, 2).* — ἐν πλείῳ Κύρου, i. e. *intimate/y acquainted with Cyrus.*

2. πρῶτον μὲν: correl. to ἐπεὶ δὲ in § 6, which marks the second period in his life, and to ἐπεὶ δὲ in § 7, which marks the third. — ἔτι παῖς ὢν, *while* (G. 277, 1) *still a boy.* — ἐπαιδύετο: derivation and suffix! See G. 130, 4.

3. ἐπὶ . . . θύραις: as we say, at court. — σωφροσύνην, self-control, der. from σώ-φρων (σῶς, σώος, and φρήν) with the suff. σύνα- (see G. 129, 7). — καταμάθοι ἄν (G. 226, 2 b). — αἰσχρὸν . . . ἔστι (G. 28, N. 1, end): for the construction cf. ἦν ἰδεῖν . . . ἀνθρώπους in § 13, below, and οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν in i. 5. 2. — οὐδὲν οὔτε . . . οὔτε (G. 283, 9).

4. θεωῦνται καὶ ἀκούουσι, they see some (ac. τινάς) honored and hear of them (G. 280). — εὐθὺς παῖδες ὄντες (G. 277, N. 1), in their very boyhood. — μανθάνουσιν ἀρχεῖν, learn how to rule (G. 280, N. 3).

5. αἰδημονέστατος: put first for emphasis, displacing μὲν: otherwise the order would be πρῶτον μὲν αἰδημονέστατος. — ἔδοκα εἶναι, had the reputation of being. — τοῖς τε . . . πείθεσθαι, and of being more obedient to his elders than (were) even those inferior to himself in rank. — φιλιππότατος (G. 136, N. 3 a) with ἔδοκα εἶναι, but χρῆσθαι with ἔδοκα alone. — ἔκρινον: they (i. e. men in general) judged him, etc. — ἔργων: with the two super. at the end of the sect. (G. 180, 2). — ἀκοντίσεως: force of the suff. σις? — Give the derivation at length of αἰδήμων, ἡλικιώτης, ὑποδεής, φιλίππος, τοξική, ἀκόντισις, φιλομαθής, and μελετηρός.

6. ἡλικία (G. 184, 2). — μέντοι, moreover. So below at the end. — ἐπιφορομένην, that rushed upon him (G. 276, 1): ἀρκτος is epicene (G. 33, 2, N. 2). — οὐκ ἔτρεψεν, was not afraid of, did not shrink from. Cf. τρέω, τρέμω, tremo, tremble. — συμπεσόν: the idea is that of grappling, not of falling to the ground, with the bear. — τὰ μὲν: cogn. acc. (G. 159, N. 2), suffered somewhat, received some wounds. Often a different word takes the place of the article in one part of the correlation ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δέ (G. 143, 1), as here τέλος δέ (G. 160, 2). — πολλοῖς: dat. of the agent with the verbal adj. μακαριστόν (from μακαρίζω, μάκαρ).

7. κατεπέμψθη: why κατά? — σατράπης, as satrap. See, with ref. to the facts here mentioned, i. 1. 2, and the prefatory note. — στρατηγὸς δέ καί: cf. with ref. to pos. καὶ στρατηγὸν δέ in i. 1. 2. — οἷς: dat. of indir. obj. after καθήκει (G. 184, 2). — πρῶτον μὲν: weakly correlated by δέ in § 11. — ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ὅτι, κ. τ. λ., he showed himself, that he made, etc., emphatic attraction. Cf. note on τῶν βαρβάρων, i. 1. 5. — ὅτι . . . ποιοῖτο, that he made it of the greatest importance, regarded it most important; the direct form of the sent. being περὶ πλείστου ποιοῦμαι, εἰάν τῃ σπείσωμαι (G. 225) καὶ . . . συνθῶμαι καὶ . . . ὑπόσχωμαί τι, μηδὲν ψεύδεσθαι (G. 247). — τῷ: what other form was possible? See G. 84. — σπένδομαι of making a treaty (by libations); συντίθεμαι of entering into an agreement; ὑποσχέομαι of promising in the common sense.

8. καὶ γάρ, and (proof is at hand) for. — σπεισαμένου, temporal. — μηδὲν ἄν παθεῖν, in direct form οὐδὲν ἄν πάθοιμι (G. 211; 226, 2 b): for the change of neg. see G. 242, 4.

Page 31. — 9. τοιγαροῦν, therefore. — ἐκούσαι (G. 138, N. 7). — Μιλήσιων: we should expect Μιλήτου. — οὗτοι δέ . . . αὐτόν: a proof, drawn from an enemy, that Cyrus was to be trusted. — προέσθαι, to abandon (see πρόημι).

10. καὶ γὰρ . . . ἔλεγεν, for he both (καὶ . . . καὶ in correlation) showed repeatedly by what he did, and declared repeatedly, or, more freely, showed

repeatedly both by word and deed. — *προοίτο* (G. 127, III., N. 1). — *ἀπαξ* is once for all; but *ποτέ*, once on a time (§ 6), some time, ever. — *οὐδ' εἰ . . . γένοιτο*, not even if they should become still fewer, i. e. should be cut down in numbers by their misfortunes. — *ὅτι . . . πράξειαν*: in direct form *οὐκ ἂν ποτε προοίμην, ἐπεὶ . . . ἐγενόμην, οὐδ' εἰ . . . γένοιτο . . . πράξειαν* (G. 247, N. 2 and N. 3).

11. *φανερὸς δ' ἦν καὶ πειρώμενος*, but it was obvious also that he strove (G. 280, N. 1). — *εἰ ποιήσειεν*: prot. to *πειρώμενος*. The fact made evident (i. e. the direct discourse) is *ἐάν τις . . . ποιήσῃ, πειρώμαι* (G. 225). For the two accusatives after *ποιήσειεν*, see G. 165. For the parallel construction at the end of the section, see G. 165, N. 1, and cf. § 10. — *ἐξέφερον*, reported. — *ὡς εὐχοίτο*: quoted (G. 243) after *εὐχὴν ἐξέφερον*, which involves the idea of saying. They said, *εὐχεται* (i. e. he sometimes prays) *ζῆν ἔσθ' ἂν νικᾷ* (G. 239, 2; 232, 3); the future apod. to *ἔσθ' ἂν νικᾷ* is *ζῆν*. For the change by quot. of the subj. *νικᾷ* to the opt., see G. 247. — *νικῶν ἀλεξόμενος*, should outdo in returning like for like.

12. *καὶ γὰρ οὖν*: as in § 8. — *δῆ*: with the superlative, just as *μέγιστος* *δῆ* means the very greatest. The phrase *ἐνὶ γε ἀνδρὶ* also (*ἀνδρὶ*, of course, is grammatically in app. to *αὐτῷ*) logically modifies the superl.; the number, i. e., was the very greatest in view, at least (*γέ*), of the fact that it was a single man (*ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ*) that was in question. — *τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν*, of the men of our time, part. gen. with *αὐτῷ*, but affected also by the superlative *πλειστοί*, as if it had been said *he was trusted most of all the men of our day*. For this meaning of *ἐπὶ*, see G. 191, VI. 2, 1 b. — *προέσθαι*, to intrust. Cf. § 9.

13. *οὐ μὲν (= μὴν) δὴ οὐδέ*, nor yet now in truth. — *ἀφειδέστατα πάντων*, most unsparingly of all. — *ἦν ἰδεῖν*, it was possible to see, you might see. — *ποδῶν, χειρῶν, ὀφθαλμῶν*: why gen.? — *μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι*, if in no respect (G. 159, N. 2) a wrong-doer (G. 277, 4). — *ὅ τι προχωροίη*, whatever it was to his advantage (G. 233) to have (sc. *ἔχειν*). For *ἤθελεν* (which might have been *ἠθέλοι*), see G. 233, N. 1.

14. *μέντοι*, however. — *ὡμολόγητο*, he had been (and so was) acknowledged, pers. const. (cf. § 20). — *ἦν αὐτῷ πόλεμος*: principal sentence where we should expect a dependent one, such as *ὄντος ποτὲ αὐτῷ πολέμου*; for *πρῶτον μὲν*, notwithstanding its position, goes with *ἀρχοντας ἐποίει* and is correlated by *ἔπειτα*. — *καὶ αὐτός*, even in person. — *ἠθελοντας*: cf. *ἐκούσαι* in § 9, and note, and *ἠελοντάς* in i. 6. 9, and note. — *ἤς κατεστρέφετο χώρας* (G. 154, N.).

15. *ὥστε . . . εἶναι*, so that (in his dominions) the good appeared (G. 266, 1) most prosperous, and the bad were deemed fit to be their slaves: *φαίνεσθαι* would regularly either stand within the clause with *μὲν* or else belong to both subjects. — *οἴοιτο*: for the mood cf. *προχωροίη* in § 13. — *αἰσθήσεσθαι*: quoted (G. 260, 2).

16. *γὰρ μὴν*, certainly at least, adding a case in the general testimony to the high character of Cyrus that could not be controverted; more simply, moreover. — *εἰς δικαιοσύνην* (see G. 129, 7 and 12): with *ἐπιδείκνυσθαι*,

to distinguish himself for uprightness. — εἰ γίνοντο, ἐποιεῖτο (G. 225). — βουλόμενος: quoted. Cf. φανερός ἦν πειρώμενος in § 11. — περὶ πάντος ἐποιεῖτο: cf. περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖτο in § 7. — τούτους: pl. because of the distributive force of τις to which it refers. — ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου, by injustice (G. 139, 2).

Page 32. — 17. δικάως, with fidelity. — διεχειρίζετο, were managed, lit. were had in hand. — καὶ . . . ἐχρήσατο, and he secured the services of (G. 200, N. 5 b) an army worthy of the name, justo exercitu. — ἐπλευσαν: coming as mercenaries across the sea. — ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν, because they judged it, etc. (G. 250). — παθαρχεῖν (G. 191, 2 a). — τὸ κατὰ μῆνα κέρδος is in the same construction as παθαρχεῖν, the subject of εἶναι, which might have been τὸ πειθ. (G. 259 and N.). For κατὰ μῆνα, monthly, see G. 191, IV. 2, 2 c.

18. εἰ τίς γέ τι: one proclitic, three enclitics. The proclitic takes the accent of τις; for the accent of the enclitics, see G. 28, N. 2. — τίς γε, any one (emphatically), no matter how insignificant. — τι: with ὑπηρετήσας, did him (G. 184, 2) any (G. 159, N. 2) good service. With ὑπηρετήσαν cf. γένοιτο in § 16, and the ref., and also ὀρέψῃ in § 19. — οὐδὲν! . . . προθυμίαν, he never let his (lit. any one's, G. 184, 3) zeal (see G. 129, 7) go unrewarded. — κράτιστοι δὲ: cf. πλείστοι δὲ in § 12, and note. — ὑπηρεταί, supporters. — Κύρῳ . . . γενέσθαι, Cyrus was said to have had, lit. were said to have been (become) to Cyrus (poss. dat., G. 184, 4).

19. τίνα δὲνα, that any one was (G. 280). So the two participles that follow. — οἰκονόμον, manager, Eng. eco-nomist. Note the derivation. — ἐκ τοῦ δίκαιου, according to justice, or we may freely transl. δανὸν . . . δικάου, a skilful and just manager. — ἥς ἀρχοί is part of the conditional relative sentence (= εἰ τινος ἀρχοί) and follows the construction of ὀρέψῃ. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 64, N. 2. — χάρας (G. 154). — οὐδένα ἂν . . . ἀφ-είλετο, he would never deprive (G. 206) him (lit. any one) of (his territory, sc. χάραν, and see G. 164). The ἂν belongs equally to προσεδίδου (G. 212, 4). This form with ἂν, since it expresses a customary action, is a natural apodosis to εἰ ὀρέψῃ. See again G. 225, and *Moods and Tenses*, § 51, Rem. — ἐπέπατο (see πάσμαι, to acquire): cf. the use of the perf. and plup. of κτάσμαι. — αἶ, moreover. — Κύρον (G. 164). — οὐ φθονῶν ἐφαίνετο ἀλλὰ παρών, it was clear that he did not envy, but strove, etc. (G. 280).

20. φίλους: emphasized by position and the following particles; obj. of θεραπεύειν. — δούσους ποιήσαιο (G. 233): the apodosis is θεραπεύειν (not γενέσθαι). This use of the optative, as also the corresponding one in conditional clauses not relative (G. 225), occurs repeatedly in this chapter and should be watched for. — δντας: cf. δντα in § 19. — ἱκανοὺς συνεργοὺς δ τι τυγχάνοι, competent co-workers in whatever he chanced, etc. — δ τι τυγχάνοι (= εἰ τι τυγχάνοι): see note on ἥς ἀρχοί in § 19. — βουλόμενος: cf. παρών in i. 1. 2, and note. — πρὸς, by (G. 191, VI. 6, 1 b, end). — κράτιστος δὲ: cf. § 12 and § 18. — γενέσθαι: in the dir. form ἐγένετο (G. 260, 2).

21. αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐπὲρ ἑνεκα, κ. τ. λ., he tried to secure for his friends that very object for which he thought that he needed friends himself, — viz. that he might have co-workers, — he tried (I say) also on his own part to be a most

vigorous co-worker with his friends, etc. αὐτὸ τοῦτο would naturally have been the object of some verb like πράττειν after ἐπειράτο, but for this simple αὐτὸ τοῦτο πράττειν the amplified expression συνεργὸς . . . εἶναι . . . ἐπιθυμῶντα was substituted, to express the same idea more fully. Cf. ἀ . . . καί-ουσιν in iii. 5. 5.—τούτων: emphatic (G. 152).—δτου (i. e. οἰτινος, G. 84) is not gen. by assimilation, but gen. independently (G. 171, 2).—ἐπιθυμῶντα: quoted after αἰσθάνοιτο (G. 280).

22. οἶμαι: by syncope for οἴομαι. The word is here parenthetical, like our *I think*.—εἰς γε ὦν ἀνὴρ: cf. ἐνὶ γε ἀνδρὶ in § 12, and note.—διὰ πολ-λά, for many reasons.—δι-είδου, dis-tributed.—καὶ δτου: sc. πρὸς and the indef. antecedent of δτου.—δεόμενον: how is the part. to be construed?

23. κόσμον: in app. to δσα (G. 137, N. 4).—ἢ . . . ἢ, either . . . or.—ὡς εἰς πόλεμον: the ὡς marks the purpose for which the objects were sent (εἰς πόλεμον) as subjectively conceived by the sender. Cf. ὡς εἰς μάχην in i. 8. 1, and ὡς εἰς κύκλωσιν in i. 8. 23.—καλλ-ωπισμόν: der.?—καί, more-over, with the following sentence as a whole.—λέγαν: an imperfect infinitive with ἔφασαν (G. 203, N. 1): they said ἔλεγε, he used to say. Cf. ἐλέχθησαν γενέσθαι in § 18.—δύναιτο (G. 245); νομίζω (G. 243). Cyrus said οὐκ ἂν δυνάμην . . . φίλους δὲ . . . νομίζω.

24. καὶ τὸ μὲν . . . ποιοῦντα, and his surpassing (G. 259, N.) his friends in conferring great (with emphasis) benefits, etc. τὰ μεγάλα is cognate acc. with εὖ ποιοῦντα, benefiting (G. 159, N. 2).—ἐπιμελεία: dative of respect (G. 188, 1, N. 1).—φίλων (G. 175, 2).

Page 33.—τῷ προθυμείσθαι: parallel in construction to τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ (G. 262, 2).—ταῦτα takes up τὸ περιεῖναι, κ. τ. λ.

25. οἶνον (G. 167, 4).—ἡμι-δεῖς (δέω, to want).—οὕτω δὴ πολλοῦ χρό-νου, not for a long time (G. 179, 1), lit. not as yet now within a long time.—ὅτι . . . ἐπιτύχοι represents ἐπέτυχον, κ. τ. λ., in the words of Cyrus (G. 243); but the next sentence gives the actual words of the messenger, who in delivering the gift would say: Κύρος οὕτω δὴ πολλοῦ . . . ἐπέτυχεν· τοῦτον οὖν σοι ἔπεμψε, κ. τ. λ. Cf. the last half of § 26, τοῦτοις ἦσθη Κύ-ρος· βούλεται, κ. τ. λ.—ἐκπιεῖν, to drink it up (lit. out): cf. Germ. aus-trinken.—σὺν οἷς (G. 153, N. 1).

26. ἡμιβράτους: der.—ἡμίσεα, halves (G. 139, 1).—ἐπι-λέγειν, to say in addition (to presenting the gifts), to add.—τούτων γέισασθαι, to take a taste of (note the force of the aorist) these (G. 171, 2).

27. ἐδύνατο: there is some MS. authority for δύναιτο. See G. 233, N. 1, and Moods and Tenses, § 62, N. 1.—δια-πέμπων: force of διά?—ὡς μὴ ἀγωνῖν: subj. of purpose after a secondary tense (G. 216, 2). The student will note that a clause of negative purpose can be introd. either by the simple μὴ, or by μὴ preceded by ἵνα, ὥς, ὅπως, the meaning in both cases being simply that not, lest. Cf. the examples under G. 216, 1.

28. πλείστοι, very many.—μέλλοιεν δψεσθαι: see i. 8. 1, and note.—ἐσπουδαιο-λογεῖτο, he engaged in earnest conversation (with them), a denom. verb (G. 130, 2) der. from σπουδαῖος and λέγω, and σπουδαῖος from σπουδή, σπειδω (G. 129, 12).—ὡς δηλοῖ οὗς τιμᾷ (τιμᾷ indic.), that he might show

(G. 216, 1) *whom he honored* (G. 248, N., end). The purpose in his own mind was, *ὡς δηλῶ* (subj.) *οὕς τιμῶ* (indic.). — *ἐξ ὧν ἀκούω*, *from what I hear*: cf. ἀκούω in i. 3. 20, and note. — Ἑλλήνων, βαρβάρων: with οὐδὲνα.

29. *τούτου, τότε*: diff. of use? — *δοῦλου ὄντος*, *though he was a slave*. Cf. i. 7. 3. — *πλήν*: conj. Cf. i. 8. 25. — *καὶ οὗτος . . . εἶπε*: the order is, *καὶ οὗτος δὴ ταχὺ εἶπε αὐτὸν ὃν ᾤετο*, κ. τ. λ. Cf. i. 6. 3. For οἱ, see G. 144, 2. — *φιλαίτερον*: for the more common *φιλάτερον* (G. 73, 1, 10). — *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*: the King. — *ἀγαπάμενοι*: ἀγαπάω is properly to show by outward signs that one regards; *φιλέω* (§ 28, end), on the other hand, is used of the love of friends. — *τυγχάναν ἄν* is quoted after *νομίζοντες* (G. 246): the protasis lies in *ὄντες = εἰ εἴησαν* (G. 226, 1).

30. *τὸ αὐτῷ γινόμενον*, *what happened to him*, sc. *ἐστὶ*: *τεκμήριον* is pred. — *τοὺς . . . βεβαίους*: the article is expressed but once, because the writer is speaking of a single class of persons possessing all the qualities mentioned, *those who were faithful, well-disposed, and constant*.

31. *συν-τράπεζοι*: cf. *ἑμοτράπεζοι* in i. 8. 25. — *ὑπέρ*, *over, in behalf of* (G. 191, IV. 3, 1 b). — *τεταγμένος*: what use of the part.? Explain the use also of *πεπτωκότα* in the next line.

CHAPTER X.

SYNOPSIS: The head and right hand of Cyrus are cut off; the King falls upon his camp, and the troops of Ariaeus flee (1). The camp is pillaged, except where a few of the Greeks, who have been left on guard, make a successful stand (2, 3). Both armies proceed as if victorious, the Greeks pursuing, the Persians plundering (4); but when they discover one another's movements, the King collects his forces, and Clearchus consults with Proxenus (5). The King is seen approaching; but instead of making an attack upon the rear of the Greek army, as is expected, he leads off his troops to the left (6), joined by Tissaphernes, who has charged through the Greek lines (7, 8). The Greeks fall back upon the river (9). The King draws up his troops opposite, but is again put to flight (10, 11). His cavalry rally upon a hill, but on the approach of the Greeks abandon this also (12, 13). Clearchus sends a scout upon the hill to report their movements (14), who brings back word that they are flying at the top of their speed (15). The Greeks abandon the pursuit, and wonder at the absence of Cyrus (16). They resolve to return to their camp (17); but finding this plundered, they encamp supperless for the night (18, 19).

Page 34. — 1. The narrative is resumed from Chap. viii. — *ἀποτέμνεται . . . δεξιὰ*: a Persian custom. In iii. 1. 17 it is stated that the head and hand of Cyrus were exposed to view fixed on a stake. — *ἀποτέμνεται, διώκων, εἰσπύπτει*: note and explain the number and agreement of these words. — *Κύραον*: an adj. in place of the more common poss. gen. *Κύρου*. — *στρατόπεδον*: merely the place where they had halted in the hurry of the unexpected engagement (i. 8. 1 sq.). — *οἱ μετὰ Ἀριαίου*, *Ariaeus and those with him*, like the phrase *οἱ ἀμφὶ Τιμοσαφέρνην*, iii. 5. 1: *μετὰ Ἀριαίου* implies *participation* (G. 191, VI. 3, 1), but *σὺν αὐτῷ* above implies *accom-*

paniment (G. 191, II. 2). — *ἐνθεν ὥρμηντο*: on the morning of the battle. It will be remembered that the battle was fought on the afternoon of the third day (i. 7. 20) after the midnight review mentioned in i. 7. 1, and that this review was held on the night after the third day's march from Pylae. Cf. note on *ἐντεῦθεν*, i. 7. 1. — *τέτταρες . . . ὁδοῦ*, and the distance was said to be four parasangs, lit. there were said to be four parasangs of the road.

2. *πολλά*: pred., to a great amount. — *τὴν Φωκαίδα . . . εἶναι*, the Phocaean woman, the concubine (G. 137) of Cyrus, who was said (*τὴν . . . λεγομένην* = *ἡ . . . ἐλέγετο*: G. 276, 2; 137) to be, etc. Athenaeus says that she was first named Milto, and afterwards Aspasia. Phocaea was a city of Ionia. See the map. — *λαμβάνει*: with *βασιλεὺς*, above.

3. *ἡ νεωτέρα*, the younger (of the two). — *γυμνή*, lightly clad, without her mantle. — *τῶν Ἑλλήνων*: sc. *τινάς* (a rare omission). — *ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις* (neut.), i. e. among the baggage. — *ἔπλα ἔχοντες*, under arms, standing guard (G. 279, 4). — *καὶ ἀντιταχθέντες* (sc. *οἱ*). — *οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν*, and some also of their own number: *οἱ δὲ* is correl. to *πολλοὺς μὲν*. Cf. note on *τὰ μὲν* in i. 9. 6. — *ἐντὸς αὐτῶν*, within their lines. — *ἐγένοντο*: plural from the influence of *ἄνθρωποι*.

4. *ἀλλήλων*: why gen.? — *οἱ Ἕλληνες*: the main body. — *οἱ μὲν*: referring chastically (see note on *ἀναβαίνει . . . ἀνέβη* in i. 1. 2) to *οἱ Ἕλληνες*. — *ὡς πάντας νικῶντες*, thinking that they were victorious over all (G. 277, n. 2), but below, *ὡς . . . νικῶντες*, thinking that now they were all victorious.

5. This entire section consists of four clauses arranged chastically, 1) referring chiefly to the Greeks, 2) chiefly to the King, 3) to the King, and 4) again to the Greeks. — *εἴη*: why opt.? — *Τισσαφέρνους*: stationed at the King's extreme left (i. 8. 9), he had charged through the right of the Greeks and joined the King in the camp of Cyrus in the rear (§ 7). — *νικῶντες, οἰχόνται*: one verb changed to the opt. by quot., the other not; for which see *Moods and Tenses*, § 70, 2, Rem. 1, end. Cf. also G. 247, n. 1. — *πλησιαίτατος*: comparative how formed? (G. 71, n. 2). — *πέμπουσιν, ἴσιν*: in the direct questions, *πέμπωμεν, ἴωμεν*; (G. 256; 244). For *εἰ . . . ἦ*, introducing the double indirect question, see G. 282, 5.

6. *δῆλος ἦν προσιών*: cf. *δῆλος ἦν ἀνιόμενος* in i. 2. 11, and note. — *ὡς ἰδὼκα ὀπισθεν*, i. e. apparently from their rear. — *στραφέντες*, facing about. It will be remembered that the two forces were somewhat more than three miles apart (§ 4). — *παρεσκευάζοντο . . . δεξόμενοι*, prepared themselves with a view to his advancing in this way? (i. e. *ὀπισθεν*) and to their receiving (him so): *ὡς* (G. 277, n. 2) belongs not only to *δεξόμενοι* (part. of purpose), but also to *προσιόντος* (part. of cause). *προσιόντος* (sc. *αὐτοῦ*) is the genitive abs.; *δεξόμενοι* modifies *οἱ Ἕλληνες*. See, further, *Moods and Tenses*, § 111. — *ἡ δὲ παρήλθεν, κ. τ. λ.*: cf. i. 8. 23. The aor. is a pluperfect in force. Cf. i. 1. 2. — *ἀπήγαγεν*, marched back.

Page 35. — 7. *διήλασε . . . πελταστάς*, charged along (*παρά*) the river into (*κατά*) the Greek peltasts and through them. — *διελαύνων δέ*, and as he drove through them. For the force stationed at the extreme right of Cyrus when the battle began, see i. 8. 5. — *ἐπαιον*: probably with their swords.

— αὐτοῖς: the cavalry of Tissaphernes. — Ἀμφιπόλῃτης, of Amphipolis, an important Greek city on the Strymon in Thrace. — ἐλέγετο . . . γενέσθαι, was said to have proved himself (G. 260, 2) sagacious (to have shown his wisdom) by pursuing this course of tactics.

8. οὐν, at any rate. Cf. i. 2. 12. — ὥς . . . ἀπηλλάγη, after he had come off (note the force of the tense) with the worst of it, lit. having less. — τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων (G. 142, 2). — ὁμοῦ πάλιν ἐπορεύοντο, proceeded back together.

9. τὸ εὐάνυμον: the historian has the position of the Greeks when the battle began in mind, their right then resting on the river. They had now faced about (στραφέντες, § 6). — μὴ προσάγειν, κατακόψειαν: why opt? — ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας: lit. to fold back the wing. The object was to bring their line parallel to the river. At present they are at right angles to it. For the const. of ἐδόκει ἀναπτύσσειν, cf. i. 3. 11, and note, and with ἀναπτύσσειν, to fold back, cf. περιπτύσσειν, to fold about, enfold, above.

10. ἐβουλεύοντο: before the Greeks had even begun to change their position, while they were as yet simply planning it, the King was already executing relatively the same manœuvre, with the intention of presenting his front to the river. This shows that the apprehension of the Greeks, mentioned in § 9, εἶδεν . . . κατακόψειαν, was well grounded. It is not implied by ἐβουλεύοντο that the Greeks did not subsequently effect their change of position. — καὶ δὴ . . . συνήη, the King in truth also, changing his line of battle to the same form (i. e. τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν), stationed it opposite, just as at first he had met them for battle. — ὄντας, παρατεταγμένους: what use of the participles? — αὐτοῖς: see the description of the first charge of the Greeks in i. 8. 17 sq. — τὸ πρόσθεν: adverbial accusative (G. 160, 2). Cf. τὸ πρόωτον, above.

11. ἐκ πλείονος, when at a greater distance from them. — ἐπ' ἐδίωκον: note the force of the preposition. — κώμης τινός: possibly Οὐναζα (Κοῦναξα), the village near which, as Plutarch says, the battle was fought.

12. ἀνιστράφησαν, rallied. — πεζοί (without article), predicate, sc. ὄντες. The const. changes at τῶν δὲ ἱππέων, where we should expect ἱππεῖς δὲ, ὃν ὁ λόφος, κ. τ. λ. — τῶν . . . ἐνεκλήσθη: the passive of the construction explained in G. 172, 2. — τὸ ποιούμενον: τὸ γιγνόμενον is more common in this sense. — μὴ γιγνώσκαν: sc. τοὺς Ἕλληνας. — ἀετὸν . . . ἀνατεταμένον, (probably) a kind of (τινά) golden eagle, with wings extended, perched on a bar of wood (and raised) upon a lance. πέλτη, which commonly means a shield or target, is also used for δόρυ or λόγχη; and ἐπὶ ξύλου may refer to a horizontal piece of wood on which the eagle was perched. So ἐπὶ ξύλου καθέυδεις, roost like a fowl, Aristoph. Nub. 1431. The ξύλον with the eagle was then raised on the point of a lance (ἐπὶ πέλτῃ). In the Cyrop. vii. 1. 4, the Persian standard is called ἀετὸς χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ ἀνατεταμένους. Curtius, iii. 3. 16, calls it auream aquilam pinnae extendenti similem.

13. ἐνταῦθα: for ἐνταυθοῖ, just as we use here or there in the sense of hither or thither. — ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν, some from one part (of the hill), others

from another, or, as we should say, some in one direction, others in another. — τῶν ἱππέων: with ἐφίλουτο, was cleared of the horsemen. Cf. τῶν ἱππέων ἐνεπλήσθη in § 12. — τέλος: cf. i. 9. 6.

14. ὑπ' αὐτόν, at the foot of it. — κατ-ιδόντας: note the preposition.

Page 36. — τί ἐστιν: in what other mood might the verb have been? What case of the same sort is there in the next section?

15. σχεδόν . . . ἦν, i. e. and about this time.

16. θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα: see note on i. 5. 14. — φαίνοντο, παρείη: optative in a causal sentence (G. 250, N.). — τεθνηκότα: cf. πεπωκότα in i. 8. 28. — διώκοντα ὄχεσθαι, had gone (G. 246) in pursuit (G. 279, 4, N.). — καταληψόμενόν τι προεληλακέναι, had pushed on (give the direct form) to take possession of (G. 277, 3) something.

17. εἰ ἄγοιντο ἢ ἀπίοιεν: cf. εἰ πέμποιεν ἢ ἴοιεν in § 5, and note. — δορπηστόν, supper-time (although they went supperless, § 19): derived from δόρπον, which in Homer is the common name for the afternoon or evening meal, Lat. coena, the chief meal of the day. In the primitive Homeric times there were two regular meals, ἀριστον, an early meal, breakfast, and δόρπον, a late meal, supper. Either could be called δείπνον, which in Attic Greek meant the chief meal of the day, and as this came late in the afternoon, δείπνον took the place of the older name δόρπον. Cf. δ-δειπνοί in § 19. The Attic ἀριστον was a midday meal, lunch, or dinner.

18. διηρπασμένα (G. 279, 1). — εἴ τι . . . ἦν, whatever there was to eat or drink (ποτόν, verbal adjective from πίνω). — μεστάς: predicate adjective, sc. οὐσας, (that had been) full (G. 204, N. 1). τὰς ἀμάξας and τοῦτο that is to be understood as the antecedent of the clause εἴ τι . . . ἦν are, along with τὰ πλεῖστα, objects of καταλαμβάνουσι. — εἰ λάβοι (G. 248, N.). — ἄμαξαι: predicate to ἦσαν, αὐταί being the subject. — καὶ ταύτας . . . διηρπασαν: this is partly a repetition of what has already been expressed in διηρπασμένα. — τότε: see § 2.

19. ἀδειπνοὶ ἦσαν· ἦσαν ἀνάριστοι: what is such an arrangement of the parts of a sentence called? Note also the case that follows, καταλθεῖν τὸ στράτευμα, βασιλεὺς ἐφάνη. Cf., concerning the fact stated in πρὶν γὰρ . . . ἐφάνη, i. 8. 1, and note. — μὲν: correlative to δέ in ii. 1. 2.

BOOK SECOND.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE KING. — CONCLUSION OF A TREATY. — BEGINNING OF THE MARCH HOMEWARD. — TREACHEROUS SEIZURE OF THE FIVE GENERALS. — THEIR CHARACTERS.

CHAPTER I.

SYNOPSIS: The preceding Book is reviewed in outline (1). At daybreak the generals meet and express surprise that Cyrus neither appears himself nor sends

them orders. They resolve to march forward and meet him (2); but just at sunrise messengers bring word that he is dead, and that Ariaeus proposes to set out on the next day for Ionia (3). The Greeks are afflicted at the death of Cyrus, but, accepting the facts, send word to Ariaeus that they will make him king (4). Chirisôphus and Menon go back with the messengers (5). Clearchus awaits their return, and the troops slaughter the beasts of burden for food (6). Herald's arrive from the King (7), who announce that he commands the Greeks to give up their arms and sue at his gates for favor (8). Clearchus, replying briefly, leaves the rest to answer while he returns to conclude a sacrifice (9). Various replies are made, some threatening, others conciliatory (10-14). Clearchus returns and shrewdly asks the advice of Phalinus, one of the heralds and himself a Greek, hoping that he will advise them not to surrender (15-18). But he replies that they have no chance for life except from the King's mercy (19). Clearchus contemptuously replies that they will keep their arms (20). Phalinus then informs them that the King will consider that a truce exists between himself and them, as long as they remain where they are; but otherwise, war (21). Clearchus bids him report that this is a satisfactory arrangement (22), but refuses to give any intimation of his intentions (23).

1. The first section of Book II., and the similar introductions prefixed to most of the following books, are generally supposed to be the work of an editor who divided the *Anabasis* into books. — *ὡς . . . ἐστρατεύετο*: the first of five indirect questions, subjects of *δεδῆλωται*. — *οὖν*: to introduce the recapitulation. — *Κόρυς*: dative of advantage (G. 184, 3), not of the agent. — *ἐκοιμήθησαν*: *κοιμάω*, to put to sleep, is akin to *κείμαι*. — *τὰ πάντα*, at all points (G. 160, 2). Why is the subject of *νικᾶν* omitted? (G. 134, 3). — *νικᾶν*: their thought was, *νικῶμεν*, we have conquered (are victorious), a pres. with an approach to the signif. of the perf. (*Moods and Tenses*, § 10, N. 4). — *ἔμπροσθεν* (G. 141, N. 3). — *λόγῳ*, narrative, i. e. in Book I.

2. *ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρῃ*: cf. i. 7. 2, and reference. For *δέ*, see note on *μέν* in i. 10. 19: the editor above-mentioned (note on § 1) probably used the *μέν* at the beginning of § 1 without noticing the preceding sentence.

Page 37. — *ὅτι πέμποι, φαίνοντο*: cf. the opt. in i. 10. 16, and note. — *σημανοῦντα*: what does the part. express? — *εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν*: cf. i. 10. 5. — *ὥς συμμίξαι*: optative in a dependent clause by quotation (G. 248, 3). What other mood might we have had, and why? What would then be added to *ὥς*?

3. *ἐν ὁρμῇ ὄντων*, when they (sc. αὐτῶν and cf. i. 2. 17) were on the point of starting. — *ἥλιος*: the names of the heavenly bodies, like proper names, may omit the article. Cf. *ἥλιος* in i. 10. 15. — *Προκλής*: of the third dec. (G. 52, 2, N. 3). — *Τευθρανίας*: a town and district in Mysia. — *γεγονός*, descended from. — *Δαμαράτου*, *Damarātus*, a Spartan king, deposed in 491 B. C., who settled in southwestern Mysia. See a dict. of biography. — *Γλοῦς*: mentioned in i. 4. 16. He had now gone over to Artaxerxes. For *Tamos* see i. 2. 21, and note. — *τέθνηκεν* might have been *τεθνήκει* (G. 243): cf. the optatives that follow, *εἴη, λέγοι, φαίη*. — *σταθμῷ*: cf. i. 10. 1. —

δεν = ἐξ οὗ. — *ἡμέραν* (G. 161). — *περιμένειν ἂν . . . μέλλουσιν*: in the dir. form (G. 247), *περιμέναιμι ἂν αὐτοῖς, εἰ μέλλουσιν ἦκαν* (G. 227, 1). — *τῇ ἄλλῃ*, on the next day. — *ἀπέναι* (G. 200, N. 3b) *φαίη*: cf. with *λέγει* *ἐπὶ*, κ. τ. λ., above, and see G. 260, N. 1. — *ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας*, in the direction of *Ιονία* (G. 191, VI. 2, 1 α).

4. *ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες πυνθανόμενοι*: chiasitic. — *Ἀλλά*: often begins a speech opposed to one that precedes. Cf. i. 7. 6. — *ἄφελε . . . ἦν*, *would that Cyrus were living* (G. 251, 2, N. 1). How else might the thought have been expressed? — *νικῶμεν*: cf. the note on § 1, and cf. also § 8, § 9, and § 11. — *εἰ μὴ ἦλθετε, ἱπορευόμεθα ἂν*: the prot. referring to the past, the apod. to the present (G. 222). — *καθεῖν*, see *καθίζω* (G. 110, II. N. 1 c). — *τῶν νικάντων*: predicate genitive of possession (G. 169, 1). — *τὸ ἀρχεῖν*: subject infinitive with the art. (G. 259, N.).

5. *ταῦτα*: why did the Greeks use the plural, and why do we translate by the singular? — *τοὺς ἀγγέλους*: Procles and Glus, § 3. — *καὶ γὰρ*: cf. i. 1. 6, and note.

6. *οἱ μὲν*: asyndeton. See note on i. 2. 4, and cf. i. 2. 25. — *δπως, ας, = ὡς*. — *ξύλοις*, for fuel (G. 137, N. 4). — *μικρὸν . . . οὐ*, *going forward a short distance* (G. 161) *from the main body, to where*, etc. — *οἰστοῖς*, arrows, derived from the root that appears in *οἶσω*, the future of *φέρω*. Lit. then *οἰστός* is *that which is borne or shot*. — *ἡνάγκαζον*: *had compelled*: cf. *ἐποίησε* in i. 1. 2, with note, and *ἐπολιόρκει, συνεπολέμα* in i. 4. 2. — *τοὺς αὐτομολούντας*: cf. i. 10. 6. — *φέρεισθαι ἔρημοι*, *left to be carried away*, i. e. for fuel (G. 265). See *Moods and Tenses*, § 97, N. 1, end. — *κρέα*: object of both participle and verb.

Page 38. — 7. *καὶ ἤδη . . . ἀγοράν*: cf. i. 8. 1, and note. — *οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι*: in apposition to *κέρυκες*. We should expect *εἰς δ' αὐτῶν Φαλίνοσ* *Ἕλλησιν* to follow. — *βάρβαροι*: predicate to *δντες* to be supplied. — *ἐντίμως ἔχον*, *to be in honor*. Cf. note on *εὐνοικῶς ἔχουσιν*, i. 1. 5. — *ἐπιστήμων*: derivation? — *τῶν ἀμφὶ τάξεις = τῶν τακτικῶν*. For the case, see G. 182, 1. — *ὀπλο-μαχίαν*, *the art of fighting in heavy armor* (G. 131, 1).

8. *δτι . . . ἀγαθόν*: what changes of mood are possible in this sentence? (G. 247): *λέγουσιν* has the force of an historical tense (G. 201, Rem.). — *νικῶν*: what use of the part.? Cf. also note on *νικᾶν* in § 1. — *παραδόν-τας*: for the relation of this part. to the following *λόντας εὐρίσκεισθαι*, cf. note on *ὑπολαβέν* in i. 1. 7. — *εὐρίσκεισθαι . . . ἀγαθόν*, *to seek to get whatever (lit. if any) favor they could* (G. 223).

9. *βαρέως*, with anger. — *δμως*: Clearchus, though himself angry, *nevertheless*, etc. — *εἴη*: why opt.? — *ἔφη*, *continued he*. — *δ τι*: cogn. acc. to *ἀποκρίνασθαι* to be supplied with *ἔχετε*. — *ἤξω*, *will return*. Cf., as to meaning, *ἐλθόντες* in § 1. — *δπως . . . ἐξηρημένα*, *that he might see the entraisils (after they had been) taken out*. — *θύόμενος*: why middle?

10. *πρόσθεν ἢ παραδοίεν*: *πρόσθεν ἢ* (where *πρὶν* might have been used) with the opt. (G. 240, with N.; 232, 4). There is no change of mood in quoting what Cleānor said (G. 245; 247, N. 3). — *θαυμάζω*, *should like to know*. — *πότερα . . . ἢ*: double indirect question (G. 282, 5). — *ὡς κρατῶν*:

force of *ὥς*? — *ἢ ὥς* . . . *δῶρα*, or as gifts (G. 137, N. 4) on the alleged (*ὥς*) ground of friendship, as if he had said *ὥς φίλος ἄν.* — *τί* . . . *ἐλθόντα*, why should he ask for them and (why should he) not (*οὐ*, not *μή*) come and take them? — *πέπασας*, by persuasion, opp. to *ὥς κρατῶν.* — *τί ἐσται* . . . *χαρίσονται*: cf. i. 7. 8, *τί* . . . *κρατήσωσιν.*

11. *πρὸς ταῦτα*, in reply to this. — *αὐτῷ*: with *ἀντιποιεῖται* (G. 186, N. 1). — *ἔστιν*: why accented? — *ἀρχῆς*: causal genitive (G. 173, 1, N. 2). — *ἐαυτοῦ*: pred. gen. of poss. (G. 169, 1). — *μέσῃ τῇ χάρᾳ*: cf. *μέσου τοῦ παραδέσσου* in i. 2. 7, and note. — *οὐδέ*: the *οὐ* goes with *δύναισθε ἄν*, the *δέ* (even) with *εἰ* . . . *ὑμῖν.* — *παρέχοι*: sc. *ἀποκτείναι.*

12. *εἰ μή*, except, after a neg. Cf. i. 4. 18; i. 5. 6. — *ἔχοντες* = *εἰ ἔχομεν* (G. 226, 1). — *ἄν*: with *χρήσθαι* (G. 246). So the *ἄν* that follows belongs to *στερηθῆναι*, and *παραδόντες* = *εἰ παραδοίμεν.*

Page 39. — *μή*: the neg. with the imperative is always *μή* (G. 283, 2). — *παραδόσαν*: sc. *ἡμᾶς* as subject, which would have been expressed if *ἡμῖν* had not preceded.

13. *Ἄλλᾳ* . . . *ἐχάριστα*: ironical. On *Ἄλλᾳ*, see § 4. When Phalinus calls him a "philosopher," he means to stigmatize his remarks about *ἀρετή* and *ἀγαθὰ* as unpractical. The literal meaning of *φιλό-σοφος*? — *ἄν*, that you are (G. 280). — *περιγενέσθαι ἄν*, could (under any circumstances) prove superior (G. 246; 226, 2 b). — *δυνάμεις*: case (G. 175, 2).

14. *ἔφασαν*: Xenophon writes as if he had not himself been present. — *λέγαν*: cf. *λέγαν* in i. 9. 23, and note. — *ὑπο-μαλακίζομένους*, losing courage somewhat (*ὑπό*). The underlying word is *μαλακός*, soft. For *ὑπό*, see G. 191, VI. 7, end. — *τι* (G. 183, 1, N. 2): cf. i. 3. 18, and note. — *συγκαταστρέφειν* *ἄν*: serving loosely as an apodosis to the first protasis also, *εἴτε θάλοι*, but belonging more fitly to the second.

15. *εἰ*, whether (G. 282, 4). — *ἀποκεκρήμενοι εἶεν*: periphrastic perfect (G. 118, 1). Why opt.? — *Οὔτοι*: in partitive appos. to the phrase *ἄλλος ἄλλα* (G. 137, N. 2). — *ἄλλος ἄλλα*, some one thing, others another, lit. *an' other other things*. Cf. *ἄλλοι ἄλλως* in i. 6. 11, and *ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν* in i. 10. 13, and the notes. — *λέγας*, mean, intend.

16. The sparring that follows to the end of the chapter shows much Greek humor. — *δομενος* (G. 138, N. 7). — *οἶμαι* . . . *πάντες*, and all the rest also, I think. *οἶμαι* is parenthetic and does not affect the construction. — *ἡμῶς*: sc. *Ἕλληνες ἵσμεν.* — *πράγμασι*: cf. i. 1. 11.

17. *δ* *τι*: the antecedent of this word is a cogn. acc. to *συμβούλευσον*, give us whatever advice, etc. — *ἐπειτα*: to be how construed? — *λεγόμενον* (by conjecture for *ἀναλεγόμενον*), *ὅτι Φαλίνος, κ. τ. λ.*: when reported as follows, viz. "Phalinus once," etc. (G. 241, 2, Note). — *συμβουλευόμενος συνεβούλευσεν*: why a difference in voice? The same distinction above. — *τάδε*, the following advice (G. 148, N. 1), would be followed by the actual advice, if the report should ever be made in Greece. What sort of an accusative is *τάδε*? — *ὅτι ἀνάγκη* (sc. *ἵστω*), that it is inevitable.

18. *ὑπ-ήγερτο*, craftily (*ὑπό*) suggested this. — *εὐέλπιδες*: declined like *ελπίς* (G. 66, N. 3). — *ὑπο-στρέψας*, turning adroitly, avoiding the trap. — *παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ*, contrary to what he had expected (G. 191, VI. 4, 3 d).

19. *εἰ . . . ἔστι*, if you have one chance in ten thousand (G. 77, 2, N. 3²). — *σωθῆναι*: limits *ἐλπίς*, to be supplied with *μία τις* (G. 261, 1). In the second line below, the noun *σωτηρίας* is used in the same sense. — *ἄκοντες*: used almost like a *participle*. Cf. i. 3. 17, and note.

Page 40. — 20. *πρὸς ταῦτα*: cf. § 11. — *Ἀλλὰ*: cf. § 4, and note. — *ταῦτα*: cf. with *τάδε* in the next line (G. 148, N. 1). Cf. also § 21, beginning. — *ἡμεῖς*: emphatic, opposing what the Greeks thought to what the King had demanded (§ 8). — *εἶναι*: sc. *ἡμᾶς* as subj. — *πλείονος* (G. 178, N.). — *ἔχοντες*: a second protasis (G. 226, 1) to *ἀν εἶναι*, which is quoted (G. 246): see note on *ἔχοντες* and *παράδόντες* in § 12.

21. *αὐτοῦ*: adv. — *ὅτι . . . εἴσαν*, that there was (not would be) a truce, etc., the direct form being *μένονσι* (partic., sc. *ὑμῖν*, = *ἦν μένητε*) *σπονδαί εἰσιν*, there is a truce for you (i. e. for you to depend on), if you remain (G. 223). See § 22, *Ἦν μένων*. Cf. below, *σπονδαί εἰσιν* after *μενεῖτε*. — *εἰπατε*: imperative of the first aor. *εἶπα*, not of the second aor. *εἶπον*. See the lexicon, and the Appendix to G., s. v. *εἶπον*. — *πότερα . . . ἤ*: cf. § 10. — *ὥς . . . ἀγγελάω*, shall I announce from you that there is war? lit. assuming that there is war, shall I announce it from you? (G. 280, N. 4, ex.).

22. *ταῦτά*: not *ταῦτα*. — *ἀπερ*: sc. *δοκεῖ*. — *ἀπεκρίνατο*: note the asyndeton. — *σπονδαί*: sc. *εἰσιν* (see note on § 21).

23. *ὅ τι ποιήσῃ* (indirect quest.): the fut. opt. is never used except as the representative of the fut. indicative in indirect discourse (G. 203, N. 3).

CHAPTER II.

SYNOPSIS: Phalinus departs; and Chirisophus and a messenger return from Ariaeus, who refuses to be made king, and again tells the Greeks that he shall set out early next morning (1). Clearchus declines to say whether they will join him or not (2). At sunset he tells the generals and captains that the sacrifices were extremely favorable for joining Ariaeus (3), and gives directions how they shall proceed (4). From this time on, Clearchus assumes virtual command (5). Computation of distances (6). Miltocŷthes deserts to the King (7). The Greeks join Ariaeus about midnight, and give and receive pledges of good faith (8, 9). Ariaeus shows that it will not do for them to return as they came (10, 11), and adds that at first they must make their marches as long as possible (12). At daybreak they begin their march northward (13). In the afternoon they think they see the enemy's cavalry (14); but scouts bring back word that what they see are only beasts of burden, and it is concluded that the King is encamping near by (15). Clearchus nevertheless advances straight on, and encamps in certain villages (16). In the darkness and confusion the Greeks make much noise and frighten the enemy (17), of whom, on the next day, no traces are to be seen (18). During the night the Greeks also suffer a panic (19). Clearchus by a stratagem succeeds in quieting them, and at daybreak they again fall into line (20, 21).

1. *αὐτοῦ παρὰ Ἀριαέω*: cf. *αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ* in iv. 3. 28. Glus also remained: cf. ii. 1. 3, 5. — *Ὀλεγον, φαίη*: the first takes a clause with

ἔτι, the second the inf. (G. 260, N. 1). — *βελτίους*, of *higher rank*. — οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι: for οἱ οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοιντο, a rel. clause with the inf. by assimilation (G. 260, 2, N. 2). — αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος: pred. part. after a verb of *enduring* (G. 279, 1). For the case see G. 171, 2. Cf. further *Moods and Tenses*, § 112, 2, N. 2. — ἄλλ' εἰ, κ. τ. λ.: a change to the direct discourse. — ἤδη, *immediately*. — εἰ δὲ μή, *otherwise*, i. e. *if you do not come*, = ἂν δὲ μή ἤκητε. See § 2. In such alternatives, εἰ δὲ μή is regularly used in the second clause, even when a subjunctive or an affirmative verb would be required if the ellipsis were supplied. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 52, 1, N. 2. — αὐτός (G. 138, N. 8), *himself*, adj. pron. emphasizing the omitted subj. of ἀπείναι, which is fut. in force (G. 200, N. 3 b).

2. οὕτω: with ref. to what follows as well as to what precedes. — χρη ποιεῖν: sc. ἡμᾶς, referring to both Greeks and barbarians. — ὥσπερ λέγεται: understand before this χρη ἡμᾶς ἤκειν τῆς νυκτός. — εἰ δὲ μή: see note on εἰ δὲ μή in § 1. — πράττετε is more animated than χρη ὑμᾶς πράτταν would have been. — ὅποῖόν τι: τι adds to the indefiniteness of ὅποῖον, *whatsoever*. — οὐδέ, i. e. *not even* to the friendly barbarians, just as before he had sent Phalinus off without satisfying him (ii. 1. 23, end).

3. ἵνα: purpose (G. 265). Construe with οὐκ ἐγένετο, *did not result (favorably) for going*. This phrase is interpreted by καλὰ ἦν at the end of the section. — ἄρα, *as it seems*. — ἐν μέσῳ, *between*. Cf. i. 7. 6, and note. — ναυσι-πορος (G. 131, 1, N.).

Page 411. — οὐ μὲν δή, *nor yet indeed*. — γέ: force? — οἷόν τι: sc. ἐστίν, *is it possible* (G. 151, N. 4²). — ἔστιν: accent?

4. δεῖπνεν: explanatory of ᾗδε ποιεῖν. The infinitive const. changes to the imperative in συσκευάζεσθε, κ. τ. λ. Cf. πράττετε in § 2, and note. — σημήνη: cf. ἐσάλπιγξε in i. 2. 17, and note. — ὡς ἀναπαύεσθαι (with σημήνη), *shall give the signal for going to rest* (G. 266, N. 1). — τὸ δεῖπνον: cogn. acc. to σημήνη to be supplied. — ἀνατίθεσθε: mid. (G. 199, 3). — ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ, *at the third signal*. — τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, *the van* (neut.) = τοῖς ἡγουμένοις. — πρὸς, *towards*: note that the genitive follows (G. 191, VI. 6. 1 a). — τὰ ἔπλα = τοὺς ὀπλίτας. Cf. ὁπλῆς in i. 7. 10.

5. τὸ λοιπόν: adv. (G. 160, 2). — δεῖ: sc. φρονεῖν.

6. This entire section is thought by many to be an interpolation. — ἀριθμὸς τῆς ὁδοῦ, *amount of the way, distance*. — τῆς Ἰωνίας, *in Ionia* (G. 167, 6). — μάχης, *scene of the battle, battle-field*. So below. — ἔλεγοντο εἶναι, *there were said to be, it was said that there were*.

7. ἐπεὶ σκότος ἐγένετο, *when it became dark* (G. 134, N. 1 c). Cf. ἡμέρα ἐγένετο in § 13, and ὅψις ἦν in § 16. — εἰς, ὡς: cf. note on εἰς in i. 2. 3.

8. τοῖς ἄλλοις: dative (G. 184, 3) after ἤγειτο in place of the genitive (G. 171, 3). — κατὰ τὰ παρηγγελμένα, *in accordance with his previous instructions*. For these see § 4. — παρὰ Ἀραιοῖν: why acc.? — μέσας νίκτας: cf. note on i. 7. 1. — ἐν . . . ἔπλα, *halting under arms in line of battle*. Cf. i. 5. 14, and note. Θέμενοι modifies the following nominatives, the officers being said to halt when they order their men to do so. — οἱ κράτιστοι, *the highest in rank*. Cf. βελτίους in § 1. — μήτε . . . τέ, *not only not*

... but also: the correlatives are merely τε . . . τε. — προδῶσθαι, ἔσεισθαι, ἡγήσεσθαι: quoted (G. 202, 3 a). — προσ-ῶμοσαν, *swore besides* (G. 191, VI. 6, end).

9. εἰς ἀσπίδα, i. e. the blood was caught in the hollow of a shield. — οἱ Ἕλληνες, οἱ βάρβαροι: subjects of ῶμοσαν.

10. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἐγένετο, *but when the pledges had been given* (aor. with force of plup.); with the pledge here given (an oath and offering) cf. ii. 3. 28, where the pledge is an oath and the giving and taking of the right hand, and iv. 8. 7, where it is an oath and the exchange of spears.

Page 42. — πότερον . . . ἤ: how used? — ἦνπερ: sc. ὁδόν, and for the construction of this accusative with ἤλθομεν, cf. note on ὁδόν in i. 2. 20.

11. ἀπίντες: prot. = εἰ ἀπίομεν (G. 226, 1). — παντελῶς, *utterly*, der. from παν-τελής (τέλος). — ὑπὸ λιμοῦ: cf. i. 5. 5, and note. — ὑπάρχει ἡμῖν, *we have to depend on*: for the meaning of ὑπάρχω, cf. note on i. 1. 4. — οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, *nothing in the way of provisions*. — ἑπτακαίδεκα γάρ: γάρ is doubly related, introducing not only a ground for παντελῶς . . . ἀπολοιμένα, but also one of the causes of ὑπάρχει . . . ἐπιτηδείων. — σταθμῶν: the σταθμός is here looked upon as a period of time. Cf. for the case ἡμερῶν in i. 7. 18. — ἐγγυτάτω: adj. (G. 141, N. 3; 142, 2). — ἐνθα, *there*. — νῦν δ' ἐπινούμεν, i. e. I and those with me. νῦν δέ corresponds to ἦν μὲν ἤλθομεν, and τῶν δ' . . . ἀπορήσομεν το μακροτέραν μὲν. — μακροτέραν: sc. ὁδόν; cf. note on ἦνπερ in § 10. — ἐπιτηδείων: why genitive?

12. πορευτέον: sc. ἐστί (G. 281, 2). — σταθμούς: cognate acc. to πορευτέον, *we must make our first marches*, lit. *march our first marches*. — ὥς . . . μακροτάτους, *as long as possible*. Cf. note on i. 1. 6, and ὥς πλείστον just below. μακροτάτους is predicate (cf. G. 142, 3). — ἀποσπασθῶμεν: explain the accent and mood. — στρατεύματος: why genitive? — ἀπαξ: cf. note on i. 9. 10. — δύο: here indeclinable (G. 77, 1, N. 1). — ἡμερῶν: gen. of measure (G. 167, 3). — ἀπόσχωμεν: why subj.? — οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται: emphatic fut. affirmation (G. 257). — στρατεύματι: dat. of accompaniment (G. 188, 5), equiv. to ἐὰν ἔχῃ ὀλίγον στράτευμα, corresp. to πολλὸν δ' ἔχων (below) = ἐὰν ἔχῃ. — σπανίει: fut. of σπανίζω (G. 110, II. N. 1 c). — ἔγωγε is expressed for emphasis, and further emphasized by γέ and by its position.

13. Ἦν δυναμένη, *amounted to, meant*: οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένη stands like a pred. adjective after ἦν, the expression differing little from ἐδύνατο. — στρατηγία, *plan of operations*. — ἀποδρᾶναι ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν: cf. i. 4. 8, and note. — τὸν ἥλιον, ἡλίω: cf. note on ἡλίω in ii. 1. 3. — τοῦτο: cf. ἐπεύσθη τοῦτο in i. 8. 11, and note.

14. ἔτι δέ, *but furthermore*. — δεῖλιν: cf. note on i. 8. 1. — τῶν Ἑλλήνων: depends on the omitted (indefinite) antecedent of οἱ (G. 152). — οἱ μὴ ἔτιχον: a conditional relative clause (G. 232, 1; 231, end).

15. εἰσὶν, νέμονται: partial change of mood in quotation. Cf. note on i. 10. 5. — ἰστροποτεδεύετο: impf. (not plup.), *was encamping*. — καὶ γὰρ καί: an unusual connection of particles, *and (they were sure of this) for smoke also*, etc.

16. ἀπερηκότας, *were weary*, as pf. of ἀπ-αγορεύω, *to renounce, give up*,

grow weary: the perf. ἀπ-είρηκα, *to have grown* (and so *to be*) *weary*. Cf. i. 5. 3. — οὐ . . . ἀπέκλινε, *he did not, however, even* (δέ in οὐδέ) *turn aside*, much less retreat.

Page 43. — εὐθύωρον, *straight on*, an uncommon word. — εἰς: with ref. to the previous marching *into* the villages. — καὶ . . . ξύλα, *even the very timbers in (from) the houses* (G. 191, N. 6). Cf. τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πύλων in i. 2. 3, and note.

17. ὅμως: notwithstanding the villages had been pillaged. — τρόπον τινί, *after a fashion*. — σκοταῖοι, *in darkness* (G. 138, N. 7). — ἐπύχχανον: sc. αὐλιζόμενοι. — ὥστε ἀκοῦναι, *ὥστε ἔφυγον*: in the second case the result is stated as an independent fact, rather than merely as a result (G. 266, 1; 237).

18. καὶ βασιλεὺς, *even the King*, and not only οἱ ἐκ τῶν σκηνομημάτων φεύγοντες. — οἷς (G. 153, with N. 1).

19. τοῖς Ἕλλησι: after the compound verb (G. 187). — οἷον: masculine accusative, subject of γίνεσθαι, *qualem par est fieri*.

20. τῶν τότε: sc. κηρύκων. Homer says (*Iliad* v. 786) that Stentor (cf. Eng. *stentorian*), the "brazen-voiced," was able to shout as loud as fifty other men together. — τοῦτον: taking up Τολμίδην. — τὰ ὅπλα: in a Greek camp the arms (heavy shields and spears) were generally stacked in one place. — ὅτι λήψεται: cf. i. 6. 2, and note. — ὅς ἂν μὴνύσῃ, *λήψεται*: conditional relative sentence referring vividly to the future (G. 232, 3). — τάλαντον ἀργυρίου: cf. i. 7. 18.

21. εἰς τάξιν τὰ ὅπλα τίθεσθαι, *to get under arms in* (lit. *into*) *line of battle*. Cf. i. 5. 14, and note. — ἥπῃ εἶχον, *just as they were* (or *stood*). — ἡ μάχη, i. e. *the battle of Cunaxa*.

CHAPTER III.

SYNOPSIS: At sunrise the King sends heralds to propose a truce (1). Clearchus arranges the army so as to present the most formidable appearance, and, coming forward (2, 3), asks what they want (4). He directs them to tell the King that they must fight first, as the Greeks have had no breakfast (5). The heralds depart, but soon return with word that, if the truce (which is to be general) should be concluded, the Greeks will be furnished provisions (6, 7). Clearchus thinks best to conclude the truce, and commands the heralds to lead the way (8, 9). They come upon ditches and canals, over which they are obliged to construct bridges (10). Clearchus punishes those who loiter, and himself takes part in the work (11), so that the older men also give their assistance (12). Clearchus suspects that the King has flooded the plain with a purpose (13). They arrive at certain villages where they procure provisions (14–16). They remain here three days, and Tissaphernes comes to confer with them (17), and says that he has asked the King to allow him to lead them back to Greece (18, 19), but that the King wishes to know why they took the field against him (20). Clearchus explains how they were drawn into the expedition (21, 22), but says that now, however, they wish simply to return (23). Tissaphernes reports this to the King (24), and on the third day returns saying that the King consents to his leading them home in safety (25). He swears on his part to do this faithfully

and to furnish provisions; and the Greeks swear to do no harm to the country on their way (26-28). Tissaphernes then goes back to the King, promising to return after completing his preparations (29).

1. "Ο . . . ἔγραψα: in ii. 2. 18. — τῷδε, *from what follows* (G. 188, 1; 148, N. 1). — πέμπων: sc. κήρυκας (cf. ii. 1. 7).

2. τοὺς προφύλακας, *the pickets*. — ἐξήτουν: diff. in use between this word and αἰτέω on the one hand and ἐρωτάω on the other? — τυχόν, ἐπισκοπῶν: classify these partic. — εἶπε, *told*. Cf. ἔλεγε θαρρεῖν in i. 3. 8, and note. — ἀχρι ἂν σχολάσῃ: on the principle of indirect discourse we might have ἀχρι σχολάσαι (G. 248, 3).

3. κατέστησε, *had drawn up*. — ὥστε . . . πυκνήν, *so that it should be* (G. 266, 2) *well arranged to be seen* (G. 261, 2) *everywhere as a compact line* (i. e. to have this appearance in all parts).

Page 44. — μηδὲνα: why not οὐδένα? — εἶναι: in the same construction with the preceding ἔχεν. — τέ, τέ: the first τέ is correlative to the καί before τοῖς ἄλλοις; the second, to the καί before εὐαδιστάτους. — ταῦτά, i. e. προελθεῖν, κ. τ. λ.

4. πρὸς, *in front of* (G. 191, VI. 6). — ἤκοιεν, *had come*, the direct form is ἤκομεν (G. 200, N. 3) ἄνδρες οἵτινες ἐσόμεθα (G. 247, N. 1). See *Moods and Tenses*, § 74, 1, N. 1.

5. μάχης: genitive of want (G. 172, 1). — ὁ τολμήσων, *the man that will dare* (G. 276, 2), subj. of the preceding ἔστιν. — μὴ πορίσας = ἂν μὴ πορίσῃ (G. 226, 1). — Notice ἀριστον at both beginning and end of the last sentence.

6. φ: the antecedent is the preceding sentence, ἦκον ταχύ. — δοκοῖεν, ἤκοιεν: the direct discourse would show the person of each verb: εἰκότα δοκοῖτε . . . καὶ ἤκομεν . . . οἱ ἄξουσιν ἔνθεν ἔξετε. — οἱ . . . ἐπιτήδεια, *who would conduct them* (the purpose for which the guides were brought), *if there should be a truce, to a place* (sc. ἐκείσε) *from which they would get* (the object in view) *provisions*. For this use of the fut. ind. with relative words (here οἱ and ἔνθεν) to express purpose or object, see G. 236, with N. 3. For the partial change of mood in the quoted sentence ὅτι . . . ἐπιτήδεια, see note on ὅτι . . . βασιλεῖ in § 4.

7. εἰ . . . ἀπιούσιν, *whether he was making a truce merely* (αὐτοῖς) *for the men* (as they were) *coming and going*, i. e. for the King's envoys. The direct question was σπένδομαι . . . ἢ . . . ἔσονται. — τοῖς ἄλλοις (G. 184, 3 or 4). — διαγγελλῇ: why subjunctive? Force of διὰ?

8. μεταστησάμενος, *had them retire, and, etc.* (G. 191, VI. 3, end). — ἔδοκε ποιεῖσθαι: cf. ἔδοκε πορεύεσθαι in i. 2. 1, and note. — καθ' ἡσυχίαν, i. e. without being harassed by the enemy. Force of the suffix in ἡσυχίᾳ? — ἐπὶ, *after, in order to get*, involving the idea of purpose, but below, in § 9 at the end, πρὸς in the sense simply of *to*.

9. διατρέψω (sc. χρόνον). — ἀποδόξῃ: why subj.? For the force of ἀπό, cf. ἀπο-ψηφίσονται in i. 4. 15, and note. — καιρὸς, *proper time*, whereas χρόνος is *time* in general.

10. *οἱ μὲν*: correlated by *Κλέαρχος μὲντοι*. — *τάφρους*: cf. for the case, *οἷς*, i. 8. 1. — *αὐλᾶσαι*, *canals*. — *ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι*, so that they were not able, *ὥς* with the inf. to express result (G. 266, π. 1). Cf. i. 5. 10, and note. — *ἐποιούοντο*: sc. *γεφύρας*. — *ἦσαν ἐκπεπωκότες*: periphrastic pluperfect (G. 118, 4), which makes the idea of *being* on the ground more prominent than that of *falling*.

Page 45. — 11. *Κλέαρχον . . . ἐπιστάται*: lit. *to learn Clearchus well, how he commanded*. Cf. note on *τῶν βαρβάρων*, i. 1. 5, and also i. 6. 5. — *τὸ δόρυ*, *his spear*, but in the next line *βακτηρίαν*, a *staff or stick*, without the art., because the staff was no part of his regular equipment as a soldier. Give the stem from which *βακτηρία* is derived. — *εἰ δοκοῖη*: why opt.? — *τὸν ἐπιτήδειον*: sc. *παῖν* (G. 261, 1). — *ἔπαισεν ἄν*: an *iterative aorist* (G. 206). For the use of the stick in Spartan military discipline, see i. 5. 11, and note. — *αὐτὸς προσελάμβανεν*, *took hold himself*. — *μὴ οὐ* (G. 283, 7): the *μὴ* negatives the following inf. regularly; the *οὐ* (here very irregular) strengthens the neg. idea underlying *αἰσχύνην εἶναι*, *were ashamed, were unwilling* (*Moods and Tenses*, § 95, 2, π. 1, Rem.).

12. *πρὸς*: cf. i. 9. 20. It is doubtful whether we should read *αὐτοῦ* or *αὐτό*. MSS. *αὐτόν*. — *οἱ . . . γεγονότες* here must mean *those that were thirty years old and less*, which would regularly be *οἱ εἰς τριάκοντα ἔτη* (as in vii. 3. 46). For the case of *ἔτη*, see G. 161. — *σπουδάζοντα*, *in earnest*. — *προσελάμβανον*: cf. § 11.

13. *ὑποτίψων*: cf. i. 1. 1, and note. — *μὴ*: in the direct form *οὐ* (G. 242, 4). — *ἔρδειν*: with *οἷα* (sc. *τοιαύτη*), on the principle of G. 261, 1: *it was not the proper season for watering*, etc. Cf. *Moods and Tenses*, § 93, 1, π. 1. — *ἤδη*, *forthwith, at the very start*. — *εἰς*, with reference to, *for*. — *τοῦτον ἔνεκα*: taking up *ἵνα προφαίνοιτο*. Cf. G. 215, Rem. — *ἀφαικίναί*: see *ἀφίημι*.

14. *ὅθεν*: cf. ii. 1. 3, and note, and below, § 16. As an adverb *ὅθεν* goes with *λαμβάνειν*; as a relative it introduces the sentence. — *ἀπιδεῖξαν λαμβάνειν*, *gave them notice to take*. — *οἶνος φοινίκων*, *palm wine*. Cf. i. 5. 10. — *ὄξος . . . αὐτῶν*, a *sour* (cf. *ὄξύς*) *drink made from the same by boiling* (*ἔψω*, to boil).

15. *αὐταὶ αἱ βάλανοι*, *the dates themselves* (opposed to the wine, etc.), in partitive appos. (G. 137, π. 2). — *τοῖς οἰκέταις*: with *ἀπέκλειντο* (G. 184, 3). *οἰκέτης*, from *οἶκος* (G. 129, 2 b), properly a *house-servant*. — *ἀπέκλειντο*, *were set apart*; equiv. to pass. of *ἀπετίθεσθαι*, below. — *καλλους*: gen. of cause (G. 173, 1). — *ἡλέκτρον*: abridged for *ἡλέκτρον ὄψευς*. Cf. the similar case explained in G. 186, π. 2. — *τὰς δὲ τινας*, *but some (τινάς) others*. — *τραγήματα*, *for sweetmeats*, to be eaten at dessert (G. 137, π. 4). — *καὶ ἦν . . . ἡδὺ μὲν*, *and these (the τραγήματα, G. 135, 2) were a palatable thing* (G. 138, π. 2 c) also at a *symposium* (*πότην*, not *ποτόν*). — *κεφαλ-αλγής*: derivation? See G. 131, 1.

16. *τὸν ἐγ-κέφαλον*, *the crown* (lit. *brain*), a large terminal cabbage-like growth at the top of the stem of the palm-tree. — *ἰδιότητα*, *peculiar-ity* (see G. 129, 7). — *ἡδονῆς*, *flavor*. Cf. *ἡδύ*, above. — *ἐξαιρεθείη*: why opt.? — *ὅλος*, *entirely* (G. 138, π. 7): we sometimes say. *it all dried up*.

17. ὁ . . . ἀδελφός: note the position of the genitives (G. 142, 1). — γυναικός: by name *Statira*. — αὐτοῖς: case (G. 186). Cf. Ἑλλάδι in the next section.

18. γελῶν: predicate nom. to οἰκῶ (G. 136; cf. 137, N. 4). — οἰκῶ: see *Hellen*. iii. 2. 12, Καρία, ἐνθαπερ ὁ Τισσαφέρωνος οἶκος.

Page 46. — πολλὰ κίμῃχانا (i. e. καὶ ἀμ.), many difficulties, lit. many and inextricable (*struils*, G. 141, N. 4): ἀμῃχانا = ἐν οἷς οὐδεμία μηχανή. — εὖρημα, a piece of good fortune; from εὐρίσκω (εὖρ-, G. 129, 4). — εἰ δυναίμην: we might have had ἐὰν δύνωμαι (G. 248, 2; 226, 4, N. 1), as the context implies, *I thought it would be a εὖρημα*, — οἶμαι . . . ἔχειν, for *I think it would not be a thankless labor for me* (G. 246). For ἀχαρίστως ἂν ἔχειν, cf. note on i. 1. 5, end. — πρὸς ὑμῶν: as if a passive had preceded in place of ἀχαρίστως ἔχειν.

19. ἐπιστρατεύοντα: quoted after ἡγγεῖλα (G. 280). For the fact mentioned, see i. 2. 4. — καὶ μόνος, κ. τ. λ.: cf. i. 10. 7 and 8. — σὺν τοῖσδε: with a gesture. — αὐτῷ: the King.

20. βουλευέσθαι: what other tenses might be used? (G. 203, N. 2). — εὐπρακτότερον: verbal adj. (G. 117, 3) in the comparative. The subj. of εὐπρακτότερον ἢ ἐδιαπράξασθαι understood, the διαπράξασθαι expressed being the object of δύνωμαι.

21. μεταστάντες: second aor. Cf. μεταστησάμενος in § 8. — Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεγεν, i. e. *Clearchus was their spokesman*. — ὥς βασιλεῖ πολέμησοντες, with the intention of warring with the King (G. 186, N. 1). When, as here, the subject of the leading verb is also the speaker (cf. G. 277, N. 2), ὥς simply emphasizes the cause or purpose denoted by the participle.

22. The speaker is referring in this section, probably, to the agreement entered into at Thapsacus, i. 4. 11–13. — θεούς, ἀνθρώπους: objects of ἡσυχύνθημεν (G. 158, N. 2). The infinitive προδοῦναι is a second obj. of the same verb (G. 260, 1). — παρέχοντες (sc. αὐτῷ), when we had offered (G. 204, N. 1). — εὖ ποιεῖν: purpose (G. 265; 165, N. 1).

23. ἐπεὶ: here, since; above, in § 22, when. — βασιλεῖ . . . ἀρχῆς: cf. ii. 1. 11. — τὴν χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν: cf. i. 4. 8, and note. Cf. below, ἡμᾶς εὖ ποιῶν. — εἴ τις . . . λυποῖ, i. e. if no one should molest us: τις is like French *on* and German *man*, with no exact English equivalent. — ἀδικούντα: sc. τινά, and cf. βουλευομένους in i. 1. 7. — ἡμᾶς . . . ὑπάρχει, shall take the first step also (καὶ) in doing us good (G. 279, 1), καὶ εὖ ποιῶν emphatically opposed to ἀδικούντα. — εὖ ποιοῦντες (G. 277, 2).

Page 47. — 24. ἦκω: mood? — αἱ . . . μενόντων, let the truce continue. — ἀγορὰν παρέξομεν, will provide a market, i. e. an opportunity for the Greeks to buy provisions.

25. εἰς: cf. εἰς ἔω, i. 7. 1, and note. — διαπεπραγμένος (cf. διαπράξασθαι in § 20): with δοθῆναι as its object. — δοθῆναι αὐτῷ: cf. the corresponding active δοῦναι ἐμοί in § 18. — καίπερ: with the following concessive part. (G. 277, N. 1 b). — ἀξιον βασιλεῖ, befitting the King (G. 185; 184, 2). Cf. G. 178, N.

26. τέλος: cf. i. 10. 13. — παρέξιν: sc. ἡμᾶς. The inf. is quoted after

the idea of *promising* in πιστά (G. 202, 3 a). So ἀπάξεν. — ὅπου δ' ἂν μή: why not οὐ?

27. πορεύεσθαι, ἔξεν: both quoted after ὁμόσαι. Cf. the two future infinitives in § 26. — ὡς διὰ φίλλας (sc. χώρας), as (you would go) *through a friendly country*.

28. ταῦτα ἔδοξε: cf. note on i. 3. 20. — ἄμωσαν . . . ἔδοσαν: cf. note on πιστά in ii. 2. 10.

29. ὡς βασιλέα: cf. i. 2. 4. — διαπράξωμαι, *shall have accomplished*, with future perfect force (*Moods and Tenses*, § 20, N. 1). — ἀδέομαι: sc. διαπράξασθαι. — ὡς ἀπάξεν καὶ ἀπὼν (G. 200, N. 3 b): cf. note on ὡς πολέμησοντες in § 21.

CHAPTER IV.

SYNOPSIS: The Greeks and Ariaeus remain encamped near each other for more than twenty days, during which time the barbarians receive visits from their friends (1). The Greeks grow uneasy and ask their generals why they remain, and express their suspicions of the King's intentions (2-4). Clearchus answers that it will not do to go away, as that would break the truce and they would be left without provisions, guide, or friends (5); that, moreover, the Euphrates bars their way, and that they have no cavalry (6). He declares his faith in the King's oath (7). Tissaphernes and Orontas arrive with their armies (8). The Greeks proceed with Tissaphernes as guide (9), but are suspicious of the Persians, and march apart from them. Mistrust increases on both sides, and they sometimes come to blows (10, 11). They arrive at the wall of Media (12), and from thence a march of two days brings them to the Tigris. The Greeks encamp near Sitāce, and the barbarians cross the river (13, 14). After supper a man brings a warning from Ariaeus to the Greeks to beware of a night-attack, and to guard the bridge over the Tigris (15-17). Clearchus is greatly alarmed (18); but the story is observed to be inconsistent (19, 20), and after questioning the messenger it is concluded that he has been sent with an ulterior object (21, 22). Nevertheless, a guard is sent to the bridge (23). At daybreak the Greeks cross the bridge (24), and proceed in four days to the river Phycus. Near Opis they are met by an illegitimate brother of the King, who views them as they pass, and is amazed at their number (25, 26). They proceed through Media, plundering the villages of Parysatis (27), and along the right bank of the Tigris, procuring provisions from Caenae, a city across the river (28).

1. ἔκωσιν: sc. ἡμέρας. — οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαῖοι, *his other relatives*: ἀναγκαῖος (from ἀνάγκη, see G. 129, 12) is the Lat. *necessarius*. — δεξιὰς, *assurances*, pledged by the person who brought them with the *right hand*. — μὴ . . . αὐτοῖς, *that the King would bear them no ill-will* (μνησι-κακήσαν: μιμνήσκω, stem μνη-, and κακός). The inf. is quoted after δεξιὰς; cf. παρέξεν in ii. 3. 26. — ἐπιστρατείας: gen. of cause (G. 173, 1). — τῶν παροικούντων, *of what was past* (G. 200, N. 3).

2. οἱ περὶ Ἀριαίον, *Ariaeus and those with him* (G. 141, N. 3). Cf. οἱ ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρην, iii. 5. 1. — ἐνδελοὶ . . . νοῦν, *evidently paid less regard to the Greeks*. For προσέχοντες, cf. ἀνιόμενος in i. 2. 11, and note.

Page 48. — 3. *ἡ* may introduce the second part of an alternative question (G. 282, 5), even when the former part is only implied (here *πότερον ἄλλως ἔχα*). Cf. the use of *an* in Lat. — *περὶ πάντος ποιήσασατο*: cf. *περὶ πλείστου ποιοῖτο* in i. 9. 7, and note. — *ἦ*: subj. of purpose (G. 216). The opt. referring to the future has the force of a primary tense (*Moods and Tenses*, § 34, 2). — *στρατεύαν*: dependent on *φόβος* (G. 261, 1, with N. 1). We might have had *οἱ ἄλλοι ἔ. φοβῶνται . . . στρατεύαν*. — *ὑπάγεται*: cf. ii. 1. 18. — *διασπάρθαι*: see *διασπείρω* and G. 262, 1. — *ἀλίσθη*: cf. *διαπράξωμαι*, ii. 3. 29. — *οὐκ . . . ἡμῖν*, *it is not possible that he will not attack us*, lit. *there is not how* (introducing the indir. quest.) *he will not*, etc. (G. 283, 8).

4. *ἡ . . . ἀποταχίῃα*, *is either trenching or walling off some point*. Cf. the use of *τι* in i. 10. 16. — *ποσοῖδε*, *so few*: accent (G. 27, 4). — *ἐπὶ . . . αὐτοῦ*, *at his very doors*.

5. *ἐπὶ πολέμῳ = πολεμήσοντας*. — *ἔπατα*, *moreover*, introducing *πρῶτον μὲν*, *αὐθις δέ*, etc. — *θεν*, (*a place*) *from which*. — *ἐπισιτιούμεθα*: purpose (G. 236). — *ἅμα* and *εὐθύς* (G. 277, N. 1) both qualify *ἀφιστῆξει*, which is a future perfect (G. 110, IV. c, N. 2; 200, N. 9). Cf. below, *λελείπεται*. — *δυντες*: sc. *φίλοι*.

6. *ποταμός*: emphatic, as if he had said, *but as to rivers, I don't know whether (el)*, etc. — *διαβατός*: the verbal in *-τός* used personally (G. 281, 1). — *οὐ μὲν δὲ*: cf. i. 9. 13, and note. — *ἀν*, i. e. *ἐάν*. — *οὐ . . . εἰσιν*: implying also, *nor will there be*. — *τῶν δὲ . . . ἄξιοι*, *whereas the enemy's horse are very numerous* (lit. *the most*, compared with those of other nations) *and very efficient*. — *νικῶντες = εἰ νικῶμεν*; but *ἡττωμένων*, to which *συνθῆναι* is apod., = *ἐάν ἡττώμεθα*, or perhaps *εἰ ἡττώμεθα* (see *Moods and Tenses*, § 54, 2 b). — *οἷόν τε*: sc. *ἔστιν*.

7. *σύμμαχα*, *helps*. — *δ τι*, *on what account* (G. 160, 2; 149, 2^a). — *αὐτόν*: repeating *βασιλέα*. — *θεούς*: cf. *θεούς* in ii. 3. 22, and G. 158, N. 2.

Page 49. — 8. *ὡς ἀπὼν* (G. 277, N. 2): here the writer and the subj. of the leading verb are not the same person (cf. note on *ὡς πολεμήσοντας* in ii. 3. 21, and ii. 3. 29), so that *ἀπὼν* expresses the intention *professed by Tissaphernes*. There is nothing in the use of *ὡς* to indicate the historian's opinion as to the honesty of this profession. See note on *ὡς βοηθήσων* in § 25. — *εἰς οἶκον = οἰκαδε*: see note on *οἰκῶ* in ii. 3. 18. Besides Caria he now had the satrapy of Cyrus. — *ἡγε*, i. e. *Orontas*. Cf. iii. 4. 13. — *ἐπὶ γάμῳ*, *in marriage*, as his wife.

10. *αὐτοὶ . . . ἐχώρουν*, *proceeded [themselves] by themselves*. — *ἱστρατοπεδεύοντο*: the Greeks and barbarians. — *ὥσπερ πολεμίους* (sc. *φυλαττόμενοι*), *just as (if they were guarding against) enemies* (G. 277, N. 3).

11. *τοῦ αὐτοῦ*: sc. *τόπον*, and cf. i. 8. 14. — *πληγὰς ἐνέτεινον*: cf. i. 5. 11.

12. *τείχος*: mentioned in i. 7. 15. If we suppose that the southern part of this wall, which reached from the Tigris to the Euphrates, was in ruins, it is easy to account, first, for Xenophon's not describing it in i. 7. 15, but here; and, secondly, for the King's digging the ditch for the purpose, on

that assumption, of completing the line of defence furnished by the northern part of the wall. In the retreat Tissaphernes led the Greeks westward on the southern side of the ditch, in order that they should not see the rich plain of Babylonia, and so brought them outside of the wall again, which they now *pass within* (παρήλθον) on their way to the Tigris. — ἦν ἠκοδομημένον = ἠκοδομητο (G. 118, 4). — καιμένας, *lying*; we say *laid*. — ποδῶν: why gen.? — μήκος δ' ἐλέγτο, *but in length, it was said*, etc.

13. τὴν δ'... ἐπτά, *and the other (by its having been) bridged over* (means, G. 277, 2) *with seven boats*. See note on § 24. — ἦσαν ἀπό: cf. εἰσὶν ἐκ in i. 2. 7. — ὥσπερ: sc. κατατέμνηται.

14. δένδρων: with παράδεισος (G. 167, 4). If it went with δασίος it would be δένδροις (cf. iv. 7. 6). — οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι: sc. ἐσκήνησαν.

Page 50. — 15. ἔτυχον... ὄντες, *happened to be walking*. — πρὸ τῶν δπλων: cf. note on ii. 2. 20. — οὐκ ἐξήται, *did not ask for, ask to see*. — καὶ ταῦτα ὦν: cf. i. 4. 12, and note.

16. ὅτι: introducing direct discourse. Cf. i. 6. 8, end, and note. — Ἐπεμψε: agreement (G. 135, κ. 1). — πιστοί: cf. note on i. 5. 15. — μὴ ἐπιθῶνται (G. 216).

17. ὡς διανοεῖται, *since T. intends*, etc.; but in the next line ὡς, *in order that*. — τῆς διάρρυχος: the second of the two mentioned in § 13; over this there was only a pontoon bridge, which could be destroyed easily.

19. νεανίσκος τις: conjectured to have been Xenophon himself. — οὐκ ἀκόλουθα, *inconsistent*. — τό τε ἐπιθήσασθαι καὶ λύσαι, i. e. *the two stories of an intention to attack, and at the same time to destroy the bridge*: we should expect τὸ also before λύσαι. For the unusual fut. inf. see G. 202, 3 b; also *Moods and Tenses*, § 27, κ. 2 b. — νικᾶν: sc. αὐτούς as subject. — τί δεῖ... γέφυραν: *why need they destroy the bridge?* implying *what good will it do them*, etc.? It is thus a proper apod. to the future prot. ἐάν... νικῶσι (G. 223). — ἂν (i. e. ἐάν) ὦσιν, ἔχομεν ἂν: a subj. in the prot. (G. 223), with an opt. with ἂν in the apod. (G. 224), the latter belonging to an implied prot. in the opt., such as, *if we should wish to escape* (G. 227, 1; *Moods and Tenses*, § 54, 1 a²). The οὐ in οὐδέ, *not even*, modifies ἔχομεν ἂν, the meaning being, *even if there are (shall be) many bridges, we should not know*, etc. Cf. for this meaning of οὐκ ἔχω, i. 7. 7, and note; and see also οὐχ ἔξουσιν in § 20.

22. ὑποπέμψαν, *had sent with a false message* (ὑπό): the dir. form was ὑπέπεμψαν (G. 243). — ἐνθεν μὲν, ἐνθεν δέ, *on this side, on that*. — πολλῆς... ἐνότων, *since it was extensive and fertile, and since there were men in it to work it*.

Page 51. — εἰ τις βούλοιτο: might have been ἐάν τις βούληται (G. 248, κ.).

23. ἐπὶ μὲντοι... δμως, *yet they nevertheless*, etc., i. e. *notwithstanding that they now knew the man's statements were false*. Cf. ii. 2. 17. — ἀπήγγελλον, i. e. *the next morning*.

24. ἑυγμένην: the Greek could say ἑυγνύναι γέφυραν (G. 159), *to build* (lit. *join*) *a bridge*, or ἑυγνύναι ποταμόν (or διάρρυχα), *to bridge a river* (or

(channel); for the latter see § 13. — ὥς . . . πεφυλαγμένως, as guardedly as possible: supply ἦν with οἶόν τε (= δυνατόν). — τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρνηους Ἑλ.: cf. τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως, i. 1. 5, and note. — διαβαίνοντων (sc. αὐτῶν): we should expect the dat. after ἐπιθήσεσθαι, rather than the gen. absolute. In the same way διαβαίνοντων occurs in the next line, notwithstanding the following αὐτοῖς. — σκοπῶν: participle. — διαβαίνουιν: in the direct form διαβαίνουσι (G. 243), to see whether they were crossing. — ᾤχετο ἀπελαύνων, went riding off (G. 279, 4, N.); ᾤχετο, lit. was off (G. 200, N. 3).

25. πλέθρου: cf. πλέθρων, i. 2. 23. — ᾤκειτο: cf. οἰκουμένην, i. 4. 1. — ἡ δνομα Ὀπίς: cf. i. 5. 4, and note. — πρὸς ἦν: why accusative? — ὥς βοηθήσων (G. 277, N. 2): ὥς shows only that the partic. gives the purpose which is professed by the subject (ὁ ἀδελφός). See note on ὥς ἀπῶν in § 8, and on ὥς πολεμήσοντες in ii. 3. 21. Cf. also i. 1. 11, and note.

26. εἰς δύο, two abreast (G. 191, III. 1 c). They marched by in column. — ἄλλοτε . . . ἐφιστάμενος, halting now and then. — τὸ ἡγούμενον (object): cf. ii. 2. 4, and note. — ἐπιστήσας: why opt.? — ἐπίστασιν: force of the suffix σις? — ἐκπεπλήχθαι: see note on i. 5. 13.

27. Κύρψ ἐπεγγεῶν, insulting Cyrus (G. 184, 2) besides (ἐπὶ), i. e. besides gratifying the Greeks. Cf. ἐπι-λέγειν, i. 9. 28. — διαρπάσαι . . . ἐπέτρεψε: cf. i. 2. 19, and note. — πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων, i. e. except that the men in them were not to be made slaves.

CHAPTER V.

SYNOPSIS: They arrive at the river Zapatas, and Clearchus sends a messenger to Tissaphernes and requests an interview (1, 2). When they meet, Clearchus expresses his hope that they shall be able to dispel the mutual distrust of the Greeks and barbarians (3, 4); mentions cases where great evil has been done through misunderstanding (5, 6); refers to their oaths and the vengeance of the Gods should they break them (7); details the facts which render it necessary for the Greeks to retain the friendship of the Persians (8–12), and the advantages to the barbarians of an alliance with his Greek army (13, 14); and finally he asks to know who has excited the suspicions against them (15). Tissaphernes assures Clearchus that the Greeks have no cause for distrust (16), showing how completely they are in the power of the Persians (17–19), and how unnecessary it would be for the latter to resort to perjury if they wished to destroy their former enemies (20, 21). He expresses great personal friendship for the Greeks, and hints at an especial service they may do for him (22, 23). Clearchus believes him sincere, and when he promises to disclose the names of those who have sought to create distrust between them, if Clearchus with the rest of the generals will come to him, the Greek general consents (24–26). The next day he returns to camp and states what has been agreed upon, and, though opposed by some of the soldiers, finally persuades five of the generals and twenty captains to accompany him (27–30). The generals are invited to enter the tent of Tissaphernes, and not long after they are seized and those without murdered (31, 32). Nicarchus alone escapes, and flees terribly wounded to the Greeks (33), who run to arms (34). Ariaeus with 300 Persians approaches the camp, and calls for some general or captain (35, 36). Cleanor, Sophænetus, and Xen-

ophon come forward (37). Ariaeus tells them that Clearchus, having violated the truce, is dead, but that Proxenus and Menon are in great honor, and that the King demands their arms (38). In answer Cleanor reproaches him for his treachery, and Xenophon skilfully asks that Proxenus and Menon may be sent to the Greeks to advise them (39-41). The barbarians leave without making answer (42).

Page 52. — 1. *ὑποψία*, feelings of distrust. — *φανερὰ*, pred. to *ἐφαίνετο*, is specially opposed to *ὑποψία*.

2. *Τισσαφέρνη*: cf. *τούτω* in i. 1. 9. — *εἰ δύνατο*, κ. τ. λ. (G. 248, 2), in case he could in any way stop, etc. The apod., suggested by *παῦσαι*, would be *ἵνα παύσαι* or the like. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 53, κ. 2, for further details of this important construction. — *πρὶν γενέσθαι* (G. 274). — *ἐρούντα* (G. 277, 3).

3. *Τισσαφέρνη*: a *heteroclitite* voc. (G. 60, 1 b). — *ἀδικήσαν*: cf. *μνησικακήσαν* in ii. 4. 1, and note. — *φυλαττόμενον ἡμᾶς*, are on your guard against us (G. 280). — *ὡς πολέμιους*, as (you would be against) an enemy.

4. *οὐ δύναμαι οὔτε*: we should expect *οὔτε δύναμαι* to correspond to *ἐγὼ τε οἶδα*. See note on *μήτε . . . τε* in ii. 2. 8. — *πειρώμενον* (G. 280). — *οὔτε . . . οὔδεν*, that we on our part do not even think of any such thing (G. 280, κ. 3). — *εἰς λόγους σοι ἔλθειν*, to have an interview with you (G. 186, κ. 1, end). — *εἰ δυναμέθα* (G. 248, κ.). Cf. § 2. — *ἀλλήλων* (G. 174).

5. *ἐκ*, in consequence of. — *οἱ . . . ἐποίησαν*: we should expect *φοβηθέντας . . . βουλομένους . . . ποιήσαντας* (G. 280), but such an accumulation of participles would be harsh. — *φθάσαι*: sc. *ποιήσαντές τι* (G. 279, 4). — *μέλλοντας*, intending, transitively. — *αὐ*, i. e. *what is more*.

6. *ἀγνωμοσύνας*, misunderstandings (G. 129, 7).

7. *πρώτον . . . μέγιστον*, for first and chiefly. Cf. i. 3. 10. The correl. of *μέν* is *δέ* in § 8. — *θεῶν* (G. 167, 3), oaths (sworn) by the Gods, as we say *ὀμνύναι θεούς*. — *εἶναι* (G. 263, 1). — *τούτων*, i. e. *τῶν θεῶν ὅρκων* (G. 171, 2). — *παρημελήκως* (G. 280, κ. 2): cf. *ἐφευγμένος*, i. 3. 10, and note. — *τὸν θεῶν πόλεμον*, the Gods' war (G. 167, 2). — *ἀπό*, with, by the aid of. — *φεύγων*, flying; but *ἀποφύγοι ἄν*, could make his escape. For *ἀποφύγοι* and *ἀποδράζη*, cf. i. 4. 8, and note.

Page 53. — *ἔπος . . . ἀποσταίη*, how he could retire to a strong place, i. e. to a place that would prove really *ἐχυρόν* against the Gods. For the three apod. with prot. implied, see G. 226, 2 b. — *πάντη πάντα*: cf. *πάντων πάντα* in i. 9. 2, and the *πανταχῇ πάντων* following. — *θεοῖς* (G. 185; 184, 2). With this section compare *Psalm cxxxix. 7-12*.

8. *περὶ μὲν δὲ*: *μέν* is repeated from *πρώτον μὲν* in § 7. — *παρ' οὓς* (i. e. *τοὺς θεούς*) . . . *κατεθέμεθα*, in whose hands we have deposited the friendship which we have compacted. — *τῶν δ' ἀνθρωπίνων*, but of human things (G. 168). — *ἐν τῷ παρόντι*, in the present crisis.

9. *πᾶσα ὁδός*, every road; but following, *πᾶσα ἡ ὁδός*, all the way. — *αὐτῆς*: with *οὔδεν*. — *φοβερώτατον* (G. 138, κ. 2 c).

10. *ἄλλο τι* (sc. *ποιούμεν*) *ἂν ἤ*: *ἄλλο τι ἤ* or the simple *ἄλλο τι* is

equivalent in asking a question to οὐ or ἄρα οὐ, Lat. *nonne* (G. 282, 3). — ἐν-εργήτην, *bene-factor* (suff. τα-). — ἑφεδρον, a *fresh opponent*, a *successor in the contest*, prop. of an odd combatant in the public games, who remained without an adversary when the others had been paired by lot, and sat by (ἐπὶ and ἔδρα) ready to engage (of course at a great advantage) with any athlete who should beat his adversary. — ταῦτα repeats the indirect question.

11. τῶν τότε (G. 141, N. 3²). — ὃν βούλοιτο (G. 247; 233) might be ὃν ἂν βούληται. — ἔχοντα, *σάζοντα*, οὖσαν (G. 280). — ἥ . . . ἐχρήτο, *which Cyrus found hostile*. — ταύτην: repeating τὴν . . . δύναμιν with emphasis.

12. τούτων . . . ὄντων, *but since this is so*. — ὅστις οὐ βούλεται: result (G. 237, N.). — ἀλλὰ μὴν begins the sent. as if the parenthesis ἐφ' . . . εἶναι were to be followed by a sentence like καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς πολλὰ ὠφελὲν δυνησόμεθα. (Krüger.) This is really said in other words in § 13 and § 14.

13. οὓς νομίζω ἂν παρασχεῖν, *whom I think I could render* (παράσχοιμι ἂν): cf. i. 3. 6. So παῦσαι ἂν (G. 134, 3). — ἐν-οχλοῦντα, *disturbing*, lit. *crowding* (ὄχλος) *upon* (G. 279, 1). — οἷς: with τεθνωμένους, *incensed* (G. 184, 2). — κολάσαισθε: doubtful emendation for κολάσσεσθε, made on acc. of ἂν (G. 208, 2). — τῆς . . . οὐσης = ἡ τῇ . . . οὐση.

14. ὡς μέγιστος (sc. φίλος), *the very greatest*: cf. note on ὅτι ἀπαρ-σκευότατον, i. 1. 6.

Page 54. — ἔχων ὑπέρτας = εἰ ἔχois, κ. τ. λ.: additional protasis to both ἂν εἴης and ἂν ἀναστρέφοιο. — τῆς χάριτος: with ἔνεκα. — ἦν ἂν ἔχοιμεν: χάριν ἔχω is exactly the Lat. *gratiam habeo*: cf. note on i. 4. 15.

15. οὕτω θαυμαστόν, *so surprising*. — τοῦνομα τίς: a mingling of two constructions, ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀκούσαιμι τίς, κ. τ. λ., and τοῦνομά τινος ὅστις, κ. τ. λ. Rehdantz, however, explains the words: *I would gladly hear by name, who is so skilled*, etc. — ἀπημείβεθι, *replied*, a form found only here. It reminds us of ἀπαμειβόμενος and ἀμείβετο in Homer.

16. Ἀλλά: cf. ii. 1. 4, and note. — ἥδομαι ἀκούων: cf. ἥσθη ἰδών, i. 2.

18. — ἀκούων σου λόγους (G. 171, 2, N. 1). — γινώσκων, *since you know*. — μοι δοκεῖς must be transl. impers., *it seems to me*, in order to bring in κακόνους ἂν εἶναι, *that you would be evil-minded*, in Eng. — ὡς ἂν μάθης (G. 216, N. 2).

17. εἰ ἐβουλόμεθα, *supposing it was our wish*, i. e. when we made the treaty (G. 221); to this the apod. is ἀπορεῖν (= ἀποροῦμεν) quoted after δοκοῦμεν. Cf. ἀπορεῖν ἂν in § 18, and note. — ἐν ᾗ, *by means of which*. — ἀντιπάσχειν: with κίνδυνος (G. 261, 1); sc. εἴη ἂν.

18. ἐπιτεθεσθαι: with ἐπιτηδείων. — ἀπορεῖν ἂν (= ἀποροῦμεν ἂν): cf. note on § 16, and ἀπορεῖν in § 17, and note. — τοσαῦτα: with a gesture. — ὄντα, *though they are*. — ὑμῖν ὄντα πορευτέα, *must be crossed by you*, quoted after ὁράτε (G. 280): direct form, ὑμῖν πορευτέα ἐστίν (G. 281, 1). Cf. with the active of this const., ὄρη πορεύεσθαι, the note on ὁδόν in i. 2. 20. — ταμειεύεσθαι, *to parcel out*, like a steward (ταμίης), and so *to have by themselves, to deal with at once*, etc.; sc. τοσοῦτους, *antec. of ὁπόσους*.

19. ἀλλά, *still*. — ὃν κατακαύσαντες (causal). — οὐδ' εἰ, *not even if*: the οὐ goes with ἂν δύναισθε; the δέ (even), with the conditional clause.

20. ἔχοντες: conditional (note in the next line μηδένα) = εἰ ἔχομεν. For εἰ ἔχομεν ἐξολοίμεθα ἂν, see G. 227, 1. — ἔπατα: cf. εἶπα in i. 2. 25, and note. — πῶς ἂν . . . ἂν ἐξολοίμεθα (G. 212, 2). — πρὸς (G. 191, VI. 6, 1 a).

21. παντάπασι . . . ἐστί, but it is characteristic of (belongs to, G. 169, 1) those altogether without resources.

Page 55. — καὶ τούτων, and that too. — οἵτινες ἐθέλουσι: used as if ἀποροὶ εἰσιν, κ. τ. λ. preceded; we should expect simply ἐθέλειν, to be willing. Cf. ii. 6. 6.

22. ἐξόν, when it was possible, acc. absolute (G. 278, 2). — οὐκ . . . ἤλθομεν, did we not proceed to do it? — ἔρως, earnest desire: sc. ἐστί. — τούτου refers to οὐκ . . . ἤλθομεν. — τὸ . . . ἰσχυρόν: the whole infin. clause stands as an object acc. after the verbal idea in ἔρως: trans. my desire that I may secure the confidence of the Greeks (cf. note on i. 7. 4, end), and with that mercenary force (G. 154) with which (G. 188, 5) C. made his expedition . . . with this (τούτῳ) I may return to the coast, etc. μισθοδοσίας and εὐργασίας (see G. 129, 3) are accusatives.

23. ὅσα: with χρήσιμοι (G. 160, 1). — ἐστί, are by anticipation, and so for ἔσεσθε. — τὰ μὲν . . . εἶπας, some you also have mentioned. — τιάραν: a steeple-shaped head-dress of distinguished Persians, worn upright (ὀρθήν) only by the King; when worn by others, the point was bent forward. — τὴν δ' . . . ἔχοι (sc. ὀρθήν): as it was the outward sign of royalty to wear the tiara upright on the head, so wearing it upright in the heart means aspiring to royal dignity, i. e. bearing the royal symbol in the heart, though not on the head. T. thus intimates his intention to revolt from the King by the aid of the Greeks, in order to blind Clearchus to his real plans.

24. εἶπεν (i. e. Clearchus): repeated in ἐφη. — οὐκοῦν, therefore, in questions implies an affirm. answer, and is generally to be rendered by not then. — τοιούτων ὑπαρχόντων, when such grounds exist. — παθεῖν (G. 261, 1).

25. οἱ . . . λοχαγοί: in app. to the subj. of βούλεσθε. — ἔλθαι ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεί, i. e. so that it shall be apparent to both armies that we trust one another. Cf. ἐν τῷ φανερόν in i. 3. 21.

26. σοί (accented) is emphatic. — αὖ, in turn. — ὅθεν, from what quarter.

27. ἐκ, after, in consequence of, Germ. in Folge. Cf. i. 3. 11. — δῆλός τ' ἦν οἰόμενος: cf. i. 2. 11. — πάντῳ φιλικῶς διακείσθαι, that he was on very friendly terms with. — ἐκέλευσε (subj. Τισσ.): sc. ἔλθειν. — οἱ ἂν ἐλεγεσθῶσι: the verb might have been in what other mood? Could ἐκέλευσε have been so changed? See G. 247, with N. 2. — διαβάλλοντες (G. 280). — τῶν Ἑλλήνων: with οἱ. — οἱ . . . αὐτούς: cf. ὅν . . . αὐτόν in i. 9. 29: αὐτούς is added for emphasis.

28. αὐτῷ, i. e. Clearchus. — ὅπως . . . ᾗ (G. 216, 2).

Page 56. — 29. ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην, to be devoted. — τοὺς παραλυπούντας, troublesome rivals (note the prep.). — μὴ ἔλθειν, μηδὲ πιστεύειν (G. 280, 1): the underlying idea is that of a command, not that of a statement of fact.

30. ἰσχυρῶς κατέτεινεν, insisted strenuously. — ἔσπε διεπράξαντο (G. 239, 1). — ὥς εἰς ἀγοράν, i. e. without arms.

32. ἀπό, *at*. — οἱ ἔνδον, *οἱ ἔσω* (G. 141, N. 3²). — φῖνι πάντας: cf. i. 1. 5, and note.

33. ἱππασίαν: force of the suff.? — ἡμφεγνύουσιν (G. 105, 1, N. 3). — εἰς τὴν γαστέρα: the accusative with reference to the motion of the weapon.

36. εἴ τις . . . λοχαγός, i. e. *whatever general or captain there was* (G. 248, 1), direct εἴ τις ἔστιν, suggests the subject of προσέλθειν. — ἀπαγγέλλωσι: why subjunctive?

37. τῶν Ἑλλήνων: depending on the proper names. — στρατηγοὶ μὲν, σὺν αὐτοῖς δέ: the first two are contrasted, as generals, with Xenophon. — Ξενοφών: cf. iii. 1. 4 sq. — τὰ περὶ, *the fate of*.

Page 57. — 38. ἔστησαν εἰς ἐπήκοον, *got within hearing distance*. — ἐπιτορκῶν, λύων (G. 280). — ἔχει τὴν δίκην, *has received his deserts*. — αὐτοῦ (G. 142, 4, N. 3). — ἀπαυτεῖ (G. 164). — ἐαυτοῦ (G. 169, 1). — εἶναι: sc. τὰ ἑπ' αὐτῶν. — δοῦλον: cf. i. 7. 3, and note.

39. ἔλεγε δὲ Κλεάνωρ: cf. ii. 3. 21. — Ὀρχομένιος, *of Orchomenus*, a city of Boeotia, famous in the ancient legends of the Minyae. — οἱ ἄλλοι: in app. to ὑμεῖς understood, *you others*. Cf. § 25. — θεούς, ἀνθρώπους: cf. ii. 3. 22, and note. — οἵτινες ἀπολωλέκατε, ἐρχεσθε: causal (G. 238). — ἡμῖν: with ὁμόσαντες; cf. οἷς, below. — τοὺς αὐτοὺς (sc. ἡμῖν), *the same that we should*: the position of ἡμῖν expressed forbids its being taken with τοὺς αὐτοὺς. — φίλους καὶ ἐχθροὺς (G. 137, N. 4). — νομεῖν (G. 110, II. N. 1 c) — τοὺς ἄλλους ἡμᾶς, *the rest of us*.

40. γάρ, (we are not that) *for*. — ἐπιβουλεύων: cf. i. 6. 8.

41. ἐπὶ τούτοις, *upon this*. — εἰ . . . ἔλκε (G. 221). — Πρόξενος, Μένων: in emphatic position before ἐπεὶ περ: we should render, *but as to P. and M., since indeed they are*, etc. — εὐργέται: force of the suffix?

CHAPTER VI.

Biographical Sketches of the Five Generals.

SYNOPSIS: Of the five generals, who after their seizure are taken to Babylon and beheaded, Clearchus was the most prominent; a man well qualified for war and fond of it (1). He fought during the Peloponnesian War against the Athenians, and at its close undertook an expedition to Thrace (2). When ordered to return by the Ephors, he disobeyed (3) and was condemned to death. Being now an exile, he went to Cyrus and received from him 10,000 darics (4), with which he collected an army and plundered the Thracians until summoned to Asia (5). Summary of the evidence that he was fond of war (6) and fitted for it (7). As evidence that he was fitted for command, notwithstanding his gloomy and harsh disposition, he was skilful in providing supplies for his army and an excellent disciplinarian (8-10). In time of danger his soldiers willingly obeyed him, but left him, when the peril was over, for a general of less harsh disposition (11, 12). No one was personally attached to him, but his troops were excellent soldiers (13, 14). He was about fifty years of age when he died (15). — Proxenus was ambitious from boyhood (16). He joined Cyrus, hoping to gain wealth, influence, and a great name (17), but was unwilling to acquire any of

these by unjust means (18). He was able to command well-disposed men, but could not inspire ordinary soldiers with fear or respect; he was thirty years old when he died (19, 20). — Menon was avaricious, stooping to perjury, falsehood, and deceit to gain his ends (21, 22). He respected and spared an enemy because he was dangerous, but ridiculed and plundered his friends (23, 24). He respected perjury and injustice, but looked upon the pious and truthful as fools (25). He took pride in deceit and ridicule of friends (26), and sought to be honored and courted by showing his power and willingness to do wrong (27). Even in extreme youth he was notoriously licentious (28). He was not put to death with the others, but died like a malefactor, after being tortured alive for a whole year (29). — Agias and Socrates were both courageous in war and faithful to their friends; and at the time of their death each was thirty-five years old (30).

1. μέν: cf. μέν in i. 10. 19, and note. — οὕτω, so, as above described. — τὰς κεφαλὰς (G. 197, 1, N. 2, last ex.): the corresp. active constr. would be αὐτοῖς ἀποτέμνουσι τὰς κεφαλὰς. — εἰς: in app. to (part of) στρατηγοί. — μέν: correl. to δέ in § 16. — ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων, as was agreed by (cf. ἐκ in i. 1. 6) all. — αὐτοῦ (G. 182, 1; 180, 1). — δόξας γενέσθαι, i. e. who appeared to have been (lit. to have become or to have shewn himself). — Cf. with this section i. 9. 1.

2. πόλεμος: the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B. C.).

Page 58. — τοὺς Ἕλληνας: the Greek colonists in the Thracian Chersonesus. — διαπραξάμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐφόρων, having secured (his object) from the Ephors. — ὡς πολεμήσων: cf. i. 1. 11, and note.

3. μετα-γόνοντες πως, changing their mind for some reason. — ἐφοροί (over-seers), Ephors. — Ἰσθμοῦ: of Corinth. — ἔρχετο πλείων: cf. ἔρχετο ἀπὸ λαόνων in ii. 4. 24, and note.

4. ἐθανατώθη, was condemned to death (G. 130, 3): cf. θάνατος, θνήσκω. — τελῶν, magistrates, the ἐφοροί. — ἄλλη: no such arguments (λόγοις) are given in the *Anabasis*. Cf. i. 1. 9, and i. 3. 3, 4. — δαρεικούς: cf. note on i. 7. 18.

5. ῥαθυμίαν, a life of ease (ῥάδιος and θυμός). — ἀπὸ . . . χρημάτων: cf. i. 1. 9. — ἀπὸ τούτου, from this time on. — ἔφερε καὶ ἤγε, plundered, or pillaged: φέρω properly of objects that can be carried off, ἄγω of cattle; Lat. *ferre et agere*. — πολεμῶν διεγίνετο, went on warring (G. 279, 1).

6. φιλο-πολέμου (G. 131, 1): cf. πολεμικός (W. 55, 1, 2, α) in § 7. — δοτὶς αἰρέται: cf. οἷτινες ἰθέλουσιν in ii. 5. 21, and note. — ἐξόν: cf. ii. 5. 22. — αἰσχόνη, βλάβη (see G. 129, 1). — αἰρεῖται, chooses. — ὥστε πολεμεῖν, i. e. provided that he may be (laboring) in war (G. 266, 2). — εἰς παιδικά, upon a favorite. — δαπανᾶν, to make outlays.

7. ταύτῃ, herein, in these regards. — ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, by day or night (indifferently, G. 179, 1). — ἄγων: like the two adjectives, with ἤν, ready to lead. — πανταχοῦ πάντες: cf. ii. 5. 7, and note.

8. ὡς δυνατόν . . . εἶχεν, so far as was possible with (i. e. for a man of) such a temper as he certainly (καὶ) had. — ὡς . . . ἄλλος: cf. i. 3. 15, and note. — ὅπως ἔχοι (G. 217, N. 1). — αὐτῷ (G. 184, 3, N. 6). — ἐμποίησαι τοῖς παροῦσιν, to inspire in those present (the feeling). — ὡς πειστέον εἶναι = ὡς δεῖοι αὐτοὺς πείθεσθαι, that they must obey (G. 243; 281, 2).

9. ἐκ τοῦ . . . εἶναι, *by being severe* (G. 262, 1; 138, N. 8). — ὄραν (G. 261, 2) — ὥς (G. 266, 2, N. 1). — ἔσθ' ὅτε, *sometimes*. Cf. ἐνίοτε just preceding (G. 152, N. 2), and the note on ἦν . . . οὕς in i. 5. 7. — γνώμη, *on principle, systematically*: note καί before γνώμη. — ἀκολάστον, *undisciplined*. — στρατεύματος . . . ὄφελος: cf. i. 3. 11.

10. λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν: Xen. states the facts not on his own authority. Cf. i. 9. 23. — τὸν ἀρχοντα, *his commander*. — εἰ μέλλοι, *if he were either to, etc.* (G. 247): the dir. form would be δεῖ φοβείσθαι . . . εἰ μέλλαι, κ. τ. λ. — φυλακᾶς: why acc.? — ἀ-προφασίστως (πρό-φασις), *boldly, promptly, lit. without making excuses*.

11. τὸ στυγνόν, *the sternness, gloom* (G. 139, 2): cf. τὸ χαλεπὸν and τὸ ἐπιχαρὶ, below. — φαιδρόν: pred. to φαίνεσθαι. — ἐν τοῖς προσώποις (poetic plural): connect with τὸ στυγνόν. — ἔρωμένον, *something strong or vigorous; like vigor*.

12. ὅτε γίνονται (G. 233). — πρὸς ἄλλον ἀρχομένους ἀπέναι, i. e. *to go away into the service of another*. — διέκιντο, *were disposed*. The active is expressed by διατίθημι (i. 1. 5).

13. καὶ γὰρ οὖν: cf. i. 9. 8.

Page 59. — τεταγμένοι . . . κατεχόμενοι (sc. παρῆναι αὐτῷ). — σφόδρα . . . ἔχρητο (G. 98, N. 2), *he found exceedingly obedient, i. e. these yielded him implicit obedience*.

15. οὐ μάλα ἐθέλειν: as we say, *did not like very much*. — ἀμφὶ τὰ: cf. the note on εἰς in i. 2. 3.

16. εὐθύς (G. 277, N. 1). — Γοργίᾳ: the brilliant rhetorician of Leontini in Sicily, who lived about 485–380 B. C. His fee (ἀργύριον) was 100 minae (about \$1,800).

17. ἐπεὶ συνεγένετο αὐτῷ, *after he had been his pupil*: συνέναι τινι often means *to be one's pupil or disciple*. — φίλος . . . πρώτοις, *while he was on friendly terms with those of highest rank*. — εὐεργετῶν: cf. ἀλεξόμενος in i. 9. 11. — ἤτο κτήσεσθαι, *expected to get* (G. 246).

18. ἐπιθυμῶν (G. 277, 5). — ἐνδηλον . . . εἶχεν, *he moreover made this also evident*. — τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ: cf. τὸ στυγνόν in § 11, and note. The principle of G. 139, 2, is illustrated often in this chapter. — μή: why do we have μή and not οὐ?

19. καλῶν κάγαθῶν: as we should say, "*gentlemen*." See Lidd. and Scott, s. v. καλο-κάγαθός. — αἰδῶ ἑαυτοῦ, *respect for himself* (G. 167, 3). — στρατιώταις (G. 187, end; 184, 1). Cf. § 8. — στρατιώτας: cf. θεοὺς in ii. 5. 39, and note. — φοβούμενος: what use of the part.? See G. 280, N. 1, and cf. δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν in § 21, and στέργων φανερός ἦν and ἐνδηλος ἐγγίγνετο ἐπιβουλεύων in § 23. See also i. 2. 11, and note.

20. πρὸς τὸ . . . δοκεῖν, *for being, and having the reputation of being, fit to govern* (G. 262, 1). This const. occurs several times below. ἀρχικόν modifies τινά understood, the subject of the infinitives. — ἐπαίνειν (*bis*): subject of ἀρκεῖν (G. 259). — ἐτῶν (G. 169, 3).

21. μέγιστον: adverbially with δυναμένοις, *the most powerful*. — ἀδικῶν: cf. for the tense the note on i. 5. 11. So ἀδικούντα in § 20. — μὴ διδοίη δίκην, *might not pay the penalty*: cf. ἔχει τὴν δίκην, ii. 5. 38.

Page 60. — 22. ὧν (G. 152). — τῷ ἡλιθίῳ (G. 186). Cf. note on § 18, above (at the end).

23. τοῦτῃ, taking up the relative clause, is to be connected in construction with ἐπιβουλεύων. — ἐνδηλος ἐγίγνετο: how different from ἐνδηλος ἦν and ἐνδηλος ἐγένετο? — οὐδενός (G. 177). — τῶν συνόντων, *his associates*: connect with καταγελῶν; διελέγετο would require the dative (G. 186).

24. μόνος . . . ὅν, *he thought that he alone* (G. 138, N. 8) *understood that it was* (G. 280) *easiest*.

26. ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ: below, with ἡγάλλετο, we have the simple dative of cause), τῷ δύνασθαι, κ. τ. λ. (G. 262, 2). For the formation of the three nouns after ἐπὶ, expressing quality, see G. 129, 7. — ψευδῇ: from ψευδής, not ψεύδος. — τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν: partitive; cf. τῶν στρατευομένων, i. 2. 3, and note. — διαβάλλων τοὺς πρώτους, *by slandering those who were already first* (in their friendship). — τοῦτους: takes up the relative clause.

27. τὸ . . . παρέχεσθαι (G. 199, 2): obj. of ἐμνηχανάτο. An obj. clause with ὅπως would be more common (G. 217). — ἐκ: cf. § 9. — ἡξίου, *expected*. — ἐπιδακνύμενος (G. 277, 2). — ὅτι δύναίτο καὶ ἐθέλοι ἄν: in direct form δύναμαι καὶ θέλωμι ἄν. — εὐεργεσίαν δὲ κατέλεγεν, *and he accounted it against (the person) an act of kindness* (G. 129, 3).

28. τὰ δὲ ἄφανη ἔστι ψεύδεσθαι, i. e. *there is room for false statements, it is true, about doubtful matters* (G. 159). — τάδε, *the following*. — παρὰ Ἀριστίππῳ: with ὧν; cf. for the facts stated i. 1. 10, and i. 2. 6, and note. — ξένων (G. 171, 3). — ἤδετο, i. e. *Ariaeus*.

29. οὐκ ἀπέθανε: to be connected with the genitive absol. above, which expresses *time* (G. 277, 1).

Page 61. — κεφαλᾶς: cf. § 1, and note. — ζῶν . . . ἐνιαυτόν, *after being tortured alive for a year*.

30. Note the interchange of the dual and plural in this section (G. 33, 1). — καὶ τοῦτω: emphatic repetition of the subject in the form of a pronoun. — αὐτοῖς is irregularly inserted before ἐμέμφετο, as this verb cannot govern the gen. τοῦτων, which by its position would naturally be the object of both the clauses with οὕτε. — ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεάς, *years from birth, years of age*.

BOOK THIRD.

HOSTILITIES BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND THE PERSIANS AFTER THE BREAKING OF THE TREATY. — MARCH FROM THE RIVER ZAFATAS TO THE MOUNTAINS OF THE CARDUCHI.

CHAPTER I.

SYNOPSIS: Outline of the preceding narrative (1). After the capture of their leaders the Greeks are greatly perplexed and disheartened (2, 3). There is, however, with the army a certain Xenophon, whom Proxenus had sent for,

promising to make him the friend of Cyrus; and who, after consulting with Socrates and inquiring of the oracle at Delphi (4-7), had repaired to Sardis (8). He was there invited by Cyrus to join him on a proposed incursion against the Pisidians (9), and continued to follow him even after the true object of the expedition was known (10). Xenophon now has a dream (11), which greatly terrifies him (12). On awakening he reviews the situation, and is impressed with the necessity of immediate action (13, 14). He calls together the captains of Proxenus, and shows them how little mercy they may expect if they fall into the power of the King (15-18). He declares that while the truce lasted he envied the King and pitied his companions (19), since their oaths bound them not to take anything unless they paid for it, which few of them were able to do (20). Now he proposes that they shall fight for what they need, with the Gods as judges of the combat, who certainly will favor them (21, 22); and urges the greater power of endurance and more resolute minds of the Greeks (23). He exhorts the captains to bravery, and offers to follow or lead as they shall choose (24, 25). All wish him to lead except Apollonides, whose discouraging remarks Xenophon interrupts, showing that their only chance for life is to present a bold front to the King (26-29). Apollonides is expelled from their number, and a meeting of all the generals and captains is called (30-32). When they are assembled, Xenophon is requested to present his opinions (33, 34). He reviews their relations to the King (35); and urges them to show their soldiers that they are courageous (36, 37), to choose new generals (38), and to assemble and encourage the troops, who are exceedingly dejected (39-41); for it is the courageous man alone in battle who is successful (42-44). Chirisophus follows (45), and proposes that they elect the officers at once (46). Xenophon takes the place of Proxenus (47).

1. "Ὅσα . . . δεδήλωται: see note on ii. 1. 1.—ἀπόντων: temporal part. denoting time present to ἐγένετο (G. 277, 1; 204).—ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, *during the truce*, belongs to ἐγένετο: see iv. 1. 1.

2. ἐπεὶ is here causal, and takes the pluperfect: when it is temporal, it generally takes the aorist; cf. ἐπεὶ ἐτελεύτησαν in § 1, and see note on i. 1. 3.—ἐννοούμενοι μὲν with the eight dependent clauses introduced by ὅτι is summed up in ταῦτα ἐννοούμενοι (§ 3), and there is no corresponding clause with δέ.—ἐπὶ . . . θύραις, *at the King's gates*: they were now about 300 miles from Babylon.—ἦσαν (G. 243, n. 2).—κύκλῳ: like the English *a-round*.—παρέξειν ἐμελλεν (G. 118, 6; 202, 3, n.), *was to furnish*.—ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκαδὲς οδοῦ, *between (them and) the road home*.—προϋδεόκεσαν (G. 9, 2; 105, 1, n. 1).—οἱ . . . βάρβαροι (G. 276, 1): the Persians of Cyrus's army, 100,000 in number, under the command of Ariaeus (cf. i. 7. 10).—μόνοι (pred. nom.), *left alone*.—νικῶντες, *if they should be victorious* (G. 226, 1), = εἰ νικῶεν.—ἡττηθέντων (= νικηθέντων): conditional, = εἰ ἡττηθεῖεν.—αὐτῶν is partitive genitive after οὐδεῖς.

3. εἰς τὴν ἑσπέραν, *at evening* (properly, *on coming to the evening*: i. 7. 1).—σίου (G. 171, 2).—τὰ ὄπλα, i. e. the place where their arms were stacked, a general term for their *quarters*.—νύκτα (G. 161).—ἀνεπαύοντο . . . ἕκαστος, *they lay down where each chanced to be* (sc. ὦν, G. 279, 4): observe the force of the imperfect.—πατριδῶν, etc. objective genitives after πόθου (G. 167, 3).—γονέων (cf. G. 129, 2 a).

Page 62. — 4. *Ξενοφών*: "The inspiration now fell, happily for the army, on one in whom a full measure of soldierly strength and courage was combined with the education of an Athenian, a democrat, and a philosopher. It is in the true Homeric vein, and in something like Homeric language, that Xenophon describes his dream, or the intervention of Oneiros, sent by Zeus, from which this renovating impulse took its rise." Grote. — *μετεπέμψατο*, had sent for him. — *οἴκοθεν* (G. 61): cf. *οἴκοι*, i. 1. 10, and *οἴκαδε*, i. 2. 2. — *ξένος*, guest-friend: see note on i. 1. 10. — *εἰ ἔλθοι . . . ποιήσαιν* (G. 246; 247): the direct discourse would be *ἐὰν ἔλθῃς, ποιήσω*, and *ἐὰν ἔλθῃ* might have been used here, like *ἐπαδὸν λήξῃ* in § 9, below. — *ὃν . . . πατριδος*, whom he (Proxenus) himself (G. 145, 1) said he considered of more account to himself than (he did) his country (Boeotia): the copula *εἶναι* is understood with *κρείττω νομίζειν*.

5. *ἀνακονοῦται*, consults (as a friend): cf. the act. *ἀνακονῶσαι* (below), to communicate with (i. e. τῷ θεῷ). — *Σωκράται*: the philosopher, Xenophon's master and friend. — *μὴ . . . εἴη*, that it might be matter of accusation by the state (G. 218): the subject of *εἴη* is *Κόρυς . . . γενέσθαι* (G. 259): for *τι*, see G. 160, 2. — *τοῖς Δακ.*: dat. governed by *σύν* in *συμπολεμήσας* (G. 187). The Spartans were greatly aided by money furnished by Cyrus during the last four years of the Peloponnesian War (408–404 B. c.). See the prefatory note, page 2. — *ἐλθόντα*, agreeing with *αὐτόν* understood (G. 138, N. 8 δ).

6. *ἐπῆρετο*: the aor. *ἡρόμην* (from *ἥρομαι*) is common; but *ἑρωτάω* is used in Attic Greek for the forms of the present stem. — *τίνι εὐχόμενος*, by sacrifice and prayer to which of the Gods: *ἄν* qualifies both *ἔλθοι* and *σώθει* (G. 212, 4). — *ἰδόν*, cognate acc. (G. 159). — *καλῶς πράξας*: like the English *doing well*. — *ἀνείλεν*: see *ἀναιρέω*. — *θεοῖς*: dat. for acc. by inverse attraction, a rare construction (G. 153, N. 4); or we may consider *θεοῖς οἷς* = *οἷς θεοῖς*, to what Gods.

7. *τοῦτο*: referring to the question *πότῃρον . . . μέναι*. — *πότῃρον εἴη* (G. 243). — *ἵπτον εἶναι*, that he was bound to go (G. 281, 2). — *ὅπως ἂν . . . πορευθείη*: indirect question (G. 245): the direct form would be *πῶς ἂν πορευθείην*; how could I go?

8. *οἷς*: supply *θίσασθαι*; the antecedent, if expressed (G. 152), would be (ἐκεῖνοις) *τοῖς θεοῖς* (G. 153, N. 1). — *μέλλοντας* (G. 138, N. 2 α). — *ἰδόν* (G. 159, N. 5). — *συνεστάθη*, was introduced.

9. *συμπροθύμειτο* (imperf.), joined in urging. — *ἐπαδὸν τάχιιστα* (quam primum) . . . *λήξῃ* . . . *ἀποπέμψα* (G. 247). — *ἀποπέμψα*, would dismiss him (G. 243; 202, 4): the English idiom does not allow us to follow the Greek and say he said that he will dismiss him; so also we must translate *ἐπαδὸν λήξῃ* as if it were *ἐπαδὴ λήξαιεν*, which would be more common after the past tense *εἶπε*.

10. *ἐστρατεύετο*, went on the expedition. — *οὕτως* qualifies *ἐκπατηθεὶς* (G. 277, 2). — *οὐχ*, not, however.

Page 63. — *φοβούμενος . . . καὶ ἄκοντες* (sc. *δυντες*), though fearing, etc. (G. 277, 5). — *ἀλλήλων*, *Κόρυς*: obj. genitives after *αἰσχύνην* (G. 167, 3).

11. λαχόν (G. 170, 2, and N.). — ἔδοξεν: first personal, with subject σκηπτός; afterwards understood as an impersonal with λάμπειν, with the subject of which (οἰκίαν understood) πᾶσαν agrees.

12. ἀνηγρόθη, was roused, awoke. — πῇ . . . πῇ, in some respects . . . in others. — ὅτι . . . τὸ πῦρ is causal, and μὴ οὐ δύναίτο (G. 215, N. 1) depends on ἐφοβείτο. — βασιλέως: the dream was thought to come from King Zeus. — ἐργαίτο was suggested by his being encircled on all sides (κύκλῳ) by the fire in his dream.

13. ὅποιόν . . . ἐστί, but what it amounts to. — ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων, from what happened. — πρῶτον μὲν: the correlative is ἐκ τούτου, § 15. — εἰκός, it is likely. — εἰ δὲ γενησόμεθα (G. 223, N. 1). — ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ, in the King's power. — ἐπιδόντας, having experienced (lived to see). — τί ἐμποδὼν μὴ οὐχί . . . ἀποθανεῖν; (G. 263, 1, N.; 283, 7).

14. ὅπως ἀμυνόμεθα, that we may defend ourselves (G. 217). — ὥσπερ ἐξόν, as if it were possible (G. 278, 2). — ἡσυχίαν (cf. G. 129, 7). — ἐγὼ . . . πρᾶξαν, from what state then am I expecting the general to come who is to do this? τὸν . . . στρατηγόν = (lit.) the general from what state. Xenophon's reflection was somewhat as follows: my own state (Athens) must supply the man; and if I am not old enough now to undertake the work, I never shall be.

15. ἐκ τούτου, upon this: we should expect ἐκ δὲ τούτου (see § 13); but cf. the note on οὗτοι μὲν, i. 2. 4. — ἐν οἷσις, in what straits (G. 139).

16. ἦλθον ὅτι = evidently (parenthetical). — οὐ πρότερον . . . πρὶν, not until (G. 240); cf. μὴ πρόσθεν . . . πρὶν in i. 2. 2, and note.

Page 62. — ἐξίφηναν (see ἐκφαίνω), opened war upon us. — παρεσκευάσθαι, had been got ready (G. 246).

17. ὑφιστάμεθα, yield ourselves. — ὅς: causal relative (G. 238), since he. — ὁμο-μητρίου, ὁμο-πατρίου (G. 129, 12; cf. 132, 3). — καὶ . . . ἤδη, even when already dead. — ἡμᾶς: subject of παθεῖν. — κηδεμὼν οὐδεὶς, no protector, to intercede for us (as Cyrus had his mother). — The subj. of ἐστρατεύσαμεν is οἱ, understood from the preceding οἱς (G. 156, N.). — ὥς . . . ποιήσοντας, intending to make him a subject (lit. slave) instead of king. — ἄν qualifies παθεῖν (G. 211).

18. ἀρ' οὐκ . . . θῆθαι, would he not make every effort? — τὰ ἔσχατα: cognate accusative (G. 159, N. 4). — αἰκιστάμενος: implying both ignominy and torture. — τοῦ στρατεύσαι (G. 262, 2): objective genitive after φόβον. — ὅπως . . . γενησόμεθα (G. 217).

19. ἔστε μὲν: see ἐπεὶ μέντοι, § 21. — οἰκτεῖραν, μακαρίζων (G. 279, 1). — αὐτῶν depends on the four following indirect questions (δοῖην . . . δοῦσα δέ) as if they were nouns: we might have had ταῦτα αὐτῶν after διαθεάμενος (cf. τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν in § 20). — ἐσθῆτα, clothing, in general.

20. ὅποτε ἐνθυμολογίην (G. 233). — τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν is explained by ὅτι . . . κατέχοντας ἡμᾶς, and all that precedes in the section is summed up in ταῦτα λογιζόμενος. But ἦδαν, with ἔχοντας and κατέχοντας (G. 280), breaks off from the construction begun in ὅτι τῶν μὲν, forming an independent sentence by *anacoluthon* (ἀνακολουθία). — οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν (G. 184, 2, N. 1)

μετέλῃ εἰ μὴ πριάμεθα: in direct discourse, οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν μέτεστιν ἂν μὴ πριάμεθα (G. 225; 247). — *δου δ' ὠνησόμεθα*, *wherewith to buy* (G. 178); the antecedent (ἀργύριον understood) follows *έχοντας*, *I knew that few had*, etc. — *ἄλλως . . . ὠνούμενους*, *to get supplies in any other way than by purchase*, following *κατέχοντας*.

21. *ἡ ὑποψία*, i. e. our present *suspicion*, with the constant anxiety attending it. — *ἐν μέσῳ κείται . . . ἄλλα*, *they* (τὰ ἀγαθὰ) *lie open to competition as prizes* (as in the games): cf. *ἐς μέσον τιθέναι* (in medio ponere), *to offer as a prize*, and *ἐν μέσῳ* (in another sense) in § 2. Demosthenes calls certain exposed towns *ἄλλα τοῦ πολέμου κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ*. — *ὅποτεροι ἡμῶν*, (*for*) *whichever of us* (Greeks or Persians), the antecedent being omitted. — *ᾧσιν* (G. 232, 3). — *ἀγωνοθέται* (G. 131, 1; 132, 1; 129, 2 b), *judges* (in the games), keeping up the figure begun with *ἐν μέσῳ*.

22. *αὐτοῖς*, i. e. the Gods, whom the Persians have *mocked by perjury* (ἐπωρκήκασιν), G. 158, N. 2. — *θεῶν*: object. gen. after *δρκους*. — *πολύ* (in emphatic position) belongs to *μειζον*. — *τούτοις*: in same construction as *ἡμῖν* understood after *ἐξείναι*.

Page 65. — 23. *ικανώτερα τούτων . . . φέρειν*, *more capable than theirs* (lit. *than they*) of bearing (G. 261, 1). — *ψύχη, ψυχάς* (G. 129, 4, and 129, 1). — *σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς*, *by the Gods' help*. — *οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες*, i. e. the enemy. — *ἣν διδώσιν* (G. 223), *if the Gods grant us*, etc. The future apodosis is implied in *πρωτοί*, etc., *more liable to be wounded and killed*, i. e. in consequence of the superior armor of the Greeks.

24. *ἀλλ' ἴσως γὰρ . . . ἀναμένωμεν* (G. 253), *but let us not wait, for perhaps others too*, etc. — *παρακαλοῦντας*: fut. (G. 110, II, N. 1 a). — *τοῦ ἔξομῆσαι*: gen. after *ἄρξωμεν* (G. 171; 262, 2).

25. *ἡλικίαν*: Xenophon appears to speak as a youth, and this passage favors the later date (about 430 B. C.) assigned for his birth; but most authorities place this at about 440 or even 444 B. C. — *ἀκμάζειν*, *that I am at the height of my ability*; *ἐρύκειν* depends on the idea of ability here contained, although we may connect it with the infin. of *purpose* (so Krüger).

26. *Ἀπολλωνίδης* (G. 129, 9 c). — *βοιωτιάζων τῇ φωνῇ*, *with a Boeotian accent*. — *ὅτι . . . λέγοι* (= *φλυαρεῖ ὅστις λέγει*, G. 247): *ὅστις λέγει, who said*; not *who should say*. — *σωτηρίας ἂν τυχεῖν*, *that he could find safety* (G. 171, 1): *τυχεῖν ἂν = τυχοίμην ἂν*, *I should find (if I should try)*. — *ἄλλως . . . ἢ πείσας*, *otherwise than by persuading*.

27. *μεταξὺ ὑπολαβὼν*, *interrupting him in the midst* (of his talk). — *ἐν ταύτῳ τούτοις*, *in the same place with these* (G. 186). — *ἐπεὶ . . . ἀπέθανε*, i. e. *after Cyrus was killed* (ἐπεὶ = *postquam*): cf. *ὅτε ἐκέλευε*, (simply) *when he commanded*. See notes on i. 1. 2 and 3.

28. *αὐτῷ* (G. 187). — *τί οὐκ ἐποίησε* (see § 18), *what did he leave undone?* — *αὐτοῖς* (G. 186, N. 1). — *οὐ νῦν . . . οὐδὲ . . . δύνανται*; (the *οὐ* is interrogative) *are they not unable, wretched men! even to die?* (G. 282, 2; 283, 8, N.). — *τούτου*, i. e. *τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν*.

Page 66. — *πείθειν πάλιν λόνας* (sc. *ἡμᾶς*), *that we should go and try persuasion again*. We may, however, take *πάλιν* with *καλέσας*. (See Grote, IX., Chap. 70, p. 107.)

30. ἐμοί . . . δοκεῖ, *I think it best*: for the infin. see G. 202. See note on i. 3. 11. — ἀφελόμενους (sc. ἡμᾶς) . . . χρῆσθαι: *to deprive him of his command, lay packs upon him, and treat him as such* (i. e. as a pack-bearer).

31. τοῦτω . . . Βουωτίας (G. 184, 2, N. 1). — ὥσπερ Λυδόν: the Greeks considered it effeminate for men to wear ear-rings (see Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.* s. v. *inauris*); bored ears, therefore, marked a man as a barbarian. The Lydians were proverbially effeminate. Cf. note on An i. 5. 6. — ἀμφότερα . . . τετυπημένον, *with both his ears bored*; ὅτα, etc. presupposes an active construction τυπᾶν τὰ ὅτα αὐτῷ, *to bore his ears for him* (G. 197, 1, N. 2).

32. ὅπου . . . εἴη . . . οἰχοῖτο . . . εἴη (G. 233). — ὁπόθεν οἰχοῖτο, i. e. *from whatever division the general had been lost* (G. 200, N. 3). — ὅπου δ' αὖ λοχαγὸς σῶς εἴη implies that the two higher officers were lost.

33. εἰς . . . ὅπλων, *at the front of the encampment* (§ 3; G. 191, N. 6). — ἐγένοντο, *amounted to* (in number), *not were*. — μέσαι νύκτες, *midnight*: cf. i. 7. 1, and note.

34. αὐτοῖς is intensive (G. 145, 1), referring to ἡμῖν: *it seemed best to us, when we saw, . . . ourselves to meet*, etc. — εἰ δυναίμεθα (G. 243, N.). — πρὸς ἡμᾶς (sc. ἐλεξας).

35. τάδε (G. 148, N. 1). — ἡμῶν: partitive after οὗς. — δῆλον ὅτι: see § 16. — ἡμῖν δέ: correlated in form to ταῦτα μὲν, but in sense to βασιλεὺς καὶ Τισσαφέρνης. — ἡμῖν . . . ποιητέα (G. 188, 4; 281, 1).

36. μέγιστον καιρόν, *the grandest opportunity*.

Page 67. — αὐτοῖ τε, *both on your own part* (G. 145, 1), opposed to τοὺς ἄλλους, below. — παρασκευαζόμενοι, *preparing* (not *prepared*), with φανεροί ᾗτε (G. 280, N. 1).

37. τῇ, *somewhat*, *considerably* (G. 160, 2). — τούτων (G. 175, 2). — χρήμασι, *pay*. — ἀξιοῦν δεῖ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, *we have a right to expect that you*, etc.

38. ὀνῆσαι ἄν (ὀνήσασθε ἄν, G. 211). — ὅπως . . . ἀντικατασταθῶσιν (G. 217, N. 1; 201, N. 2). — ὥς . . . εἰπεῖν, *to speak briefly* (G. 184, 5; 268). — παντάπασιν (sc. οὐδὲν ἄν . . . γένοιτο), i. e. it is *absolutely* true in military matters; the force lies in the implication that this expression is stronger than the sweeping statement in οὐδαμοῦ (G. 283, 9).

39. ποιῆσαι ἄν (= ποιήσασθε ἄν: see § 38): we should have expected ποιήσων (= ποιήσετε), to correspond with the two subjunctives which precede (G. 227, 1). — πάνν ἐν καιρῷ, *quite seasonably*.

40. ὥς ἀθύμως, *how without spirit*. — οὕτω γ' ἐχόντων, *at least while they are so* (ἀθύμως): gen. abs. with αὐτῶν understood. — ὅ τι, *for what service* (G. 188, 1, N. 2). — νυκτός (G. 179, 1).

42. ἥ . . . ποιοῦσα, *which causes*, etc., takes the gender of λυχίς, where τὸ . . . ποιοῦν might have been used. — ὁπότεροι ἄν . . . ἴωσιν (G. 233). — ἔρρωμενέστεροι (compar. of the perf. part. pass. of ῥώννυμι), *more vigorous*. — τούτους refers with emphasis to the omitted antecedent of ὁπότεροι: *such men their foes do not abide*. — ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, *generally* (for the most part).

Page 68. — 43. ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου, *any way they can, at any rate*. — οὕτοι μὲν . . . τούτους: see note on τούτους, § 42. — ἀφικνουμένους (G. 280). — διὰγοντας, *passing their life*. — ἕως ἄν ἴωσιν (G. 233).

44. αὐτοῖς, *ourselves* (emphatic). — παρακαλεῖν: sc. ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι.

45. Χερὶ-σοφός (G. 131, 1, N.). — τοσοῦτον . . . δεόν, *I knew only so much of you, as that*, etc. — ἐφ' οἷς (G. 153, N. 1). — βουλομένην ἂν (G. 226, 2b). — ὅτι πλείστοις (like the Latin *quam plurimos*), *as many as possible*. See note on i. 1. 6.

46. αἰρείσθε, etc.: imperat. — οἱ δέοντες, *you who need them*.

47. ἅμα ἐπὶ ἄν (G. 277, N. 1). — τὰ δέοντα, *the needful business*, subj. of the passives μέλλοιτο and παραινέοιτο. — Δαρδανεύς, of *Dardanus* in *Troas*.

CHAPTER II.

SYNOPSIS: The soldiers are called together, and first addressed by Chirisophus (1), who admits that the situation is critical (2), but exhorts them to face the enemy with courage (3). Cleonor follows, and calls to mind the perjury and impiety of the King, and the faithlessness of Tissaphernes and Ariaeus (4, 5), upon whom he invokes the vengeance of the Gods (6). Next Xenophon stands up, splendidly accoutred for war (7), and says that now the Greeks may hope, with the aid of the Gods, to get back home again in safety (8). While he is speaking, some one sneezes; and the army, regarding this a good omen, vow to offer sacrifices to Zeus in the first friendly country they shall reach (9). Xenophon then proceeds, giving the reasons why they may hope for a safe return: the Gods are on their side (10); their ancestors once defeated the Persians at Marathon (11, 12), and again at Salamis (13); and they themselves have lately proved themselves not unworthy descendants of such progenitors (14). The struggle was then, he says, for Cyrus; now it is for themselves (15); and now they know that the enemy are at heart cowards (16): even more cowardly still are their former barbarian allies (17). The enemy's cavalry, moreover, are, after all, only so many men (18, 19). Better guides may be seized than the treacherous Tissaphernes (20); opportunities found for seizing provisions (21); and even impassable rivers crossed, at least at their sources (22). But even if obliged to remain, they need not despair, for various nations have already occupied the King's country against his will (23). The speaker is half inclined (he says) to advise them to pretend that they want to remain (24). On the whole, however, their proper course is to go back to Greece and advise their poor relations and friends to come to Persia and get rich by plundering (25, 26). They should, therefore, burn their wagons, and rid themselves of all other unnecessary baggage (27, 28); and, remembering how the enemy hoped to destroy them by seizing their generals (29), be more vigilant and obedient than before (30), and ready to punish any offender against discipline (31). Whatever they see fit to do should be done at once (32). Chirisophus puts Xenophon's proposals to vote, and they are adopted (33). Xenophon, again rising, suggests that they march, in the form of a square, for provisions to certain villages near at hand, with Chirisophus as leader (34-37). The proposals are approved, and he again exhorts them to valor (38, 39).

1. ἦγγοντο: the plup. with ἐπεὶ or ἐπαδὴ is more emphatic than the more common aorist (for which see notes on i. 1. 2 and 3). — ὑπέφανε, *was barely glimmering*: a common force of ὑπό in comp. is *slightly* (G. 191, VI. 7, end). — πρῶτον μὲν answers to ἐπὶ τούτῳ, § 4.

Page 69. — 2. οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀριαίον, *Ariaeus and his men* (G. 141, N. 3).

3. ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, *from these straits*. See τὰ παρόντα in § 2. — ἀνδρας . . . τελέθειν (sc. ἡμᾶς), *we must come out brave men*: τελέθειν is a poetic word = γίγνεσθαι. — ὅπως σωζόμεθα (G. 217, N. 1). — εἰ δὲ μή, *otherwise*: see note on ii. 2. 1. — ἀλλὰ γε, *yet at least*. — ἀποθνήσκωμεν and γενόμεθα depend on ὅπως, like σωζόμεθα. — ἐποχείριοι (G. 132, 1). — τοιαῦτα οἶα . . . ποιήσειαν (G. 251, 1), *such things as I pray that the Gods may do to our enemies* (G. 165).

4. ἐπιορκίαν, ἀσέβειαν, ἀπιστίαν (see G. 129, 7). — ὅστις λέγων, i. e. (*a man*) *who, while he said, etc.* The speech of Tissaphernes is in ii. 3. 18. — εἰη (G. 243). — περὶ . . . ἂν ποιήσαιτο, *would hold it of the utmost consequence* (G. 245). — ἐπὶ τοῦτοις, *upon all this* (in confirmation of it). — αὐτός: repeated with tragic emphasis: notice also the *asymdeion*. — Δία ξένιον: Ζεὺς as the God of hospitality and the protector of its rights. — αὐτοῖς τοῦτοις, *by that very means*, i. e. being on intimate terms (ὁμοστροφία) with Clearchus.

5. ἂν . . . ἐλάβομεν (G. 156, N.). — προδώσειν: cf. παρέξει in ii. 3. 26, and note. — καὶ οὗτος, *even he too*. — ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν (G. 165, N. 1).

6. ἀποτίσαιτο, *requite* (G. 251, 1): ἀπο- implies the rendering what is due. — ἔτι, *any longer*. — ὥς ἂν δυνάμεθα κράτιστα, *as vigorously as we shall be able*: by an ellipsis of δύναμαι we have the common expression ὥς κράτιστα, etc., *as vigorously as possible*, etc. — δυνάμεθα, δοκῇ (G. 232, 3).

7. ἐσταλμένος, *equipped*. — κόσμον, *ornament*, refers to his dress. — τῶν καλλίστων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιάσαντα, *since he had thought himself worthy of* (i. e. *to wear*) *the most beautiful equipment*. — ἐν τοῦτοις, i. e. τοῖς καλλίστοις. — τελευτῆς (G. 171, 1).

Page 70. — 8. αὐτοῖς διὰ φιλίας ἵνα, *to enter into friendship with them*, like διὰ δίκης ἰθεὺς τι, *to go to law with one*, and below, διὰ παντὸς πολέμου αὐτοῖς ἵνα, *to go to war with them in every way* (G. 186, N. 1). — ὁρῶντας . . . πεπόνθασιν, *seeing the generals, what they had suffered*, i. e. *seeing what the generals, etc.* Cf. note on i. 1. 5. — ὧν (G. 153, N. 1): its antecedent would be gen. after δίκην (G. 167, 3), *punishment for what they have done*: the antecedent in such cases is (as in the English *what*) implied in the relative. — τὸ λοιπὸν, *adverbial, for the future* (G. 160, 2; 161).

9. τὸν θεόν, i. e. Δία Σωτήρα (see below). — περὶ σωτηρίας λεγόντων: the sneeze, which was thought to be an omen sent by Ζεὺς Σωτήρ, came just *when they were talking of safety*. — οἰωνός, *omen*: so sneezing is still regarded by the vulgar in some countries. — εἰξασθαι, *to vow*, depending on δοκεῖ (G. 202); see note on iii. 1. 30, above. — θύσειν σωτήρια (G. 159), *to make sacrifices in thanks for safety*. — θπου ἂν . . . ἀφικώμεθα (G. 232, 3). — ἀνατανάτω: an appeal to the citizen-soldiers: in the Athenian Assembly elections were made (after nomination) by hand-vote (χειροτονία).

10. ἐμπεδοῦμεν (ἐμπεδος, from ἐν and πέδον), *we stand by*. — οὕτω δ' ἐχόντων (sc. τῶν πραγμάτων), *quae cum ita sint*. — κἂν . . . ᾧσι (G. 225).

11. ἔπειτα δὲ corresponds to πρῶτον μὲν in § 10; but after the construction is interrupted by ἀναμνήσω γὰρ . . . ἀγαθός, it is resumed in ἐλθόντων

μέν γάρ without reference to ἔπατα. — ἀναμνήσω here takes two accusatives, with the verbs included in G. 164; for a different construction, see G. 171, 2, N. 3. — ἀγαθοῖς (G. 138, N. 8). — ὡς ἀφανισόντων, to blot Athens again out of existence (G. 277, 3, and N. 2): αὖθις, again, i. e. as she was ἀφανείς before she was built. — ἐνίκησαν: i. e. at Marathon (490 B. C.).

Page 71. — 12. εὐζήμενοι: nom. as if a personal verb meaning they *re solved* were to follow, in place of ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς. — ὅπόσους κατακάνουν representing ὅπόσους ἀν κατακάνωμεν of the direct form (G. 247). — χιμαῖρας: trace the origin of the English word *Chimaera*. — ἀποθύνουσιν, they *are still* (after ninety years) *fulfilling that sacrifice*. According to Herodotus, the number of Persians slain at Marathon was 6,400 (see *Selections from Xenophon and Herodotus*, p. 153, § 23); the Athenians prayed Artemis for permission to substitute for a single sacrifice of this large amount of goats an annual one of five hundred. The essay on the *Malignity of Herodotus*, included in Plutarch's *Morals*, Ch. XXVI., describes this sacrifice as still kept up about five centuries after Xenophon's time.

13. ἔπατα corresponds to ἐλόντων μὲν in § 11. — ἀναριθμητον: Herodotus (vii. 185) makes the whole number of the fighting men (μάχημοι) in Xerxes's army 2,641,610; and he estimates the number of camp-followers as even greater than this. (See *Selections*, p. 163, § 23.) — καὶ τότε, then too (as well as at Marathon), referring to the victories at Salamis (480 B. C.), and at Plataea and Mycæle (479 B. C., on the same day). — ἔστι . . . ὅραν, we may see (G. 259). — τεκμήρια (G. 137, N. 4). — ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεούς, but (only) the Gods. — προγόνων (G. 169, 1).

14. ἀφ' οὗ, since. — ἐκείνων, i. e. the Persians of Xerxes's army. — ὡμῶν αὐτῶν (G. 175, N. 1): gen. after πολλαπλασίους (see note on i. 7. 3).

15. πολὺ belongs to ἀμείνονας and προθυμότερους. See iii. 1. 22.

16. αὐτῶν: obj. gen. after ἀπειροί (G. 180, N. 1). — ἀμετρον: sc. ἐν (G. 280). — πατρίῳ (G. 129, 12): cf. πατρίαν, iii. 1. 11. — ἐς, against (into), stronger than the more common ἐπὶ. — ὅτι θέλουσι depends on the idea of *knowing* implied in πείραν ἔχετε — καὶ . . . ὄντες (G. 277, 5, and N. 1 δ). — δέχεσθαι, i. e. to abide our attack. — ὡμῖν προσήκει: we might have had ὡμᾶς as the subject of the infinitive, as in § 15.

17. μὴδὲ . . . εἰ, nor suppose that you are the worse for this, that, etc. (G. 254). — οἱ Κύριοι: the barbarian troops of Cyrus. — ἐκείνους refers to τῶν ἡττημένων: running to them for refuge implied (Xen. means) that the refugees were the greater cowards. — ταπτομένους (G. 280).

18. ἡμῖν (G. 184, 4). — ἐνθυμήθητε: plural, as if ὑμεῖς had preceded in place of ὡμῶν τις.

Page 72. — οἱ μύριοι ἵππεῖς: the article here implies that the number is a familiar one; "so in English, *your ten thousand horse*" (Crosby). — ὅτι ἂν γίγνηται (G. 233).

19. ἱππέων: gen. of compar. after πολὺ ἀσφαλεστέρου. — βεβηκότες, on our feet. — δοῦν ἂν βουλόμεθα (G. 232, 3). — τευξόμεθα (see τυγχάνω), shall hit. — ἐνί, in one thing (G. 188, 2). — ἡμᾶς: προέχων usually takes the genitive (G. 175, 2); here the accusative.

20. *ei* belongs to both clauses, *τὰς μὲν . . . θαρραίετε*, and *ὅτι δὲ . . . ἀχθεσθε* — *μάχας* (G. 158, N. 2). — *ὅτι . . . παρήξει*: summed up in *τοῦτο*, which follows. — *φανερὸς*, *evidently* (G. 138, N. 7; 280, N. 1). — *οὓς . . . ἄνδρας* for *τοὺς ἄνδρας οὓς* (G. 154). — *οὓς ἂν . . . λαβόντες . . . κελεύμεν* (G. 232, 3), i. e. *any whom we may find (on the way) and order to act as guides*. — *τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα*, *their own lives and bodies*: the meaning is that such guides will fear death or a beating enough to make them faithful: with nouns of different genders the article is usually repeated.

21. *πότερον κρείττον* (sc. *ἐστὶ*) is part of the indirect question depending on *σκέψασθε* in § 20. — *ἤς* (G. 153). — *ἀργυρίου* (G. 178). — *μηδὲ . . . ἔχοντα*, *when we no longer have even this* (i. e. *ἀργύριον*), i. e. being now without pay. — *αὐτοὺς* (sc. *ἡμᾶς*), *ourselves* (G. 145, 1, N.).

22. *Εἰ δὲ* introduces three verbs. — *ἄπορον* (G. 138, N. 2 c). — *μεγάλως . . . διαβάντες*, *suppose yourselves to have been greatly deceived by having crossed them* (G. 203; 277, 2), as when they crossed the Tigris (ii. 4. 24). — *σκέψασθε εἰ*, we should say, *whether they have not*, etc. — *τοῦτο καὶ μωρότατον* (sc. *ὅν*): see G. 142, 3, end. — *πηγῶν* (G. 182, 2). — *ἦν . . . ὥσι* (G. 225). — *προϊοῦσι*, *to those advancing* (sc. *τις*). — *οὐδὲ*, *not even*.

23. *διήσουσιν* (see *δίημι*), *let us pass* (G. 223, N. 1). — *οὐδ' ὥς (ὡς = οὕτως)*, *not even then* (lit. *so, under these circumstances*). — *ἄδυμητόν* (G. 281, 2). — *Μυσοὺς*, *the Mysians*, of N. W. Asia Minor, rebellious subjects of the King, and only half subdued. The Pisidians and Lycæonians (mentioned below) inhabited the rugged southerly part of Asia Minor. — *οὐκ ἂν φαίμεν* (G. 226, 2). — *βασιλῆως ἄκοντος*: gen. abs. (sc. *δυντος*).

Page 73. — *τούτων*: meaning the Persians, whose king has just been spoken of. — *καρποῦνται* (middle voice), *reap for themselves*: the nouns which would naturally be the subjects of this verb are attracted into the preceding clauses, and made the objects of *ἐπιστάμεθα* and *εἶδομεν* (see note on § 8, above).

24. *καὶ ἡμᾶς* emphatic. — *ἂν ἔφην*, *I might say (unless, etc., see next section*: G. 226, 2). — *ὀρμημένους* (after *φανερούς*: G. 280, N. 1), i. e. *we ought not yet to let it be seen that we have set out for home*. — *ὥς . . . οἰκίσσοντας*, *as if we intended to settle hereabouts*, i. e. declaring by our acts that this is our purpose (G. 277, N. 2). — *Μυσοῖς . . . ἂν δόξῃ*, i. e. if they would take them (G. 226, 2). — *ἂν* before *ὀμήρους* belongs to *δόξῃ* understood (G. 212, 3). — *ὀμήρους* (*ὀμός* and **ἄρω*), *hostages*, i. e. *binding (two parties) together*. — *τοῦ . . . ἐκπέμψειν*: gen. depending on *ὀμήρους* (G. 262, 2), *hostages for his sending*; the fut. infin. in all constructions with the article is exceptional (G. 202, 3), the present or aorist being far more common. (See *Moods and Tenses*, § 27, N. 2). — *ἂν . . . ἐποίῃ*, *he would be thrice-glad to do this* (G. 222). — *μένειν παρασκευαζομένους*, *preparing (not prepared) to remain*.

25. *ἀλλὰ γάρ*, *but* (I do not say this, *ἔφην ἂν* in § 24) *for*, etc. — *ἀργοί* (G. 138, N. 8). — *ῖήν* (G. 123, N. 2). — *καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις*, *fair and tall*, the Greek notion of female beauty. — *γυναιξί* (G. 186). — *μή* before *ὥσπερ* is a repetition of *μή* after *δέδοικα*. — *λωτοφάγοι*, *lotus-eaters*, see *Odys.* IX.,

94 sqq.: having tasted of this sweet tropical plant, the companions of Ulysses lost all care for home.

26. *ἔξόν*, since it is in their power (G. 278, 2), gives the cause of *ἐκόντες πίνονταί*. — *τοὺς . . . πολιτεύοντας*, those who now live poor at home: object of *δράν*. — *κομισαμένους* (referring to the Greeks), if they shall bring them *hither* (G. 226, 1): it might have followed the case of *αὐτοῖς* (G. 138, n. 8 b). — *πλουσίους*: sc. *δοντας* (G. 280). — *δῆλον ἐστι*: see note on iii. 1. 16. — *τῶν κρατούντων* (G. 169, 1).

27. *πῶς ἂν* belongs to both *πορευοίμεθα* and *μαχοίμεθα*, and *πῶς*, by what course (if followed), implies the protasis (G. 226, 1). — *ἡμῶν* follows *στρατηγῇ* (G. 171, 3), that our campaign may not be directed by the cattle. — *ἐπεὶ ἂν . . . συμφέρῃ* (G. 232, 3). — *συγκατακάθσαι*: sc. *δοκεῖ*. — *δχλοι . . . ἀγειν* (G. 261, 2, n.). — *εἰς τὸ μάχεσθαι*, etc. (G. 262, 1).

28. *ἀπαλλάξωμεν*, let us abandon (G. 253). — *κρατούμενον* (sc. *τινῶν*): gen. of possess. after *πάντα*. — *ἀλλότρια*, forfeit, or lost (lit. another's).

Page 74. — *νομίζαν*, consider as, followed by two accus. (G. 166).

29. *Δουπόν* (*λείπω*), it remains (sc. *ἔστιν*). — *οὐ πρόσθεν . . . πρὶν*, not . . . until (G. 240). — *ὄντων . . . ἀρχόντων*, i. e. while we had our officers. — *ἀπολέσθαι ἂν*, that we should be ruined (= *ἀπολοίμεθα ἂν*: G. 211).

30. *τοὺς νῦν* (G. 142, 2). — *τῶν πρόσθεν* (G. 175, 1), than those we had before. Notice the emphatic position of *τοὺς νῦν*.

31. *ἢν . . . ἢν*, in case . . . if (the latter should be translated first). — *τὸν δὲ ἐντυχάνοντα* (subj. of *κολάζειν*), whoever of you may be at hand at the time. — *ἐψευσμένοι*, disappointed. — *τοὺς . . . εἶναι*, men who will suffer no man to be a coward. — *κακῷ* (G. 136, n. 3 a).

32. *περαίνειν ὥρα* (G. 261, 1), time for action. — *βέλτιον ἢ ταύτη*, better than (that things should be) as I propose. — *ὁ ἰδιώτης*, the private.

34. *προσδεῖν*, is needed besides. — *ἐπου*, (to a place) where.

Page 75. — 35. *εἰ καὶ αὐτοί*, if they themselves likewise (καί), resumes the construction begun by *εἰ οἱ πόλεμοι* and broken by the parenthesis. — *ἡμῖν* (G. 186 or 187).

36. *πλασίον*, a hollow square or rectangle with a front (*τὰ πρόσθεν*), two sides or flanks (*πλευραί*), and a rear (*τὰ ὀπίσθεν*): within this the baggage and the camp-followers (*δχλος*) were to be placed. — *ἐπλαν*, i. e. the *ὀπλίται*, or heavy infantry. — *εἰ . . . πλασίον*, if then it should be settled at once who is to lead the square: *ἀποδείκνυμι*, to show forth or manifest, hence to appoint. — *ὁπότε ἔλθοιεν* (G. 232, 4). — *χρόμει' ἂν . . . τεταγμένοις*, i. e. we should have them at once in their places ready for action.

37. *ἡγοίτο* and the two following optatives express an exhortation in the form of a wish (G. 251, 1). — *Λακεδαιμόνιος*: as the Lacedaemonians were now the first power in Greece. — *τὸ νῦν εἶναι*, for the present (G. 268, n.).

38. *ὅ τι ἂν δὲ δοκῇ*, whatever may seem in each case (*δὲ*): cond. relative clause (G. 232, 3), not indirect question. — *εἰ . . . ὅρῃ*, if any one (now) sees (G. 221), present like *ἐπεὶ δοκεῖ* (G. 232, 1). — *ἔδοξε ταῦτα*, they voted this, this seemed good to them: cf. i. 3. 20, and note.

39. *τὰ δεδογμένα*, what has been voted. — *δοτις . . . ἐπιθυμῶ*, like *εἰ τις*,

etc. (G. 232, 1). — *μνησθε εἶναι*, *be mindful that he be*: *ἄν* would mean *that he is*. — *τῶν νικάντων ἐστὶ*, *belongs to the victors*. — *καὶ εἰ τις δέ*, *and even if any* (see note on i. 1. 2). — *σάξαι, λαμβάνειν*: cf. *τὸ κατακαίνειν* and *τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν*, above (G. 259, N.). — *τὰ τῶν ἡττωμένων*, *the possessions of the vanquished*.

CHAPTER III.

SYNOPSIS: The Greeks burn their wagons, tents, and superfluous baggage. They are visited by Mithridates (1), who pretends that he is well disposed towards them, and proposes to join them if they have any well-developed plans for escape (2). After consultation, Chirisophus answers that, if unmolested, they will proceed homeward, doing as little harm to the country as possible; but that, if hindered, they propose to fight their way (3). Mithridates endeavors to persuade them that their plan is not feasible, and they conclude that he is a spy (4). They resolve to admit no more heralds to the camp (5). They cross the river Zapatas; and again Mithridates appears, with a body of cavalry, and attacks them (6, 7). The Greeks pursue, but are unable to overtake the enemy (8, 9). Some of them are wounded by the barbarians, who shoot backwards as they ride (10). At the evening's halt, Xenophon is blamed for the pursuit (11). He acknowledges his error (12, 13), and thanks the Gods that no great harm was done (14). He calls attention to the advantages at present possessed by the enemy (15), and proposes that the Greeks at once provide themselves with slingers and cavalry by banding certain Rhodians in their army, who understand the use of the sling, into a company of the former, and by equipping for riders all the horses in their possession (16–19). The plan is approved, and two hundred slingers with fifty horsemen are made ready (20).

1. *ἔσται*: governed by *δέοιτο* (G. 172, 1) and limited by *περιττῶν* (G. 168), *whatever of the spare articles*: its antecedent is the object of *μετεδίδωσαν*. — *ἀριστο-ποιούμενων* (G. 131, 1; cf. 130, 2). — *εἰς ἐπήκοον*, *within hearing* (*ἀκούω*).

Page 76. — 2. *διάγων* (sc. *χρόνον*), *tarrying*. — *ὡς φίλον τε καὶ εὖνον* (sc. *ὄντα*) καὶ *βουλόμενον*, *as (one whom you may assume to be) a friend*, etc.: *ὡς* has its force as explained in G. 277, N. 2.

3. *ἄγε* (imperf.), *was spokesman*. — *εἰ . . . ἐᾷ* (G. 221). — *ὡς ἀσινίστατα*, *doing as little harm as shall be possible*. — *ἢν δέ τις*, *but if any one* (Tissaphernes, for instance) shall hinder (G. 223): cf. note on ii. 3. 23. — *διαπολεμῆναι*, *to fight it out* (*διά*).

4. *βασιλέως ἄκοντος* (sc. *ὄντος*). — *ὑπόπεμπτος* (observe the force of *ὑπό*), *sent in an underhand way*. — *οἰκείων*, *kinsmen*. — *πίστεως ἔνεκα*, *to secure good faith*, i. e. on the part of Mithridates.

5. *δόγμα* (see G. 129, 4): Eng. derivative? — *τὸν πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι*, *that the war should be without heralds* (i. e. *one in which no messengers were to be received from the enemy*): *ἀκήρυκτος* with *πόλεμος* sometimes means *implacable, merciless*. — *ἔστ' . . . εἰεν*, *so long as they should be in the enemy's country* (G. 248, 1): the direct form of the resolution (*δόγμα*) being *ἔστ' ἂν ᾗμεν*. — *διέφθαρον . . . στρατιώτας*, *they (the Persians) kept trying*

to corrupt the soldiers (G. 200, N. 2); but διέφθαραν, they (actually) corrupted. — ἀπιών (G. 279, 4, N.). — νυκτός (G. 179, 1).

6. τοξότας, σφενδονήτας (G. 129, 2 δ): cf. ἀκοντισταί in § 7, and δολιγῶν and πελταστῶν in § 8.

7. ὡς φίλος ὢν (G. 277, N. 2). — αὐτῶν, i. e. of his men. — ἐπασχον κακῶς (G. 165, N. 1²). — Κρήτες: the Cretan τοξόται are mentioned in i. 2. 9 (see note).

Page 77. — ἡ ὥς (G. 266, 2, N. 1) . . . σφενδονητῶν (G. 171, 1), they shot too short to reach the (Persian) slingers.

8. διωκτέον (G. 281, 2). — ἐδίωκον has for its subject the antecedent of οἱ.

9. ἐκ πολλοῦ, with a long start. — οὐχ οἷόν τε, not possible (G. 151, N. 4²).

10. εἰς τοῦπισθεν (τὸ ὀπισθεν), behind them, in the proverbial "Parthian" style. — διώξαιεν (G. 233). — ἐπαναχωρεῖν μαχομένους: because the Persian cavalry turned upon them when they began to retire.

11. καὶ αὐτός, even in person. — οὐδὲν μᾶλλον βλάπτειν, to do them no more harm (G. 159, N. 4).

12. ἤτιῶντο . . . μαρτυροῖ: he said ὁρθῶς ἠτιῶσθε (G. 243, N. 1), καὶ . . . μαρτυρεῖ. Translate, he said that they had blamed him rightly, and that the result itself bore witness to them. — πάσχοντας (G. 280).

13. ἀληθῆ λέγετε, i. e. you are right as to what then took place.

14. χεῖρις: sc. ἔστω. — βλάψαι (G. 266, 1). — μεγάλα (G. 159, N. 2).

15. ὅσον: sc. τοσοῦτον, from such a distance that (lit. through so great a distance as: G. 161). — οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλοντες, i. e. hurlers of the javelin. — ἐκ τόξου ῥύματος, if he had a bow-shot the start of him; cf. ἐκ πολλοῦ, § 9.

Page 78. — 16. Ἡμεῖς with μέλλομεν, instead of ἡμῖν following δέ (G. 172, N. 2). — τὴν ταχίστην (G. 160, 2). — καὶ διπλάσιον φέρεσθαι (pass.), fly (lit. are carried) even twice as far. — σφενδονῶν (G. 175, 1, N. 1).

17. χειροπληθέσι (G. 131, 1): pred. adj. (G. 142, 3⁸), the idea being, because the stones they use in slinging are of hand-size. — μολυβδίσιν, leaden slugs (G. 188, 1, N. 2).

18. αὐτῶν: poss. gen. dep. on the indir. quest. τίνες . . . σφενδόνας (cf. note on αὐτῶν, iii. 1. 19). — πέπνται (see πάσμαι), have, cf. κέκτηνται — τοῦτο, to any such, as if τίς had been used instead of τίνες. — αὐτῶν, i. e. the slings (G. 178). — τῷ σφενδονῶν ἐντεταγμένῳ, to any one who may have taken the position of slinger. — ἐθέλοντι, of his free will (G. 277, 2). — ἄλλην τινὰ ἀπέλειαν, some exemption (e. g. from severer camp-duty) besides.

19. τῶν Κλεάρχου: sc. ἵππων (G. 168), i. e. horses not carried away by the cavalry who deserted (see ii. 2. 7). — αἰχμ-αλώτους: composition! — σκευοφόρα, i. e. mules, in place of (ἀντι) the horses now to be taken for cavalry service. — εἰς ἵππεας, for the use of cavalry. — τοὺς φεύγοντας, i. e. those mentioned in § 9 and § 10.

20. ἐγένοντο, were obtained. — ἰδοκιμάσθησαν, were accepted.

CHAPTER IV.

SYNOPSIS: Early the next day they resume the march (1), and just after crossing a dangerous ravine see Mithridates approaching with 5,000 men (2). The enemy pass the ravine, but, when charged upon by the Greeks, retreat precipitately (3, 4). The Greeks mutilate the bodies of the slain (5), and then march on to the deserted city of Larissa, on the Tigris (6-9), from which they proceed to a fortress near Mespila (10-12). During the next day's march Tissaphernes makes his appearance with a large body of troops (13). He does not venture an attack (14), and hastily retreats when the newly organized slingers and archers begin to use their weapons (15). He follows, however, close after them (16, 17). The Greeks halt for one day; and on the second proceed through the open country, more or less annoyed by Tissaphernes (18). Finding themselves hampered by the arrangement of the troops in the form of a square, they make a new disposition of the army, and march onward for four days (19-23). On the fifth day they see a royal building, the way to which lies among high hills (24). While descending one of these, they are attacked by the enemy in the rear (25), and are thrown into confusion (26). The same thing occurs on the second hill, but finally they get a portion of their force above the enemy, who then desist (27-29). The Greeks encamp in certain villages (30), where they remain three days, but on the fourth descend into the plain beyond (31). Tissaphernes overtakes them, and they immediately encamp (32). This gives them greatly the advantage (33). At night the enemy retire (34-36); upon which the Greeks decamp, and get so far away that they are not overtaken until the fourth day. The barbarians now have the advantage of an elevated position, under which the Greeks must pass (37); and accordingly Chirisophus orders Xenophon to bring his peltasts to the front. This Xenophon declines to do (38-40), but he proposes that they attempt to gain the summit of the mountain above the enemy, which has been left unprotected (41), and himself makes the attempt with a body of picked men (42, 43). The enemy see the movement, and try to reach the summit before the Greeks (44). There is great shouting in both armies (45); and Xenophon gallantly encourages his men, who finally succeed in reaching the summit before the enemy (46-49).

1. τῇ ἄλλῃ, *the next day*, for τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ — χαράδραν: the bed of a mountain stream, generally dry, such as are now often used as roads in Greece.

2. διαβιβηκόσι, *after they had crossed* (G. 277, 1). — ἤτησε (G. 164). — ἰπποσχόμενος . . . παραδώσειν (G. 203, N. 2): his promise was ἂν λάβω, παραδώσω (G. 247): we might have had εἰ λάβοι. — καταφρονήσας, *having come to despise* (G. 200, N. 5 b).

Page 79. — 3. ὅσον (cf. εἰς, i. 2, 3, and note), *about*: lit. (as much) as. — παρήγγελο, *orders had been given*. — οὗς: subject of διώκειν. — θάρροισι . . . δυνάμεις, *to pursue boldly, as a sufficient force was to follow* (G. 277, N. 2).

4. κατελήφα: sc. αὐτοῦς. — ἐσήμνην: sc. ὁ σαλπικτής (G. 134, N. 1 d). — οἷς εἶρητο, *those who had received orders*, as subject of ἔδεικνεν (cf. οὗς ἔδεικνεν, κ. τ. λ. in § 3). — οἱ δὲ (G. 143, 1, N. 2), i. e. the enemy.

5. τοῖς βαρβάροις (G. 184, 3). — αὐτο-κλειστοί: cf. αὐτό-ματος, i. 2. 17, and αὐτό-μολος, i. 7. 2. — ἐπὶ φοβεράτατον ὄραν (G. 261, 2), *as frightful as possible to behold* (sc. τὸ δράμα).

7. Λάρισσα: an old name (orig. meaning *citadel*) given to several fortified Greek cities and to the citadel of Argos. The Larissa here mentioned is the site of the modern Nimrud, and it was once the S. W. corner of Nineveh. See note on Μέσπιλα in § 10. — τὸ παλαιόν, *anciently*. — λιθίνη (G. 129, 14).

8. βασιλεύς, i. e. Cyrus the Great: see note on § 10. — νεφέλη: the cloud hiding the sun was an eclipse. — ἔξιπτον: sc. τὴν πόλιν; the eclipses being considered an evil omen. — ἰάλω: see ἀλλοκομαι.

9. παρά, *by the side of*: cf. note on i. 2. 13. — πλεθρον: see note on i. 2. 5.

Page 80. — 10. Μέσπιλα (opposite Mosul): this is the N. W. corner of the immense city of Nineveh, the once splendid capital of the Assyrian empire. Mespila is about 18 miles above Larissa (see note on § 7), which distance agrees with the length of the city (150 stadia) given by Diodorus (ii. 3). As the breadth was 90 stadia (nearly 11 miles) and the circuit 480 stadia (about 56 miles), Nineveh must have been a collection of towns and palaces not included within a single wall. The Assyrian empire was overthrown by the Medes, with the help of the Babylonians, about 625 B. C. (See Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. II. p. 391.) Nineveh, however, was not destroyed, but remained a part of the Median empire until this was overthrown by Cyrus the Great in 558 B. C., when the city disappears from history. This Median occupation is mentioned here and in § 7, and this seems to be all that Xenophon knew or cared to tell of the history of this famous place. This is almost as bad as if a mediæval traveller had called Athens "a place which the Romans once occupied"; but surely quite as pardonable as a modern geographer's remark that "Greece occupies the southern part of the *Turkish* peninsula"! The slight notice of the ruins taken by Xenophon shows at once the completeness of the destruction of Nineveh and the carelessness of even a cultivated Greek about the former glory of "Barbarians." From both Mespila and Larissa monuments and sculptures have been brought to the British Museum, especially by Layard. — κογχυλιάτου (nom. -άτης): κόγχη, Lat. *concha*, a *muscle shell*: cf. Eng. *conch*, *conchology*.

11. πλίνθινον: cf. λιθίνη in § 7, and the reference. — Μήδεια, *Medæa*, wife of Astyages, the last king of Media. — καταφυγεῖν (G. 203); cf. θάω in § 12 (G. 202). — ἀπέλεσαν . . . ὑπὸ Περσῶν, *they lost their power* (i. e. were deprived of it) *by the Persians*.

12. χρόψ, i. e. by length of siege. — ἐμβροντήτους, *thunderstruck*, i. e. *stupefied* or *mad* (*attonitos*), perhaps by fright at a thunderstorm. Cf. § 8.

13. εἰς refers to the coming of T. upon the course of their day's march. — οὓς τε . . . ἔχων (sc. ἔχων), *having not only (τε) the cavalry* (G. 154) *which he himself brought with him*: cf. ἔχων ἀνίβη, below. — τοῦ ἔχοντος, *who had* (in marriage), in appos. to Ὀρόντα (G. 39). — οὓς . . . βαρβάρους, *the barbarians whom Cyrus had in his expedition*.

14. τὰς μὲν . . . τὰς δὲ (G. 143, 1). — εἶχεν καταστήσας, *stationed and kept in the rear* (of the Greeks). — ἐμβαλεῖν, *to make a direct attack*.

15. Σκύθαι τοξόται: the name *Scythian* was given to all archers of a certain class, whether they were native Scythians or not. At Athens policemen were called τοξόται or Σκύθαι, because the state sometimes imported Scythian slaves (who were archers) to serve as a city police. — ἀνδρός (G. 171, 1). — οὐδὲ . . . ῥᾷδιον ἦν, i. e. could not well miss if he tried, on account of the dense throng of the enemy.

Page 81. — 17. Κρησί, construed with χρήσιμα. — χρώμενοι (G. 279, 4, N.). — τοξεύαν (G. 260, 1). — ἄνω ἰέντες, *shooting upwards*, so as to recover the arrows more easily. — μακράν: sc. ὁδόν (G. 161). — ὥστε χρησθαι, i. e. of use.

18. μείον ἔχοντες, *having the worst of it*. — ἀκροβολίσαι (G. 129, 3; 132, 2): cf. ἀκροβολιζόμενος, below.

19. ἔγνωσαν, *found out* (G. 200, N. 5 b). — ἦν συγκύπτῃ τὰ κέρατα (G. 225), *if the wings are ever drawn in* (cf. ὅταν διάσχη in § 20). — ὁδοῦ στενωτέρας οὐσῃς, *because the road is narrower than usual*: this would be likely in the hilly and broken country they were nearing. — ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας (G. 261, 1, N. 1), *that the heavy-armed should be squeezed out of their ranks* (sc. ἐξ τῆς τάξεως), subject of ἀνάγκη ἐστίν: the hoplites wore heavy armor, and depended for their effectiveness on the steadiness of the ranks. — πιεζομένους, *crowded together*.

20. τὸ μέσον, *the space between*. — εὐεπίθετον (ἐπι-τίθημι) τοῖς πολεμίοις (G. 185), *easy for the enemy to attack*.

21. ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, *of a hundred men each*. — ἄλλους (sc. ἐπίστησαν: see G. 137, N. 4): the λόχος had its divisions of fifty and twenty-five, each with its special officer. — οὗτοι (sc. οἱ λόχοι) would naturally have been subj. of ὑπέμενον, but οἱ λοχαγοὶ is added to mark those who directed the manœuvre. — παρήγον ἔωθεν τῶν κεράτων, *led on* (their companies) *out of the way of* (i. e. behind) *the wings*, so as to give the others more room.

22. τὸ μέσον ἀνέπεμψαν, i. e. *they filled the space left open*. — τὸ δίδχον, *the interval*. — κατὰ λόχους, *by companies*, i. e. the four enomoties of each company being in file (probably with a front of five); κατὰ πεντηκοστῆς, i. e. in two files, each having two enomoties (or 50 men), giving an entire front of ten men; and κατ' ἐνωμοτίας, i. e. with all four enomoties in line. The last would give the six companies a front of 24 files (probably 120 men). It will be remembered that these six companies were to fill the space which would be left open by separating the wings when the road permitted. See note on iv. 3. 26.

Page 82. — 23. ἐν τῷ μέρει, *each in turn*. — φάλαγγος: dep. on πον, *if there was need at any part of the line*. — τέτταρας, i. e. four days' march without adventure.

24. βασιλεῖον, i. e. βασιλεῖον (G. 53, 3, N. 1; cf. 129, 12). βασιλαῖον τι, *a royal building or estate* on the distant slope. — διὰ, *over*. — δορμενοὶ (G. 138, N. 7).

25. ὥς . . . ἀναβαίνειν, *so as to ascend the next* (G. 266, N. 1). — εἰς τὸ

πρανές, *down hill*. — ἐπὶ μαστίγων, *under the lash*, i. e. scourged to it as slaves: see the account of the Persians at Thermopylae, Herod. vii. 223 (*Selections from Xenophon and Herodotus*, p. 185, § 44).

26. γυμνῶτων (G. 175, 2): cf. note on i. 2. 3. — δχλα, *the crowd*, who were εἰσω τῶν ὅπλων, as distinct from the men in the ranks. See iii. 2. 36, and note.

28. ἀπώλεον (G. 233). — ἀνήγαγον, *brought up*. — τὸ ὄρος, i. e. the higher hill (§ 24), from which the smaller hills descended (καθῆκον).

29. ὑπέρ, *above*. — πολεμίων: this and the first πολέμοι refer to the Persians, the second πολέμοι to the Greeks.

30. τῇ ὁδῷ . . . γηλόφους, i. e. *by the road which led over the hillocks*, as opposed to the course of the πελτασταί along the slope of the higher hill.

Page 83. — κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐπιπαριόντες, *marching to the same point (ἐπὶ) along the slope (κατὰ τὸ ὄρος) in the same direction with (παρά) the main body*. — τὰς κόμας: see § 24. — ἰατρούς, *nurses*, selected from the soldiers.

31. καὶ ἅμα . . . εἶχον: we should expect ἔχοντες (causal). — ἵπποις (G. 184, 3). — τῷ σατραπέοντι, *by the acting satrap*, or royal governor (G. 188, 3).

33. πολὺ διάφορον, *they found it very different*, i. e. *much easier*: the more common impers. constr. (which many MSS. and edd. have here) would be πολὺ διάφερον . . . ὁρμῶντας . . . πορευομένους. — ἐκ χώρας, *from a position*; opposed to πορευομένοι, *on the march*.

35. πονηρόν, *a troublesome (wretched) thing*. — αὐτοῖς (G. 184, 3, n. 4). — πεποδισμένοι, *hobbled, praepediti*, their feet being tied together by a short cord. — τοῦ μὴ φεύγειν ἔνεκα (G. 262, 2). — δεῖ . . . ἀνδρὶ: the dat. for the accusative is *very rare* with the infin. after δεῖ, and it is better here (with Rehdantz) to supply τινά (i. e. *a servant*) as subj. of ἐπιστάξει and χαλινῶσαι, and αὐτόν (i. e. *the horseman himself*) as subj. of ἀναβῆναι. The idea is: a Persian horseman must wait to have his horse saddled and bridled, and to put on his own armor, before he can mount. — θορόβου ὄντος: temporal, like νύκτωρ (G. 277, 1).

36. διαγγελλομένους, *passing the word of command*. — ἐκήρυξε: sc. the herald (G. 134, N. 1 d). — ἀκούντων, i. e. *within hearing of the enemy*.

Page 84. — λύνειν is used in a rare (chiefly poetic) sense = λυσιστελεῖν, *to profit, to be expedient*: as in English, *they thought it would not pay*. — αὐτοῖς and νυκτός belong to both of the following infinitives.

87. ἀπώντας (G. 280). — καὶ αὐτοί, *themselves too* (G. 145, 1). — ἀκρονυχίαν, *spur* (lit. *nail-tip*). — ὑφ' ἣν, *along the base of which*. — κατὰβασις (see G. 129, 3): cf. ἀνάβασις.

39. ὁ δὲ λέγει (G. 143, N. 2). — ἡμῖν (G. 184, 3). — οὐκ ἔστι παρελθεῖν, *there is no getting by*. — εἰ μὴ ἀποκόψομεν (G. 223, N. 1).

40. ἔρημα, *exposed*. — πῶς τις ἀπελά, *how we* (lit. *one*) *shall drive*, etc.

41. ὑπὲρ . . . στρατεύματος, *close above their own* (the Greek) *army*. — ἐγὼ δ' ἑθελω, *and I volunteer*: ἐγὼ δὲ is more emphatic, as οὐ μὲν is omitted with μέν.

42. κελόει δὲ οἱ: οἱ as indirect reflexive (G. 79, 1; 144, 2), *following συμ-πέμψαι* (G. 193).

Page 85. — ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος, *from the front* (cf. οὐρᾶς). — μακρόν, *too far*.

43. ἔλαβε, i. e. *he* (Ch.) *took* to replace the peltasts. — τοὺς κατὰ μέσον: see § 22. — αὐτῶ: Xenophon. — τοὺς τριακοσίους, i. e. *three of the six companies of § 21*; these had been moved to the front when the attacks came from a new quarter. — οὗς τῶν ἐπιλέκτων (partitive): *by attraction*; the simple form would be τοὺς τριακοσίους τῶν ἐπιλέκτων οὗς εἶχε.

44. ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, *to race or vie in speed*.

45. διακελευομένων: agreeing with the plural implied in στρατεύματος (G. 138, N. 3). — τῶν ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρνην, *Tissaphernes and his men*. — Notice the *chiasmus* in διακελευομένων τοῖς ἐαυτῶν and τοῖς ἐαυτῶν διακελευομένων.

46. ἀμιλλᾶσθαι: see note on § 44. — τὴν λοιπὴν (sc. ὁδόν).

48. καὶ ὅς, *and he* (G. 151, N. 3⁹). — ἔχων ἐπορεύετο, *marched on with it* (the shield). — θώρακα ἵππικόν: the horsemen carried no shield, and accordingly wore a heavier breastplate. — ὑπάγειν, *to lead on slowly*. — παρίεναι, *to come up*.

49. ἀναβάς, *mounting his horse (again)*. — βάσιμα . . . ἀβατα (sc. τὰ χωρῖα), *passable . . . impassable* (i. e. for a horseman): Krüger makes the construction impersonal, like ἀδύνατά ἐστιν, *it is impossible*, for ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν. — φθάνουσι, *anticipate*, with object πολέμους. — γενόμενοι (G. 279, 4).

CHAPTER V.

SYNOPSIS: The barbarians now flee, and the Greeks descend unmolested into the plain (1). In the evening the enemy appear (2), and attempt to fire the villages (3). Xenophon says encouragingly that this shows that the Persians relinquish their claim upon the country, and proposes jestingly that they defend the villages as their own property; but Chirisophus says, also in jest, that they had better fire them (4-6). The generals and captains on assembling are much perplexed about their route (7). A Rhodian proposes that they kill the cattle and make a bridge of the inflated skins across the Tigris (8-11), but the plan is not regarded feasible (12). The next day they march back upon the course they have come (13). The generals and captains hold another council, and question the prisoners about the country (14). They learn something of the roads leading in the four cardinal directions, and in particular of the Cardūchi, a warlike people among the mountains, who do not obey the King (15, 16). The generals conclude to make their way northward through the Carduchi (17), and give orders for the soldiers to be ready to march any time during the night (18).

Page 86. — 1. ἄλλην ὁδόν: cf. i. 2. 20, and note. — ἀγαθῶν, i. e. *supplies*.

3. ἐννοούμενοι . . . ἔχουεν, *being apprehensive that they might not know*, etc. (G. 215, N. 1). — ἐλ κάουεν: sc. the enemy (G. 248, N.). — λαμβάνουεν (G. 244) governs ἐπιτήδεια: the direct question would be πόθεν . . . λαμβάνωμεν;

4. ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας, i. e. *from helping* those who were scattered in plundering (§ 2). — κατέβη: from the height (§ 1).

5. Ὅρατε . . . εἶναι; *don't you see that they admit the country is now ours?* (G. 280). — ἀ γὰρ . . . ἀλλοτρίαν, *for what they stipulated against our doing, when they made the treaty* (cf. ii. 3. 27), viz., *burning the King's territory, (this) they are now themselves (doing, by) burning it as if it were another's*: μὴ κάειν . . . χώραν (sc. ἡμᾶς) is in apposition with the antecedent of ἀ. See i. 9. 21, and note; in both cases a more definite expression (here κάουσι) is substituted by *anacoluthon* for a more general one like ποιοῦσι.

6. Οὐκ οὖν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, *I don't think so now.* The reply is mere jest, like the preceding remark of Xenophon.

7. σκηνάς, *encampment* (in the village). — ἐνθεν μὲν . . . ἐνθεν δέ, *on the one hand . . . on the other.* — ὁ ποταμός: the Tigris. — ὥς μηδέ . . . βάθους (sc. πύθ), *so that not even their spears projected when they tried the depth*, i. e. their spears found no bottom (G. 184, 3, N. 4; 266, N. 1). Cf. iii. 2. 22.

Page 87. — 8. κατὰ τετρακισχίλους, *four thousand at a time.* — ἂν δέομαι, *what I require* (G. 172). — τάλαντον: cf. note on i. 4. 13.

9. Ἀσκῶν: bags of inflated hides are still used in crossing these rivers. — αἶγας: derived from αἰσσω, *to leap.* — ἀποδάρντα: see ἀποδέρω. — συσθέντα refers to δέρματα, *hides*, implied in ἀποδάρντα. — παρέχοι ἂν (G. 226, 2).

10. δεσμῶν, *girths.* — ὀρμίσας, *mooring.* — ἀφέλς, *by letting them down*: this and ἀρήσας (G. 277, 2) are subordinate to ὀρμίσας. — διαγαγόν, *carrying* (the line of floats) *across the stream.* — ἀμφοτέρωθεν δήσας, *fastening them to the two banks*, to serve as pontoons, or supports to a floating bridge.

11. ἔξει τοῦ μὴ καταδύναι, *will keep from sinking* (G. 263, 1): for the gen. τοῦ καταδύναι, see G. 174; μή, G. 283, 6. An equivalent (though different) construction follows, ὥστε μὴ ὀλισθάνειν σχήσει, *will keep you from slipping*, lit. *will keep you so that you shall not slip* (G. 266, 1).

12. χαρίεν (G. 129, 15). — τὸ ἔργον, *the execution of the plan* (ἐνθόμημα). — οἱ κωλύσοντες, *men ready to prevent it*: cf. note on ii. 3. 5. — πολλοὶ ἱππεῖς: apposition. — οἱ . . . ἂν ἐπέτρεπον: sc. εἰ ἐπεχέλησαν.

13. ἐπανεχώρουν εἰς τοῦμπαλιν, etc., i. e. they made a day's march backward to some villages which had not been burnt by the enemy (see § 3). — ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλώνα, *or towards Babylon*: these words seem to have been originally a marginal note explaining εἰς τοῦμπαλιν: τοῦμπαλιν ἢ (than) πρὸς Βαβυλώνα would mean, *in a direction opposite to that of Babylon*, which is not possible under the circumstances (cf. § 15). — ἐνθεν = ἐξ ἧς (sc. τὴν κώμην), *the village from which.* — ὅμοιοι ἦσαν θαυμάζειν, *were like to wonder*, i. e. *seemed amazed*, like ἐώκεσαν θαυμάζειν: the text, however, is very doubtful. — τρέφονται . . . ἔχουσιν (G. 243).

14. ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια: cf. Engl. "about his business." — ἡλεγχον . . . χώραν, *they examined them as to the whole region on every side* (G. 164).

15. τῆς ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνα (poss. gen.), *on the road towards B.* — ἤκειεν (G. 247). — θερίξαν, ἐαρίξαν: in reverse order: the King spent the winter at Babylon, the spring at Susa, and the summer at Ecbatana. — διαβάντι, *after crossing* (sc. τινί: G. 184, 5): διαβάντι . . . ἐσπέραν is used like the other adjective phrases with ἦ. — ὅτι is repeated for emphasis in the last

clause. — **Καρδοῦχοις**: the people called Kurds, Armenian *Kordukh*; the region is *Kurdistan*.

Page 88. — 16. **ἀκοῦειν**, *listen to or obey*. — **ἐμβαλεῖν ποτε εἰς αὐτούς**, *once invaded them* (G. 203). — **βασιλικήν** (G. 129, 13 b). — **ὁπότε . . . σπείσαιντο**, **καὶ ἐπιμυγνόναι** (depends on **ἔφασαν**): in the direct form, **ὁπότεν . . . σπείσωνται**, **καὶ ἐπιμυγνάσῃ**, *whenever they (the Kurds) make a treaty, etc., some of them also mingle, etc.* — **σφῶν, κείνων**: sc. **τινῶν** (G. 168, N. 2).

17. **ἐκασταχόσε εἰδέναι**, *that they knew the way in every direction*. — **τούτους**: governed by **διελθόντας**. — **ἔφασαν ἥξειν**, *they (the captives) said that they (the Greeks) would come*. — **εὐπορὸν . . . πορεύεσθαι**: in the direct form, **εὐπορὸν ἔστιν ὅποι ἂν τις ἐθέλῃ πορεύεσθαι**, *it is easy to go whithersoever you wish* (G. 233), the apodosis being general in sense.

18. **ἐπὶ τούτοις**, *thereupon*. — **ὥρας**: part. gen. after **ἤνικα**, *at whatever time*. — **τὴν ὑπερβολήν**, *the pass*: acc. by anticipation; regularly it would be, *they feared that the mountain-pass might be seized beforehand*. — **ἤνικ' ἂν . . . παραγγέλλῃ**, i. e. *when the order should be given*; cf. **εἰ τις . . . λυποίῃ** in ii. 3. 23, and note: this subjunctive might have been changed to the optative (omitting **ἂν**), as **ἐπαδὴ δειπνήσειαν** is changed from **ἐπαῖδαν δειπνήσητε**.

BOOK FOURTH.

HARD FIGHTING IN THE MOUNTAINS. — ENTRANCE INTO ARMENIA. — GREAT SUFFERING FROM COLD AND FAMINE. — TO MOUNT THECHES, FROM WHICH THE SEA IS SEEN. — ARRIVAL AT TRAPEZUS.

CHAPTER I.

SYNOPSIS: Outline of the preceding narrative (1); and review of the situation (2-4). The Greeks cross the plain by night and reach the hills at daybreak (5); and, with Chirisophus in command and Xenophon guarding the rear (6), cross the height in front of them to villages among the mountains, where they find provisions in abundance (7-9). Their rear, however, as they descend into the villages, is attacked by the Carduchi, who, when they encamp, light fires on the hills (10, 11). At daybreak the generals resolve to abandon the captives and superfluous baggage-animals (12, 13); and, when the march begins, see that the order is executed (14). The next day it storms (15); and, the enemy pressing upon them, they march but slowly (16). At one time Chirisophus hurries forward, and, the rest following rapidly without knowing the cause, two soldiers are killed by the enemy (17, 18). When they encamp, Xenophon blames Chirisophus (19); but he replies that he was trying to secure the only known pass through the mountains (20, 21). Xenophon proposes to make guides of two prisoners (22), who are at once asked whether there is any other road. The one who denies this is put to death (23). The other says that there is such a pass (24), but that a certain height must be taken possession of beforehand (25). Volunteers are called for and detailed for this special service (26-28).

1. See note on ii. 1. 1. — *ῥα ἐπολέμηθη*: passive of an active constr. *ῥα ἐπολέμησαν* (G. 159, n. 2; 198); *to what extent war was made upon the Greeks*.

2. *ἐνθα* (sc. *ἐκεῖσε*), *to the place where*. — *πάροδος*, *way along the river*. — *ἐκρέματο*: see *κρέμαμαι*. — *πορευτέον εἶναι* (dir. *πορευτέον ἐστίν*: G. 281, 2). This section is a recapitulation of what has been stated in the last chapter.

3. *τῶν ἀλίσκομένων* (G. 171, 2, n. 1), *the captives taken along the way*.

Page 89. — *εἰ διέλθοιεν* has for its apodosis the sentence *ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ . . . περίασι*, including two subordinate protases; it represents *ἂν διελθόμεν* of the direct discourse, and the four following verbs might, like it, have been changed to the opt. (G. 247). — *περίασι*, *will pass round* (G. 200, n. 3 b). — *ἔλεγτο*: the subject is *τὰς τηγὰς εἶναι*. — *ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον*, *it is just so* (G. 28, n. 1).

5. *τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν*: the Greeks divided the night into three watches. — *ἔσον . . . διελθεῖν*, *enough for crossing the plain in the dark*; *ἔσον* (sc. *τοσοῦτον*) takes the infinitive from the idea of sufficiency which it implies. — *παραγγέλλω* (G. 129, 3), i. e. *the word of command* passed round, not by signal of trumpet. — *τὸ ἄρσος*: cf. iii. 5. 7 and 17.

6. *τὸ ἀμφ' αὐτόν*, *his own special command*: cf. *τὸ ὀπλιτικόν* (iv. 8. 18), *τὸ ἱππικόν*, *the cavalry*, and *τὸ Ἑλληνικόν* for *οἱ Ἕλληνες*, *the Greek race*. — *μή*, *that*, after *κίνδυνος*. — *πορευομένων*, *as they went*, gen. abs. — *ἐπίσπουτο*: see *ἐφέπομαι*.

7. *αἰσθῆσθαι* (G. 274). — *ἔπειτα*, i. e. *after crossing the hill and descending*: cf. § 10. — *ἀεί*, *regularly*, qualifies *ἐφέπετο*. — *τὸ ὑπερβάλλον*, i. e. *each detachment in succession followed, as it crossed the height*.

8. *ἂν λαμβάνειν*, *there was an opportunity to take*. — *εἰ πως ἐβελήσειαν*, *in case the K. should be willing* (G. 226, 4, n. 1; 248, 2): the apod. implied is, *that they might let them through*, or the like. — *ὥς . . . χώρας* = *διὰ τῆς χώρας ὥς φίλας* (sc. *οὐσης*), i. e. *to let them go through their country as (being) a friendly one*: cf. i. 3. 14, and ii. 3. 27, and notes.

9. *ὅττω*, *whatever* (G. 187; 151, n. 2 b): the indefinite rel. *ὅστις* sometimes has a plural antecedent, when it is itself singular, as here *τὰ ἐπιτήδεια*. — *καλούντων* (sc. *αὐτῶν*), *when they called* (G. 171, 2).

10. *τελευταῖοι, σκοταῖοι* (cf. G. 129, 12). — *διὰ τὸ . . . εἶναι* (G. 262, 1).

Page 90. — *ἡμέραν* (G. 161). — *ἀνάβασις, κατάβασις*: cf. *παραγγέλλω* in § 5 (with ref.). — *ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου*, *ex improviso*.

11. *ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν διαφθαρῆναι*, *would have risked perishing*. — *πολύ*, *a great part*: cf. *τὸ πολύ*, *the greater part*, i. 4. 13. — *συνέρων*, i. e. *watched each other's signals*.

12. *συνελθεῖσι . . . ἔδοξε*, i. e. *they came together and resolved*: cf. *δόξαν* in § 13. — *αἰχμ-άλωτα*, *taken in war* (*αἰχμή*, *a spear*, and *ἀλίσκομαι*).

13. *ἔποιοον*: the subject is *ὑποζύγια*, etc. — *ἐπὶ*, *in charge of*. — *δόξαν*, *having resolved* (G. 278, 2), lit. *it having seemed good*: cf. *ἔδοξε*, § 12. — *ταῦτα* is governed by *ποιεῖν* understood: see, however, *Moods and Tenses*, § 110, 2, n. 2.

14. *ὑποστάντες*, *halting*. — *εἰ τι*: translate *whatever*. — *τῶν ἐρηγμένων*

(sc. ἀφείναι), of the things ordered (to be abandoned), or simply, of the things above mentioned (see § 12). — οἱ δέ, and they (the soldiers). — πλὴν . . . ἐκλείψεν, unless one smuggled something. — οἷον . . . γυναικός: we should expect οἷον (for example) ἢ παῖδα ἐπιθυμήσας αὐτοῦ, ἢ γυναῖκα (Krüger). — τῶν εὐπρεπῶν is partitive genitive. — τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ, sometimes . . . sometimes.

16. χωρίων, dim. (G. 129, 8). — ἀναχάζοντες and θαμνὰ are both poetic words.

Page 91. — παρήγγελεν ὑπομένειν, would send word (for those in front) to wait. — ἐπικείμεντο (G. 233): ἐπικεῖσθαι, to press upon; ἐπιτίθεσθαι, to fall upon.

17. ὅτε παρεγγυῶτο, whenever the word was passed. — πρᾶγμά τι, some trouble ahead. — παρελθόντι (sc. τινί).

18. διαμπερὲς τὴν κεφαλὴν (sc. τοξευθεῖς), shot directly through the head, lit. shot in the head directly through (G. 160, 1).

19. ὥσπερ εἶχεν, just as he was (sicut erat). — φεύγοντες ἅμα (G. 277, N. 1). — καλῶ τε κάγαθῶ: cf. note on ii. 6. 19. — ἀνέλίσσεται, to take up for burial, a most sacred duty with the Greeks. The last sentence is in the direct discourse.

20. αὕτη is subj., and μία ὁδός pred.: lit. this which you see is the only way (and) sleep (ὄρθια, sc. οὔσα); αὕτη cannot be taken as an adj. pron. with ὁδός (G. 142, 4). See notes of Krüger and Rehdantz; and cf. iv. 7. 4. — ὄχλον οἷ (G. 151, N. 2). — ἐκβασιν, way out.

21. ταῦτ' ἐσπευδον (G. 159, N. 2). — εἰ πως δυνάμην, in case I should be able; see note on εἰ πως ἐθελήσειαν in § 8: here an apod. is implied like ἵνα φθάσαιμι. — οὐ . . . ὁδόν, say there is no other way. For οὐ φημι, cf. note on i. 2. 26.

22. ὅπερ, i. e. the ambush. — ἀναπεῦσαι: Krüger quotes *Il.* xv. 235, ὥς καὶ αὐτὶς Ἀχαιοὶ ἀναπνεύσωσι πόνον. — αὐτοῦ τούτου ἕνεκα (G. 215, Rem.). — ἡγεμόσιν (G. 137, N. 4): supply αὐτοῖς.

23. εἰ εἶδειν, whether they knew: the direct question was ἀρ' ἴστε; (G. 243). — οὐκ ἔφη: see note on § 21. — φόβων, threats.

Page 92. — 24. ἐτύγχανε . . . ἐκδεδομένη, i. e. he happened to have a married daughter there. — αὐτός emphasizes the subject of ἡγήσεται: he said he would himself lead (G. 138, N. 8 b). — ὁδόν (G. 159, N. 5): see note on i. 2. 20.

25. δυσ-πάρ-ιτον (εἰμι): cf. ἀμαξ-ιτός, i. 2. 21, and see G. 132, 2. — δ: object of προκαταλήψοντο: and unless they (τις) should first (πρὶ) occupy this (G. 202, 4; 247); the direct discourse was εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήψεται, ἀδύνατον ἔσται (G. 223, N. 1).

26. πελταστὰς is in apposition with, and ὀπλιτῶν limits, λοχαγούς. — εἰ τις . . . ἔστιν, whether there was any one (ἔστιν might have been εἴη after ἰδόκει). — γενέσθαι, to show himself: cf. ἐγένετο (end of § 28). — ὑποστὰς ἐβέλοντες, standing forth as a volunteer: cf. ὑφίσταται in § 27.

28. ἐρωτάσιν εἰ τις . . . ἰθὺλοι: here ἰθὺλα of the direct question becomes opt. after an historic present (G. 200, N. 1; 201, Rem.).

CHAPTER II.

SYNOPSIS: The guide is bound, and arrangements are made for signals and the attack (1). The party starts, and Xenophon proceeds to divert the enemy's attention at the open pass (2), who continue to roll stones down the mountain at the Greeks all night (3, 4). The advance party surprise and kill outposts of the enemy, but make a mistake as to the position of the summit (5, 6). They halt for the night, and at dawn advance against the main enemy, who abandon their position (7). The force of Chirisophus succeeds in ascending the mountain (8); but Xenophon, who takes with the baggage the route of the advance party, is in danger of being cut off (9, 10). He routs the enemy posted on one hill overhanging the road, and they rally on the next (11, 12). Leaving a force on the first hill, he takes the second (13), and a third, and reaches the summit (14-16). A messenger brings word that the Greeks have been driven from the first hill (17). Xenophon proposes a truce to the barbarians (who are now posted on a hill opposite), which they consider; the force of Xenophon in the mean time passing along with the baggage (18, 19). But when he attempts to descend, they roll down stones. His shield-bearer deserts him, but another soldier runs to his support (20, 21). The entire Greek force encamps together again (22). The slain are collected and funeral rites performed (23). The next day the enemy continue to obstruct their progress, harassing them most whenever they are descending hills (24-27). Description of the Carduchian bowmen (28).

1. οἱ δέ, i. e. Xenophon and Chirisophus. — ἐμπαγόντας, *when they had eaten*. — συντιθένται, *agree with them* (i. e. the volunteers). — τὸ ἄκρον: cf. ἄκρον in iv. 1. 25. — τοὺς μὲν, αὐτοὶ δέ, i. e. the volunteers and the officers. — ἄνω ὄντας, i. e. *from their position on the height* (G. 204). — ἴεναι and συμβοηθήσαν denote *later* actions than φυλάττειν and σημαίνειν; hence perhaps the change in tense (G. 203, N. 2). See note on iv. 6. 20. — ἐκβασιν: cf. iv. 1. 20.

2. ὕδωρ, *rain*. — ὅπως . . . τὸν νοῦν, *that the enemy might have their attention turned to that road*. — ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα λάθοιεν, *that they might be, as far as possible, unseen*.

Page 93. — 3. ἦν ἔδει . . . ἐκβαίνειν, i. e. *which they must cross before getting to the ascent*. — ὀλοτρόχους: a poetic word, compounded of ὀλο (volvo), *to roll* (cf. ὄλμος), and τρέχω; probably meaning *rounded by rolling* (i. e. in the water). See Liddell and Scott; and Theocr. xxii. 49, there quoted: πέτροι ὀλοτρόχοι, οὕς τε κυλινδῶν χεμάρρους ποταμὸς μεγάλας περιέξεσθ' δίνειαι. The χαράδρα which they were crossing was the dry bed of a winter torrent (χεμάρρους), down which the stones were hurled. Such χαράδραι are now often the best roads to be found in Greece. — διεσφενδονῶντο, *flew in pieces* (lit. *were flung about*, as if from slings): “diffundebantur; cf. σφενδόνη = funda.” Rehdantz.

4. εἰ μὴ δύναιτο: sc. διαβῆναι (G. 225). — κυλινδοῦντες (G. 279, 1).

5. ὥς . . . κατέχοντες, *supposing they held the summit* (cf. n. on i. 1. 11).

6. οἱ δ' οὐ κατεῖχον, i. e. they were wrong in so thinking: οἱ δέ is irregular in referring to the subj. of the preceding verb (see also G. 143, 1, N. 2). — μαστὸς, *a round hill*. — αὕτη (G. 142, 4, N. 1): οὗτος may stand between

the article and its noun, provided some qualifying word separates it from the article. — *αὐτόθεν*, from that spot (where they were).

7. *ὑπέβαινον*: cf. note on iii. 2. 1. — *προσελθόντες* (G. 279, 4). — *εὖζωνοι*, nimble (well-girt): *γάρ* introduces the reason why only a few (*ὀλίγοι*) were killed.

8. *ἀν-ίμων*, drew up (like buckets from a well): *ίμάω*, to draw; *ίμάς*, a thong or strap.

Page 94. — 9. *ἥπερ*, by the same way with.

10. *ἡ διεκείσθαι*, or else be (themselves) entirely separated: the perfect infinitive (G. 202, 2, N. 2) here denotes that the action is decisive; cf. *ἐκπεπλήχθαι* in i. 5. 13, and note. — *ἐπορεύθησαν ἀν*: the protasis is implied in the following clause (G. 226, 1). — *ὑποζύγια*: subject of *ἐκβῆναι*, i. e. there was no other way for the beasts to get through.

11. *ὀρθοῖς τοῖς λόχοις*, i. e. with the companies marching (with intervals between them) in narrow parallel columns: *ὀρθος* implies that a body of troops has a much greater depth than front, including even single file. See note on iv. 8. 10. — *οὐ κύκλω*, i. e. not so as to cut the enemy off. — *εἰ βούλοιντο* (G. 226, 4, N. 1): the apod. is supplied in *ἀφοδον*, i. e. a way by which they might retreat.

12. *τίως μὲν*, for some time. — *ἕκαστος*: in appos. to the omitted subject of *ἐδύναντο*. — *οὐ προσέεντο*, did not admit: i. e. they did not let the Greeks get near them, but fled. — *καὶ τοῦτόν τε* . . . *καί*: see note on i. 2. 18.

13. *ἔννοήσας μὴ*, becoming anxious lest (the meaning of *ἐννοήσας* being made more definite by the following constr. with *μὴ*). — *καὶ πάλιν*, yet again. — *ἐπιθούιντο*, for *ἐπιθύντο* (G. 122, N. 1; cf. 127, III.): such forms follow the analogy of verbs in *ω*. — *παριοῦσιν*, as they passed. — *ἐπὶ πολὺ ἦν*, stretched out a long way: cf. i. 8. 8, and note. — *ἄτε* . . . *πορευόμενα* (G. 277, N. 2 b): cf. the Latin construction of *quippe* with a relative. — *διὰ στενῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ* (G. 142, 3).

14. *ὁ ὑπὲρ* . . . *ἐθελοντῶν* (see § 5): of the three expressions which qualify the attributive partic. *καταληφθείσης* (G. 276, 1), only one stands between *τῆς* and the partic., the others being placed outside of *τῆς* . . . *φυλάκῃς* to avoid complicating that construction.

15. *δείσαντας* (G. 277, 2). — *αὐτοῖς*: the barbarians. — *πολιορκεῖντο*, from *πόλις* (*πολι-*) and *ἔργω* (*ἔρκος*), is often used, as here, where the force of *πόλις* is forgotten: we even have *πόλιν πολιορκεῖν* (see Crosby's note). — *ἄρα*, in fact; as it proved. — *ὀπισθοφύλακας*: cf. § 9, § 13, and § 17.

Page 95. — 16. *ὑπάγειν*, advance slowly. — *προσμίξειαν*, i. e. might come up. — *θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα*: cf. i. 5. 14.

19. *ἐφ' ᾧ*, on condition that (G. 267). — *ἐν ᾧ*, while, introduces both clauses, τὸ μὲν . . . οἱ δέ. — οἱ ἐκ: cf. notes on τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως, i. 1. 5, and on i. 2. 18. — *συνερρήσαν*: see *συνρέω*.

20. *ἴσταντο*, were forming. — *ἤρξαντο*, i. e. the Greeks. — *ἐνθα* . . . *ἔκειντο*, where the armed force was stationed (see § 16): *κεῖσθαι* here is like a passive of *θέσθαι* (used as in § 16); the plur. *ἔκειντο* is exceptional. — *ὑπασπιστής* (G. 129, 2; 16, 1). — *ἀπέλιπεν*, i. e. got separated from him, left him (without his shield).

21. *Λουσιεύς*, of *Lusi* (or *Lusia*) in Arcadia (G. 129, 10). — *προβεβλη-
μένος*, holding out (his shield) in front of both (G. 199, 3).

22. *αὐτοῦ*, there. — *ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς*, in plastered (or cemented) cisterns. Suidas (s. v. *λάκκος*) says: "The Athenians and other Greeks used to make large excavations underground, round or square, cement them, and keep wine and oil in them: these they called *λάκκοι*."

23. *διεπράξαντο*, managed, or bargained. — *ἡγεμόνα*: see iv. 1. 22-24. — *ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν*, i. e. as well as they could. — *νομίζεται*: the word *νόμος* "includes all that is enjoined by law, custom, or the general sentiment, and all that is voluntarily accepted in reliance on these." J. S. Mill, *Diss.*, Vol. IV. p. 302, n.

Page 96. — 24. *εἴη* (G. 233). — *ἐκάλουν*, tried to hinder (G. 200, n. 2).
25. *ἀπό-φραζιν*, from *ἀπό* and *φράσσω* (*φραγ-*), found only here and in § 26 (Kriiger): force of the suffix? — *τοῖς πρώτοις* (G. 184, 3). — *ἀνωτέρω γίνεσθαι*, to get above.

27. *ἦν ὁπότε*, sometimes (G. 152, n. 2): cf. iv. 5. 31. — *αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀναβᾶσι*, even to those who had gone up, i. e. to check them: cf. § 25 and § 26. — *καταβαίνουσιν*: temporal participle. — *ἐγγύθεν φεύγοντες*: the opposite of *ἐκ πολλοῦ φεύγοντας*, iii. 3. 9. Note the distinction of *φεύγειν*, to flee, and *ἀποφεύγειν*, to escape.

28. *τόξα*: probably long-bows, which were drawn by bringing one end to (or near) the ground and advancing the left foot (*προβαίνοντες*) towards that end (*πρὸς τὸ κάτω τοῦ τόξου*). Strabo (p. 772) tells of Aethiopian elephant-hunts, in which three men used one bow, *τῶν μὲν κατεχόντων τὸ τόξον καὶ προβεβηκότων τοῖς ποσὶ, τοῦ δ' ἑκόντος τὴν νευράν*, two of them holding the bow, with their feet advanced (i. e. each with one foot advanced to steady himself), and the third drawing the string. Arrian (*Ind.* 16) speaks of bows which the Indians drew by bringing them to the ground and bracing themselves (*ἀντιβάντες*) with the left foot. In this passage of the *Anabasis*, there is very slight MS. authority for the common reading *προσβαίνοντες*. — *ἀκοντίοις*: in appos. with *αὐτοῖς* (G. 137, n. 4): the arrows, a yard long, were picked up and used as darts, being fitted with an *ἀγκύλη*, a loop or strap, fastened at the middle, as a guide in grasping and help in hurling.

CHAPTER III.

SYNOPSIS: The Greeks encamp this side of the Centrites and rest (1, 2). The next morning they see cavalry and infantry across the river, prepared to hinder their entrance into Armenia (3, 4). The Greeks endeavor to cross, but the depth of the water and the missiles of the enemy oblige them to retreat (5, 6). Great numbers of the Carduchi assemble in their rear. They are greatly perplexed; but Xenophon again has a propitious dream, which he tells to Chirisophus (7, 8). The generals offer sacrifice (9). Two young men bring word to Xenophon that they have accidentally discovered a place where the river is easily fordable (10-12). He makes libations and reports to Chirisophus (13). and the soldiers are ordered to get their baggage ready. The generals consult

(14), and the order of march is determined (15). They then proceed with the young men as guides up the river (16). The hostile cavalry advances along the opposite bank. At the crossing, the Greeks throw off their outer garments (17), offer sacrifices, and all sing the paean (18, 19). Chirisophus enters the stream with his men, and Xenophon makes a feint of crossing at the lower ford (20). Chirisophus crosses easily, the enemy flying and abandoning some of their property; but Xenophon is in danger of attack from the Carduchi in his rear. He returns rapidly to the upper crossing, halts under arms, and disposes his men for attack (21-26). The Carduchi advance, and Chirisophus sends aid (27). Xenophon gives directions for a feigned attack (28, 29); and when the Carduchi press forward (30), the Greeks raise the paean and rush upon them and turn them (31), but also themselves retreat rapidly when the trumpet sounds, and cross the river (32). Some of the Greeks are wounded (33, 34).

1. *ἡλίσθησαν*, had their quarters: the word originally means to pass the night (or live) in an open court (αὐλή). — *εἶρος* (G. 129, 7; 160, 1). — *ἄσμενοι* (G. 138, N. 7). — *τῶν Καρδούχων* (end of the section) depends on *τῶν ὁρέων*.

2. *πολλά*: as adv. with *μνημονεύοντες*, talking over, recounting. — *κακὰ . . . σύμπαντα*, evils (so many) as they did not (suffer), even all put together, etc.

Page 97. — 4. *Ὀρόντα*: gen. (G. 39³), i. e. troops of Orontas. — *ἔπλα* (G. 137, N. 4).

5. *ὁδὸς . . . ἄνω*, i. e. the single road which was visible was (one) leading up, etc.: the construction is *ἡ ὁρῶμένη ὁδὸς μία* (sc. *οὕσα*) *ἣν ἄγουσα ἄνω*. — *ὥσπερ χειροποίητος* (sc. *οὕσα*), (looking) as if it had been built. — *ταύτη*, here, i. e. opposite to this road.

6. *παρωμένους* (sc. *τισίν*), on trial. — *οὐτ'* corresponds with *τέ* after *ἐπὶ*. — *εἰ δὲ μή*, otherwise, i. e. if any of them did attempt to carry their arms through the river: cf. note on ii. 2. 1. — *γυμνοί*, exposed: plur. since *τις* is collective.

7. *Ἐνθα*, where. — *Ἕλλησιν* (G. 184, 4). — *ὁρῶσι μὲν . . . ὁρῶσι δὲ . . . ὁρῶσι δέ*: notice the emphatic repetition. — *ἐπικεισομένων* (G. 280).

8. *αὐτόματα*: cf. i. 2. 17, and note. — *περιρρηγῆναι*, fell off (sc. *ἔδοξαν*): for *αὐτῷ*, see G. 184, 3. — *διαβαίνειν ὅσον ἐβούλετο*, took as long steps as he pleased (opposed to *δεδέσθαι*): *διαβαίνειν* in this sense was a good omen for crossing the river (*διαβαίνειν*); see § 12, § 14, and § 15.

Page 98. — 9. *ὡς τάχιστα*, as soon as. — *ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου* (sc. *ιερείου*), with the first victim (G. 191, VI. 2, 1 b).

10. *ἀριστῶντι*, while eating his lunch: *ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι* (§ 9), to prepare lunch. See also note on i. 10. 17. — *ἔξείη*, κ. τ. λ.: the direct discourse would be: *ἔξεστιν . . . προσελθεῖν, καὶ ἐὰν καθεύδῃ . . . εἰπεῖν, ἐὰν . . . ἐχη* (G. 225). — *αὐτῷ*: with *προσελθεῖν* (G. 187). — *ἐπεγείραντα εἰπεῖν*, to wake him and tell. — *ἐχοι*: sc. *εἰπεῖν*.

11. *καὶ τότε*, and this time. — *ὅτι τυγχάνοιεν . . . κατέδοιεν*: the direct discourse was *ἐτυγχάνομεν* (G. 243, N. 1) . . . *καὶ κατέδομεν*: this true imperfect optative is very rare. — *συλλέγοντες* (G. 279, 4). — *παιδίσκας*

diminutive (G. 129, 8): cf. *νεανίσκος* in § 10, which is a diminutive in form only. — ὥσπερ . . . κατατιθεμένων (G. 138, N. 2), apparently putting away bags of clothes.

12. δόξαι: the *oratio obliqua* here changes from the opt. to the infin., as if ἔφασαν had already been introduced. — οὐδέ γάρ . . . προσβατὸν εἶναι κατὰ τοῦτο (sc. ἔφασαν δόξαι), for (they said it appeared to them) that neither could the enemy's cavalry come down to the river at this point: οὐδέ (also . . . not, or neither) implies that this ground for thinking it safe to cross the river here (ἀσφαλὲς διαβῆναι) is added to the proof (in § 11) that there was a ford, which appeared from the old man and his family having crossed here. — ἐκδύντες (G. 138, N. 8 b), having stripped: distinguish the various circumstances (G. 277) of the crossing expressed by the three participles and γυμνοί (sc. ὄντες). — ὡς νευσόμενοι, with the expectation of having to swim (G. 277, N. 2). — διαβαίνειν: imperf. (G. 203, N. 1), representing διεβαίνομεν, we proceeded (or attempted) to cross; cf. this with διαβῆναι (below) for διέβημεν, we crossed (effected the crossing). — πρόσθεν . . . πρὶν βρεῖσαι (G. 274): for the use of πρόσθεν, see *Moods and Tenses*, § 106, N. 4. (C. iii. 1. 16).

13. τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἐγγεῖν (sc. οἶνον), to pour out (lit. pour in) wine for the young men: the indefinite subjects of ἐγγεῖν and εὐχεσθαι are easily supplied. — φήνασι (G. 96). — ὄνειρατα (see § 8): the plural seems to indicate the several points of the dream. — πόρον: referring to διαβαίνειν in § 8. — καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ, also the other blessings (which had not been portended in the dream). — ἐπιτελέσαι: depending on εὐχεσθαι.

14. ὅπως ἂν διαβαίην: indirect question, representing πῶς ἂν διαβαίμεν; (G. 245). ὅπως (without ἂν) introduces νικῶμεν and πάσχομεν, the direct questions here being πῶς νικῶμεν; and πῶς μὴδὲν πάσχομεν; (G. 244, first example). If ἂν belonged to πάσχομεν, we should have οὐδέν.

Page 99. — 17. ἀντιπαρήσαν, went along over against them, i. e. on the other bank. — κατὰ . . . ὄχθας, at the ford and where the (opposite) high banks were (cf. § 11). — στεφανωσάμενος, putting on a wreath, probably one made on the spot. It was one of the institutions of Lycurgus that the Spartans should go into battle wearing wreaths (see Plutarch's *Lycurg*. 22). — ἀποδύς, throwing off (probably) his outer garment: ἐκδύντες (§ 12), acc. to Rehdantz, means undressing themselves entirely. — παρήγγελλε, gave the word, i. e. to do the same. — ὀρθίους: see iv. 2. 11, and note.

18. εἰς τὸν ποταμόν, i. e. so that the blood ran into the river.

19. ἀνηλάζον, loudly shouted the war-cry, properly shouted ΑΛΑΛΑ: the ὀλο-λυγὴ was a loud cry or chant, generally a joyous one raised by women in invoking the Gods.

20. ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον: see § 3 and § 5. — ἔκβασιν, passage out (from the river). — προσποιούμενος, feigning: he "made a feint of hastening back to the original ford, as if he were about to attempt a passage there. This attracted the attention of the enemy's horse [on the opposite bank], who became afraid of being attacked on both sides, galloped off to guard the passage at the other point, and opposed no serious resistance to Chirisophus." Grote.

21. ὡς . . . ἔκβασιν, *with the appearance of hastening to the road which led up from the river*: ἔκβασιν, as a verbal noun, takes ἄνω and the gen. as if it were ἐκβαίνο. Cf. κατὰ τὴν ἔκβασιν in § 20, ἐκβαίνειν in § 3, and ἐξίβαινεν in § 23. — ἔτανον, *they pushed on*.

22. ἔβδων μὴ ἀπολείπεισθαι, *they called to them (exhorting them) not to be left behind*. — συνεκβαίνειν: σύν governs τοῖς πολεμίοις understood.

23. κατὰ . . . ποταμόν, *by (over) the bluffs which reached to the river* (cf. § 11).

Page 100. — 24. καταβαίνοντες (G. 280, N. 1).

26. ἀκμήν διέβαινε, *were just crossing*: with the adverbial accus. ἀκμήν (G. 160, 2), *just at the point*, cf. τέλος in i. 10. 13, and the common use of ἀρχήν, *at first*. — ἀντία . . . ἔθετο, *formed his line facing them*: cf. note on i. 5. 14. — κατ' ἐνωμοτίας, *by enomoties*, i. e. with the four ἐνωμοτίαι (each of 25 men) arranged in line, probably in five ranks. The enomoties had been in column, and they were now to be brought into line by moving παρ' ἄσπιδα, i. e. to the left, lit. *by the shield* (the shield being carried on the left side). See notes on iii. 4. 21 and 22; and on ἐπὶ δόρυ in § 29 (below). — ἐπὶ φάλαγγος, *so as to form a phalanx, or line of battle*. — οὐραγούς, *rear-leaders*.

27. τοῦ ὄχλου ψιλουμένους (G. 174), *left by the crowd (of camp-followers, etc.)*. — παραγγέλλει: sc. ὁ Ξενοφών.

28. ἰδὼν . . . διαβαίνοντας, *when X. saw them (on the point of) crossing (to aid him)*. — αὐτοί, (they) *themselves*, i. e. Xenophon and his men. — ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν σφῶν, *on both sides of them*. — διηγκυλωμένους, *with hand on the thigh (ἀγκύλη)*. — ἐπιβεβλημένους (middle), *with arrow on the string* (sc. τὰ τοξεύματα ἐπὶ ταῖς νευραῖς): cf. v. 2. 12, ἐπιβεβλήσθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς νευραῖς. — πρόσω τοῦ ποταμοῦ, *far into the river* (G. 168).

29. ψοφῆ, *ring with the thump of the stone*.

Page 101. — σημήνη τὸ πολεμικόν, *signal the charge (to deceive the enemy)*. See § 32. — ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ δόρυ, *facing about to the right*, belongs to the subjects of both ἡγείσθαι and θείν, as is shown by its position: with ἐπὶ δόρυ, *towards the spear* (the spear being carried in the right hand), cf. παρ' ἄσπιδα in § 26. — ὡς (G. 266, N. 1). — ὅτι . . . γίνηται: *oratio obliqua*, as if εἶπεν had preceded instead of παρήγγαλεν. The direct form would be ἀριστος ἔσται, ὅς ἂν . . . γίνηται (G. 247, N. 1).

31. ὡς . . . ἱκανῶς, *well enough for mountain regions*: cf. ut temporibus illis, *for those days* (Cic.).

32. σημαίνει (sc. τὸ πολεμικόν): cf. § 29. The Greeks had been ordered to retire at this signal. — τάναντία is cognate accus. with στρέφαντες.

33. αἰσθόμενοι, *perceiving that the Greeks were crossing*. — καὶ . . . Ἑλλήνων, *even when the Greeks were across the river*. — φεύγοντες (G. 280, N. 1).

34. οἱ ὑπαντήσαντες, *those who had come to the relief* (see § 27 and § 28). — προσηυτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ, i. e. *further than they should have gone*.

CHAPTER IV.

SYNOPSIS: The Greeks proceed through Armenia (1), and come to a village containing a palace of the satrap (2). Beyond this they pass the sources of the Tigris and reach the river Telebóas (3). Tiribazus, the governor (4), proposes through an interpreter a treaty of peace, to which they agree (5, 6). They then proceed for three days, followed by Tiribazus, and come to a palace and villages (7), where they halt, on account of a snow-storm, and quarter themselves (8). Provisions are found in abundance; but word is brought that there is an army at hand (9), and the troops are again brought together (10). Encamping thus under arms for the night, another heavy snow falls (11–13), and the soldiers are again quartered in the villages (14). Democrates is sent out to reconnoitre (15), and returns with a captive (16), who says that he was out foraging (17), and that the army belongs to Tiribazus, who is preparing to attack the Greeks in their passage over the mountain (18). The generals leave a guard behind, and with the captured man as guide (19) discover the enemy's camp and attack it (20), when the barbarians flee. Twenty horses and the satrap's tent are captured (21). The Greeks return to their own camp (22).

1. πεδῖον ἄπαν, a perfectly level country: for the case of πεδῖον and γηλόφους, see notes on i. 2. 20, and ii. 5. 18.

2. εἰς ἣν κάμην, for ἡ κάμη εἰς ἣν (G. 154), &c. — τύρσις: cf. Lat. *turris*, Eng. *turret*, *tower*.

3. ὑπερήλθον τὰς πηγάς, κ. τ. λ.: here they crossed the mountain range which is the watershed between the Tigris and the Euphrates; the Teleboas (generally supposed to be the present *Kara-su*) flows into the Euphrates. "After the river Teleboas, there seems no one point in the march which can be identified with anything approaching to certainty. Nor have we any means even of determining the general line of route, apart from specific places, which they followed from the river Teleboas to Trebizond." Grote.

Page 102. — 4. ὑπαρχος: cf. i. 2. 20, and note. — ἀνέβαλλεν = ἀνεβίβαζεν, helped to mount.

5. τοῖς ἀρχουσι (G. 186). — εἰς ἐπήκοον: cf. iii. 3. 1.

6. ἐφ' ᾧ G. (267). — αὐτός (G. 138, N. 8). — μήτε . . . μήτε . . . τε: cf. note on ii. 2. 8. — δῶν δέονται (G. 247): in direct form, δῶν ἂν δέσθε.

8. χῶν πολλή: this was in lat. 39°, at an elevation of four thousand feet; it was near the first of December. — ἔωθεν, in the morning; lit. from daybreak: the opposite point of view is found in εἰς ἔω, i. 7. 1, and εἰς ἐσπέραν, iii. 1. 3 (see notes).

9. ἱερεῖα, cattle for slaughter (orig. for sacrifice, here for food). — τῶν ἀποσκεδαννυμένων τινές, certain of the stragglers. — κατῴκειν, φαίνετο: in direct discourse, κατεῖδον and φαίνεταί.

10. συναγαγεῖν: subj. of ἀσφαλές εἶναι (without οὐκ), i. e. they thought that safety required them to collect the army again. — ἰδοὺ διαιθεράξαν, it seemed to be clearing up (G. 134, N. 1 e): originally τὸν Δία was understood.

Page 103. — 11. ἀλεινόν (G. 138, N. 2 c). — *δυσ μὴ παραρρῦει*: see *παραρρῦω*; i. e. the snow kept all warm from whom it did not fall off.

12. ἐτόλμησε, undertook, had the courage. — γυμνός, i. e. without his mantle (ἱμάτιον): cf. i. 10. 3, and note. — ἀφελόμενος (sc. τὰ ἔξλα), i. e. taking the work away from Xenophon.

13. ἀμυγδάλινον ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν (sc. χρίμα): for ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν ἀμυγδάλων. — *τερεβίνθινον*, of the terebinth or turpentine-tree. — *μύρον*, fragrant oil, probably used as a perfume; while the various kinds of χρίμα were applied to increase the suppleness of the limbs and as protection against cold.

14. εἰς στέγας, under shelter (from the weather), is not a repetition of εἰς τὰς κώμας, which implies that they returned to the same villages which they had left (§§ 8–10). — ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας, under the open sky; sub dio, sub Iove: connect with *κακῶς σκηνοῦντες*, by camping ill.

15. Τημνίτην (a doubtful name): probably a man from Temnus (in Aeolis). — τὰ πυρά: see § 9. — τὰ μὴ ὄντα, i. e. whatever were not facts, equivalent to a relative clause with indefinite antecedent, & μὴ ἦν or εἰ τινα μὴ ἦν (G. 283, 4). — ὡς οὐκ ὄντα, i. e. he reported such things as not being facts, and would have said οὐκ ἔστιν.

16. Πορευθεῖς, i. e. on his return. — οὐκ ἔφη ἰδεῖν, said that he had not seen: cf. notes on i. 2. 26, and i. 3. 1. — *σάγαριν* (a Persian word), a battle-axe. — Ἀμαζόνες, i. e. in pictures and statues, with which the Greeks were familiar.

17. τὸ ποδαπὸς εἴη, i. e. the question ποδαπὸς εἰ; the expression is accusative with the passive ἐρωτώμενος (G. 197, 1, N. 2). — Πέφρητος (G. 138, N. 8 b). — τὸ στράτευμα: by anticipation one of the objects of ἠρώτων instead of being subject of εἴη. The accusative of the thing after verbs of asking (G. 164) may denote that about which any one is questioned, as well as that for which he is asked.

18. παρσκευάσθαι: why perfect? — ὡς belongs to ἐπιθησόμενον (G. 277, N. 2). — ὑπερβολῇ: cf. *ὑπερέβαλλον* in § 20. — *μοναχῇ* alone, lit. in a single way: cf. *διχῇ*, in two ways. — *ἐνταῦθα*: repeating ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ, κ. τ. λ.

Page 104. — 21. οἱ before ἀρτοκόποι belongs to φάσκοντες.

22. ἐπίθεσις (force of the suffix ?), i. e. some attack from Tiribazus.

CHAPTER V.

SYNOPSIS: The next day the Greeks pass the height where Tiribazus intended to attack them (1), and three days later cross the Euphrates (2). The third day after this a bitter wind blows from the north (3), which abates when they offer sacrifice. Many perish (4). The first who encamp build fires, which they share with those coming up late in return for food (5, 6). The next day the Greeks march on through the snow, and many suffer from bulimy (7, 8). Chirisophus comes to a village (9, 10), where he encamps with the van (11). The enemy harass the rear of the army, and some of the soldiers, being disabled and left behind, give up in despair (12–15). Xenophon tries to urge them forward (16);

but, failing in this, proceeds to terrify the enemy, who flee when attacked by the rear-guard (17, 18). He leaves those that are disabled with promises of relief on the next day, and going on finds nearly the whole army encamped in the snow without guards (19, 20). He himself encamps there, and at daybreak sends men to rouse the disabled (21). Communication is opened with Chirisophus (22), and the army is quartered in the surrounding villages (23). Description of the village assigned to Xenophon (24-27). He gets on friendly terms with its head man (28, 29), and the next day takes him to Chirisophus, visiting on the way the troops, whom he finds feasting and drinking (30-32). The two generals question the chief at length (33, 34). Xenophon returns with him to his own village, and appropriates the colts found there to the use of himself and the others (35, 36).

1. **δη δύναιτο** (G. 247): in the direct form **δη ἂν δυνάμεθα**. See note on the similar construction with **δοι** or **ὥς** in i. 1. 6.

2. **Εὐφράτην**: this was the eastern branch, now called "Murad-su."

3. **διὰ . . . πεδίου**: we should say, *over a plain and through deep snow*. — **παρασάγγας πέντε** (vulg. **πεντεκαίδεκα**): as a march of 15 parasangs (52 miles) seems incredible under the circumstances, many editors omit **πεντεκαί**, leaving **δέκα**. **πέντε** is adopted here on the authority of one MS. — **τρίτος** (sc. **σταθμός**). — **ἀποκάνω**, *blasting* (here with cold): cf. Lat. **uro**.

4. **εἶπε σφαγιάσασθαι**, *bade them sacrifice*; **ἔφη σφαγιάσασθαι** would mean, *he said that he had sacrificed* (G. 260, 2, n. 1): **εἶπον** with the infinitive has the force of a verb of *commanding* (G. 202). — **σφαγιάζεται** (middle): sc. **ὁ μάντις**; or the verb may be passive and impersonal.

Page 105. — 5. **διηγίνοντο . . . κώντες**, i. e. *they got through the night by keeping up a fire of wood* (cf. i. 10. 19: **ταύτην . . . διηγίνοντο**). — **εἰ μὴ μεταδοίεν** (G. 225). — **πυρός**: the genitive commonly follows **μεταδίδομι** (G. 170, 2), denoting the *whole* of which a part is given; the rare accusative denotes the *part* which is given. Hence a noun like **μέρος** after such verbs can be only in the accusative. — **ἄλλο τι εἴ τι**: **ἄλλο τι** being one of the objects of **μεταδοίεν**, the common expression **εἴ τι ἄλλο** (cf. i. 5. 1) would have been ambiguous here after **εἰ μὴ μεταδοίεν**.

6. **ἐνθα δὴ**, *thereupon*; but **ἐνθα δέ**, *and where*. — **ἔσπε ἐπὶ**, *clear down to*: so **ἄχρι** and **μέχρι** can be used to emphasize **εἰς** or **ἐπὶ**.

7. **ἐβουλιμίσαν** (G. 130): from **βου-λιμία** (**βοῦς** and **λιμός**), *ox-hunger, bulimiy*, which was a disease in which the patient suffered from ravenous hunger, *hunger-faintness*. — **καταλαμβάνων τοὺς πίπτοντας**, *coming upon those who fell by the way* (i. e. in consequence of hunger-faintness).

8. **διδόντας**, *as givers*, i. e. to distribute the food: we should expect **δάσοντας** to express the purpose. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 109, 5^d.

9. **ὕδροφορούσας ἐκ τῆς κώμης**, i. e. *who came from the village to fetch water*; the village-fountain being outside the wall. — **ἐρύματος**, *fortification* (**ἐρύομαι**, *to defend*).

10. **πορεύονται**, **εἴη**, **ἀπέχει**: all three verbs might have been opt. or all indic. (G. 243), and there is good MS. authority for **πορεύοντο** and **ἀπέχου**. — **ἔσον**, *about*: cf. i. 2. 3, and note.

11. *ἔδυνήθησαν*, were (still) able-bodied; or it may mean, were able to reach the village, as opposed to οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι ἐπιτελεῖσαι τὴν ὁδόν, below. But see τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα in § 12.

Page 106. — 12. *διεφθαρμένοι* . . . τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, with their eyes blinded by the snow: the acc. is retained from the (possible) active constr. *διαφθεῖρειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς αὐτοῖς*, to blind their eyes for them (G. 197, 1, N. 2); τοὺς δακτύλους is in the same construction after *ἀποσεισηπότες*, which is passive in sense, having lost their toes by mortification. Cf. note on ii. 6. 1.

13. *ἐπικούρημα τῆς χιόνος*, help (or protection) against the snow: *χιόνος* is objective genitive, as we might say *ἐπικουρεῖν χιῶνα*, like *ἐπικουρεῖν χειμῶνα*, to keep off winter (see v. 8. 25): so in Lat. *defendere frigus*. On the other hand, τῶν ποδῶν ἐπικούρημα (below) gives the more common use of the objective genitive, help to the feet. — *ἐπορεύετο* (G. 225, N. 1): there is good authority for the more regular *πορεύοιτο* (like *κινεῖτο*, *ἔχει*, and *ὑπολύοιτο*). — *εἰς τὴν νύκτα ὑπολύοιτο*, took off his shoes for the night; opposed to *ὑποδεδμένοι ἱκοιμῶντο* (§ 14), slept with their shoes on: *δῖω* and *λῶω* refer to *tying* and *untying* the leather straps (*ἱμάντες*).

14. *δοσοι*: the antecedent would be a genitive dependent on *πόδας*. — *περιεπήγγυντο*, froze on (their feet). — *ἦσαν καρβάτιναι*, (their shoes) were brogues: Hesychius calls them *ἀγροικικὸν ὑπόδημα μονόδερμον*. — *νεοδάρτων* (*νέος* and *δέρω*). — *βοῶν*, ox-hides: cf. *ἐλέφας*, both elephant and ivory.

15. *ἐκλειουπῆναι* (G. 109, 2), was wanting. — *τετῆκει* (G. 101, 2, N. 2). — *ἀτμίζουσα ἐν νάπη*, steaming in a dell. — *οὐκ ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι*, i. e. said they were going no further; see notes on i. 2. 26, and i. 3. 7.

16. *ὀπισθοφυλάκας* (without τοῖς), some of the rear-guard. — *πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ*, by every art and device. — *τελευτῶν*, finally. — “So greatly was the army disorganized by wretchedness, that we hear of one case in which a soldier, ordered to carry a disabled comrade, disobeyed the order, and was about to bury him alive.” Grote. This story came out afterwards, when the charge was made against Xenophon that he had flogged his men (see v. 8. 8–11), which he did in a few cases. — *δύνασθαι ἄν*: sc. *ἔφασαν* (G. 211).

17. *εἰ τις δύναιτο*, if they could: cf. note on ii. 3. 23. — *οἱ δέ* (G. 143, 1, N. 2): cf. note on i. 9. 6. — *ἄμφι* . . . *διαφερόμενοι*, quarrelling about what they had, i. e. their booty (G. 153, N. 1): see § 12, *ἀλλήλοις* . . . *αὐτῶν*.

18. *ὅσον ἐδύνατο μέγιστον*, i. e. as loud a shout as they could (G. 159, N. 2). — *ἤκαν ἑαυτοῖς*, threw themselves: they rushed down into the dell over the snow-banks. — *οὐδεὶς* . . . *ἐφθέγγετο*, i. e. not a sound was heard from them afterwards.

Page 107. — 19. *ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς*, i. e. to get them. — *ἐγκεκαλυμμένοις*, wrapped up. — *ἀνίστασαν*, tried to make them get up. — *ὅτι* . . . *ὑποχωροῖεν*, that those before them (on the road) did not make way for them: they said *οὐχ ὑποχωροῦσιν*.

20. *ὅλον τὸ στράτευμα*, i. e. what seemed to be the whole army; but Chirisophon with the van was already quartered in the village (§§ 9–11).

22. τῶν ἐκ τῆς κόμης (G. 168, N. 2; 170, 1): cf. note on i. 1. 5. — σκευόμενους agrees with τινάς implied with τῶν. — κομίζαν (G. 265).

24. πῶλους: cf. Lat. pullus; Eng. foal. — ἑπτακαίδεκα: this number is too small (see § 35), but correcting numerals by conjecture is unsatisfactory. — ἐνάτην ἡμέραν (G. 161, N.), eight days before.

25. κατάγειοι, underground: the description is said to correspond with the dwellings found in the Armenian highlands at the present day. "The descent by wells is now rare, but is still to be met with; but in exposed and elevated situations, the houses are uniformly semi-subterranean, and entered by as small an aperture as possible, to prevent the cold getting in." Ainsworth, quoted by Watson. — τὸ μὲν στόμα ὥσπερ φρέατος (sc. ὅν), i. e. the mouth (or entrance) being like that of a well, that is, narrow (opposed to εὐρείαι): στόμα is in partitive apposition (G. 137, N. 2) with οἰκαίαι; but in the clause with δέ the construction changes, and we have κάτω (below) δ' εὐρεῖαι for τὰ δὲ κάτω εὐρέα (sc. ὄντα).

Page 108. — 26. οἶνος κρίθινος, barley-wine, i. e. beer. — κρατήρσιν, large bowls, like the Greek mixing-vessels. — ἰσοχελεῖς, floating on the top, lit. on a level with the brim (ἴσος, equal, and χεῖλος, lip). — κάλαμοι, straws, without joints (γόνυα): with γόνυ cf. Lat. genu, Eng. knee.

27. ἔδε μύζαν, he had to suck: ἔδε has here none of its common force of an apodosis (G. 222, N. 2). — ὅποτε διψή (G. 233). — ἀκρατος, strong, lit. unmixed (a priv. and κεράννυμι). — συμμαθόντι, to one used to it (G. 184, 5).

28. οὐτε στερήσονται . . . ἀπίασιν: the direct discourse would be οὐτε στερήσῃ . . . τήν τε οἰκίαν σου ἀντεπλήσαντες . . . ἀπιμεν. στερήσονται is middle, with passive meaning. — ἀντεπλήσαντες, filling in recompense. — ἦν ἀγαθὸν τι . . . φαίνεται, if he should appear to have given them good guidance (G. 159, N. 2). — ἔστ', until (G. 239, 2).

29. ἐν πᾶσιν ἀφθόνοις, amid an abundance of everything: ἀφθονος = without stint. — ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς, in sight, i. e. keeping an eye on them.

30. ἀφίεσαν, i. e. the soldiers quartered in the villages never let them go until, etc. — παραθεῖν (G. 240, 1 and 2).

31. οὐκ . . . οὐ, and everywhere.

32. φιλοφρονούμενός τε, with friendly feelings towards any one. — προπιεῖν, to drink (his) health. — εἴκεν, he would draw him. — ἐνθεν . . . βοῦν, whence he had to drink stooping, sucking like an ox: we should expect βοῦς (sc. πίνει); βοῦν is attracted into the case of the subj. of πίνειν, as if the construction were ὥσπερ δεῖ βοῦν πίνειν.

Page 109. — 33. βαρβαρικάς, foreign, outlandish. — ὥσπερ ἐνεοῖς, as if deaf and dumb; i. e. by signs, as they could not understand Greek.

34. οἱ ἵπποι: the breed of horses in this region is still celebrated. — δασμός (G. 137, N. 4). — Χάλυβας: the people and the country have the same name: cf. Δελφοί. — ἡ εἴη: indirect question for πῇ ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδός;

35. πρὸς . . . οἰκέτας, to his family (i. e. the chief's), who were in their own village, where Xen. was quartered (§ 24 and § 28): for οἰκέτης, see note on ii. 3. 15. The reflexive ἑαυτοῦ here refers to the object, not the subj., of the sentence, αὐτόν being in a prominent position (G. 146, N. 1). —

εἰλήφει, i. e. at the time mentioned in iii. 3. 19; but cf. iv. 4. 21. — παλαι-
τερον (sc. ὄντα), *when he was rather old*, belongs to εἰλήφει. — ἀναθρέψαντι
καταθῆσαι, i. e. *to fat him up and sacrifice him* (G. 265). — τῶν πάλων (sc.
τινά).

CHAPTER VI.

SYNOPSIS: On the eighth day Chirisophus takes charge of the guide (1), who, after conducting them for three days (2), runs away within the night (3). The Greeks proceed to the river Phasis (4), but two days later find their way barred at a mountain pass by the Chalῆbes, Taōchi, and Phasiāni (5). Chirisophus halts and orders the forces into line (6). He calls the generals and captains together, and proposes a council to decide upon their course (7, 8). Cleaor wishes to move at once openly upon the enemy (9), but the more cautious Xenophon proposes that they attempt to seize an unguarded point of the mountain, stealing their way to it in the night (10–13). The word “stealing” is the occasion for a jest between himself and Chirisophus, and each exhorts the other to give proof of the soundness of his early education (14–16). Xenophon declares his readiness to undertake the enterprise (17) and predicts success (18), but Chirisophus proposes that others shall go (19). Three of the commanders accordingly volunteer, and arrange to light signal fires when they reach the top (20). Chirisophus makes a feint of leading the army against the enemy (21). When night comes on the detailed detachment goes forward and gets possession of the hill (22), and at daybreak proceeds along the heights, Chirisophus advancing in front (23). An engagement takes place and the enemy are defeated (24–26). The Greeks sacrifice and erect a trophy, and then go down into the plain beyond, where they find plenty of provisions (27).

1. τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα παραδίδωσι, *he gives him* (i. e. τὸν κομάρχην) *as a guide*. — τοὺς . . . κομάρχη (G. 184, 3, N. 4), i. e. *he leaves the chief's family behind* in their village. — Ἀμφιπολίτη: cf. i. 10. 7. — ὅπως . . . ἀπίοι: the thought of Xen. was ὅπως, εἰ καλῶς ἡγήσεται (sc. ὁ κομάρχης), . . . ἀπίη (G. 202, 4; 248, N.).

2. αὐτοῖς: cf. ii. 2. 8, and note. — λελυμένος: cf. iv. 2. 1, τὸν ἡγεμόνα δῆσαντες.

Page 110. — οὐκ εἰεν (sc. κόμαι). — ἔδρασε δ' οὐδ' (G. 29, N. 1): this is added to account for the guide's escape, not to show the kindness of Chirisophus.

3. ἀποδράς ἔχετο (G. 279, 4, N.). — ἀμέλεια, *neglect*, i. e. in letting the guide escape. — ἐχρήτο: cf. ii. 5. 11, and note.

4. Φάσιν: the famous Colchian river Phasis, for which the Greeks probably mistook this stream, flows into the Euxine from the East. This was probably the upper part of the Araxes, flowing into the Caspian.

5. ἐπὶ τῇ . . . ὑπερβολῇ, *on the pass leading over to the plain*: cf. iv. 4. 18.

6. κατὰ κέρας ἄγων, *leading (his men) in column* (partic. of manner). — παράγων, *to lead along, to bring into line*; the movement by which soldiers were brought into line of battle (φάλαγξ) from a column.

7. *ὅπως ἀγωνιούμεθα*, an object clause (G. 217): compare *ὅπως γίνονται* (§ 6), which is a final clause (G. 216, 1).

9. *προσγενέσθαι* (following *εἰκός*), *will join them* (G. 203, N. 2). In *Cyrop.* v. 3. 30, we have *οὐδένα εἰκός βουλήσεσθαι*. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 27, N. 3, and references.

10. *ὅπως μαχοίμεθα* is in appos. with *τοῦτο* (G. 215, Rem.), and is the regular form of the object clause; but *ὅπως λάβωμεν . . . ἀποβάλωμεν* (in appos. with *τοῦτο* below) is the less common form (G. 217, N. 1). — *τραῦμα* (Dor. and Ion. *τρώμα*): from *τιτρώσκω* (*τρο-*); cf. G. 129, 4: 128, 3, N. 4.

Page 111. — 11. *τὸ ὄρος . . . τὸ δρώμενον* (G. 142, 2), *that part of the mountain which is visible*; unusually emphatic position of *τὸ δρώμενον*. — *ἐφ'*: *ἐπὶ* here denotes *extent*. — *οὐδαμοῦ . . . ἀλλ' ἢ*, *nowhere else than*: *ἀλλ' ἢ* for *ἄλλο ἢ*, *other than, except*, has but one accent, so that *ἀλλ'* looks like the elided form of *ἄλλά* — *ὄρους τι*, *some part of the mountain*. — *κλέψαι λαθόντας*, *to surprise by stealth*: here the idea of *κλέψαι*, *to take (like a thief)*, is more prominent than it would be in the more common and nearly equivalent idiom *κλέψαντας λαθεῖν* (G. 279, 4). The same is true of *ἀρπάσαι φθάσαντας*, *to seize in advance*, compared with *ἀρπάσαντας φθάσαι*, *to be beforehand in seizing*.

12. *ὀρθὸν λέναι*, *to march up hill*; *ὁμαλὲς (λέναι)*, *to march over level ground* (G. 159, N. 5): cf. note on i. 2. 20. — *ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν*, *on both sides of us*. — *τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν*, i. e. *what is immediately before him*. — *μεθ' ἡμέραν*, *by day*; lit. *after (the coming of) day* (G. 191, VI. 3, 3 b). — *τοῖς ποσίν*: to be taken with *τραχεῖα* (G. 185). — *ιοῦσιν* and *βαλλομένοις* (G. 184, 5): cf. *προιοῦσι*, iii. 2. 22; and *παρωμένοις*, iv. 3. 6. — *κεφαλὰς* (G. 197, 1, N. 2).

13. *εἰδόν*, *since it is in our power* (G. 277, 2; 278, 2). — *ὥς* (G. 266, 2, N. 1). — *ἀίσθησιν παρέχεν*, i. e. *betray ourselves*. — *δοκοῦμεν δ' ἂν . . . ἂν . . . χρῆσθαι*, *it seems to me that we should find*, etc.: *ἂν* belongs to *χρῆσθαι* (= *χρῶμεθα ἂν*), and is repeated because the sentence is long (G. 212, 2). We translate *δοκοῦμεν* impersonally merely that we may render the infin. by a finite verb, and so give the force of *ἂν*. See note on ii. 5. 16. The protasis is in *προσποιοῦμενοι* (= *εἰ προσποιοίμεθα*), *if we should make a feint* (G. 226, 1). — *ἐρημοτέρῳ*, *with fewer defenders*. — *μένειν*: *ἂν* is understood from the preceding sentence, although this case hardly comes under the general principle (G. 212, 4).

14. *συμβάλλομαι* (sc. *λόγους*), i. e. *give my ideas*. — *τῶν ὁμοίων*, *equal citizens or peers*, a name given to the Dorian aristocracy of Sparta. — *ἐκ παίδων*: as we say, *from a child*. — *ὅσα μὴ κωλύει*: conditional (G. 232, 1).

15. *ἄρα*, *accordingly*. — *μάλα* qualifies *καιρὸς ἐστίν*: *a very fit time*. — *κλέπτοντες τοῦ ὄρους* (G. 170, 1); cf. *ὄρους κλέψαι τι* (§ 11).

16. *ἀλλὰ μέντοι* (more emphatic than *ἀλλά*), *but really*. — *δεινούς κλέπταιν*, i. e. *formidable stealers*. — *δαινοῦ τοῦ κινδύνου*: the penalty of embezzlement might be death. — *καὶ μέντοι*, *and in truth*. — *ὅμιν ἄρχαν*, *to be your rulers* (G. 184, 3, N. 4).

Page 112. — 17. *κλωπῶν*: referring to the preceding jokes on *κλοπή*. — *τούτων καὶ πυνθάνομαι*, *I learn from them also*, i. e. *besides other things*

(G. 171, 2, N. 1). — *νέμεται αἰξί καὶ βουσίν*, it is grazed by goats and cattle (instrum. dat.): this corresponds to an act. constr. *νέμονται τὸ ἄρος αἰξί* (the herdsmen being the subj.). Derivation of *αἰξί*! — *βατά* (sc. *τὰ χωρία*), *passable*; but see note on *βάσιμα* and *ἄβατα*, iii. 4. 49.

18. *ἀπὶ τῷ μενεῖν* (G. 203, N. 2). — *ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ*, on a level with them. — *ἡμῖν . . . ἴσον* (G. 186), to the same level with us.

19. *καί, ἀλλά*: observe the spirit of these abrupt connectives.

20. *σύνθημα ἐποίησαντο κἀν* (G. 203, N. 2): cf. *συντίθενται φυλάτταν* . . . *συμβοηθήσιν*, iv. 2. 1, and note. — *ὅποτε ἔχουσιν* (G. 248, 1).

21. *ἐκ τοῦ ἀρίστου*, after breakfast. — *ὡς μάλιστα* belongs to *δοκοίη*.

23. *κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἐπῆσαν*, advanced along the heights; cf. *τοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα* (§ 24).

24. *τὸ πολύ*, the main part. — *τοὺς πολλούς*, i. e. the two main bodies. — *ἑλλήων*: following *ὁμοῦ* (G. 182, 2), which generally takes the dative.

Page 113. — 26. *τὸ ἄνω* (sc. *μέρος*), i. e. their men above: cf. § 24.

27. *στησάμενοι* (G. 199, N. 1). — *γεμούσας*, full, generally loaded (said of ships).

CHAPTER VII.

SYNOPSIS: They march into the country of the Taöchi; and provisions fail, for the inhabitants dwell wholly in strongholds (1). One of these the Greeks attack, but unsuccessfully (2). It is agreed, however, that the place, to which there is but one approach which the enemy keep clear of the Greeks by rolling down stones, must be taken (3, 4). Xenophon suggests the stratagem of going as far in as possible under protection of the pine-trees there, provoking an attack from the enemy, and rushing into the stronghold after their ammunition is exhausted (5-7). A body of seventy men go forward (8), and the rest wait to see what the result will be (9). The enemy waste their only means of defence (10); and the captains striving with one another for the honor of entering the place first, the stronghold is finally taken (11, 12). The men and women throw themselves over the precipice, leaving their flocks in possession of the Greeks (13, 14). The latter now advance for seven days through the territory of the Chalýbes (whose armor and peculiar customs in war are described), getting no provisions from the country (15-17). They then reach the Harpāsus, pass through the territory of the Scythini (18), and arrive at the city of Gymnias, where they obtain a guide (19), who promises to bring them within sight of the sea within five days or forfeit his life (20). On the fifth day they reach Mt. Theches, from which they can discern the sea, and the men raise a great shout (21). Xenophon, being in the rear, thinks an attack has been made by the enemy (22, 23), but as he comes nearer he hears the soldiers shouting "The Sea! The Sea!" (24). They build upon the height a great mound of stones surmounted by hides, staves, and captured shields (25, 26), and afterwards dismiss the guide with rich presents (27).

1. *Ταόχους*: a tribe of mountaineers, still known among their kindred by the name of Tao. — *ἐν οἷς . . . ἀνακεκομισμένοι*, where they also carried and kept all their provisions (i. e. besides using them for defence).

2. αὐτόσε (to avoid εἰς δ), *into which* (G. 156; cf. 61). — εὐθὺς ἤκων (G. 277, N. 1).

3. Εἰς καλόν, *in the nick of time*. — οὐκ ἔστι implies a future, as apod. to εἰ μὴ ληψόμεθα (G. 223, N. 1).

4. εἰσελθεῖν (G. 263, 1): we might have had μὴ εἰσελθεῖν. — Μία . . . ὁρᾷς, *the only passage is this one which you see*; the construction is αὕτη (sc. ἡ πάροδος) ἣν ὁρᾷς ἔστι μία πάροδος. Cf. iv. 1. 20, and note. — οὕτω διατίθεται, *is served thus*. — σκέλη, πλευράς: after the passive συντηριμμένους (G. 197, 1, N. 2).

5. ἀναλώσωσιν, *use up*. — ἄλλο τι ἢ . . . παρίεναι, *is there anything to prevent us from passing by?* ἄλλο τι ἢ (nonne) is an interrogative implying an affirmative answer (G. 282, 3); so that this question means, literally, *Is anything else (the case) than (this, that) nothing prevents, etc.?* — εἰ μὴ, nisi, *except* (sc. ὁρῶμεν).

Page 114. — 6. τρία ἡμίπλεθρα, i. e. 150 feet. — βαλλομένους, *under fire* (of stones). — διαλαμπούσαις, *scattered*. — ἀνθ' ὧν, *behind which*. — φερομένων, *flying through the air*.

7. πολλοί (pred.), *in great numbers*. — αὐτὸ τὸ δέον, *the very thing we want*. — ἐνθεν, *(to the point) from which*. — μικρόν τι, i. e. the fifty feet called τὸ λοιπὸν in § 6.

8. ἡγεμονία, *precedence*. — ὡς εἰδύνατο, *as best he could*.

10. ἐπεὶ . . . φέροινο (G. 233). — ἄμαξαι, (here) *cart-loads*.

11. μὴ οὐ πρῶτος παραδράμοι (G. 215, N. 1), i. e. *that he might not get by first*.

Page 115. — 12. αὐτοῦ τῆς ἵνυος, *the rim of his shield* (G. 171, 1): ἵνυς is a poetic word.

13. παιδία (see G. 129, 8). — ὡσαύτως: adv. of ὁ αὐτός. — Στυμφάλιος: of Stymphālus in Arcadia, famous in the story of Hercules. — ὡς ῥίψοντα (G. 277, N. 2): ὡς refers to τινά as the person whose intention is expressed.

15. περύγων, *flaps* (generally of leather covered with metal) at the bottom of the corselet. — σπάρτα ἐστραμμένα, *plaited cords forming a fringe*.

16. μαχαίριον: for the suffix, cf. παιδία in § 13. — ὅσον ξυήλην, *about as long as a Spartan dagger*: ξυήλην is accus. by a peculiar attraction, where we should expect ξυήλη (sc. ἐστὶ). — ὧν . . . δύναιτο (G. 233): ἐσφαττον refers to a custom. — ἀποτέμνοντες . . . ἐπορεύοντο, i. e. *they used to cut off their heads* (i. e. ὧν κρατεῖν δύναιτο) *and carry them along on their march*: ἄν belongs (grammatically) to ἐπορεύοντο (G. 206), but the iterative force extends to ἀποτέμνοντες; we might have had ἀπέτεμον ἄν καὶ ἐπορεύοντο. — ὅποτε . . . ἐμέλλον, i. e. *whenever they were to be seen by the enemy*. — μίαν λόγχην ἔχον, i. e. *with a sharp point at only one end*: the Greek spears were sharpened also at the butt, so as to stick in the ground. λόγχη is properly the *sharp point* of a spear, but is often used for the whole weapon. δόρυ is the more common word for *spear* (as a whole), though this is properly the *wooden shaft*, δόρυ and δρύς being related to

our word *tree*. — **πολίσμασιν**: derived from **πολλίζω**, *to build* (prop. a city, **πόλις**); cf. G. 129, 4.

17. **ἐν τοῦτοις** makes the storing of provisions *in* the strongholds more prominent than the carrying them *into* these. Krüger remarks that this use of **ἐν** is confined, in Attic Greek, to the perfect and pluperfect (which mark the action as *completed*) and to verbs like **τιθέναι**. Cf. **ἐν οἷς . . . εἶχον ἀνακεκομμένοι** in § 1. — **διετράφησαν**: a return to the independent sentence, as if **ὥστε** had not preceded: cf. **ὕπνπτειον** in iv. 2. 15. — **τοῖς κτήνεσιν** &: the assimilation is here omitted.

Page 116. — 19. **διὰ . . . χώρας**, *through the country of their own enemies*: **πολέμιος** sometimes (as here) governs the genitive, chiefly (and originally) when it has the force of a substantive: cf. **πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐχθίστους**, iii. 2. 5. — **ὅπως ἄγοι**: optative after an historic present.

20. **ἄξει . . . ὕψονται** (G. 247). — **εἰ δὲ μή**: cf. note on ii. 2. 1. — **ἐπηγήλατο**, *agreed*. — **τὴν ἐαυτοῦ πολέμιαν** (sc. **χώραν**): cf. note on § 19.

22. **δασυῶν . . . ὀμβρόδεια**, *covered with raw hides of shaggy oxen*: **βοῶν** is gen. of material.

23. **οἱ ἀεὶ ἐπιόντες**, *those who successively came up*; so **τοὺς ἀεὶ βοῶντας**, *those who successively raised the shout*.

24. **παρεβόηθαι**, *came up to the rescue*, thinking it was an attack of the enemy (§ 22). — **παρεγγυόντων**, *passing the word along*: **παρεγγυᾶν** is properly *to hand over something as a pledge* (**ἐγγύη**).

Page 117. — 25. **δτου δὴ παρεγγυήσαντος**, *some one, whoever he may have been, giving the word*: **δοτις** always has this indefinite sense when it is joined with **-ουν** (**δοτισούν**), rarely with **δὴ** (as here). In v. 2. 24, we have **δτου δὴ ἐνάφαντος**, *some one or other setting it on fire*.

26. **κατέμμενε**: that the natives might not remove them: cf. iv. 6. 26.

27. **δαιρεικοὺς δέκα**: about \$54.00. See note on i. 7. 18. — **δακτυλίου**: "The free Greek, if not of the very poorest class, wore a ring, not only as an ornament, but as a signet to attest his signature, or for making secure his property." Becker's *Charicles*.

CHAPTER VIII.

SYNOPSIS: The Greeks advance through the country of the Macrōnes, and come to a river bordered with trees, which they cut down (1, 2). The natives are drawn up in warlike array on the other side (3). Xenophon instructs a peltast, who believes the country to be his birthplace, to ask the people who they are and why they are hostile (4, 5). After mutual explanations, pledges are exchanged (6, 7); and the Macrōnes assist the Greeks in crossing the river, and conduct them to the territory of the Colchians (8). These, drawn up upon a mountain, oppose their entrance into the country; and the generals deliberate (9). Xenophon proposes a plan of attack by column and not by phalanx (10–13), which is approved. After the troops are disposed, he rides from wing to wing and encourages the soldiers to overcome the last obstacle that lies between them and their long-desired goal (14). There are eighty companies of

hoplites, besides light-armed troops (15). They make their vows to the Gods, sing the paean, and move forward with Chirisophus and Xenophon at the two extremes (16). The enemy's line is drawn apart, and the Greeks at the centre rush to the summit (17, 18). The enemy give way, and the Greeks encamp in villages (19), where many of the soldiers are made sick by eating honey (20, 21). A two days' march brings them to Trapezus, a Greek city on the Euxine, where they remain thirty days, making incursions into the country of the Colchians (22). The people of Trapezus receive them hospitably (23), and negotiate with them in behalf of the nearer Colchians (24). The Greeks make the sacrifice they had vowed to the Gods, and celebrate games (25-28).

2. *ὑπερδέξιον*, *lying high on the right*: cf. iii. 4. 37; this word commonly means *high* (with no reference to the side). Liddell and Scott explain it here as = *ἐπιδέξιος*, *on the right*. Another reading here is *ὑπὲρ δεξιῶν*, *over the right*, in which sense *ὑπερδέξιον* is here explained; cf. *ἐξ ἀριστεράς*, below. — *οἷον χαλεπώτατον*: like *ὡς* (or *ὅτι*) *χαλεπώτατον*. — *ὁ ὄριζον*, *the frontier stream*: cf. Eng. *horizon*. — *ἴδει διαβῆναι*, *they had to pass*. — *δένδρεσι*: more common than the reg. dat. *δένδροις*. — *ἐκοπτον*: probably to clear the way, and also to make a road: see § 8.

3. *εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρρίπτουν*, i. e. to frighten the Greeks. — *ἐβλαπτον οὐδέν* (G. 159, N. 2).

4. *δεδουλευκέναι*: *δουλευῶ* is to be a slave, but *δουλώω* is to enslave. (See G. 130, N. 3.) — *εἰ μὴ τι κωλύει* (G. 221), *if there is nothing to hinder* (a present supposition): see the answer, *οὐδὲν κωλύει*, in § 5.

Page 118. — 5. *ἐρωτήσαντος* (sc. *αὐτοῦ*). — *ἀντιτετάχαται*: Ionic perfect (G. 119, 3; 118, 5, N.).

7. *εἰ δοίεν ἄν* (indir. quest.), *whether they would give*; they asked *δοίητε ἄν*; (G. 245).

8. *συνέζικοπτον*: cf. § 2. — *ὁδὸν ᾠδοποιοῦν* (G. 159), *they worked on the road*. — *μέσσοις* (G. 142, 4, N. 4).

9. *βουλευσασθαι συλλεγείσιν*, i. e. *to come together and consult* (G. 138, N. 8), as if it had been *συλλεγῆναι καὶ βουλευσασθαι*. — *ὥπως ἀγωνιούνται* (G. 217).

10. *παύσαντας . . . ποιῆσαι*, *that they should give up the phalanx, and should form the companies in columns*. — *τῇ μὲν, τῇ δέ*, *here, there*.

11. *ἐπὶ πολλούς*, *many (men) in depth*, implying a movement *into* this order; below, *ἐπ' ὀλίγων*, *few in depth*, (the more common construction) refers to the order *in* which they then were. The two suppositions in *ἦν μὲν . . . ἂν δὲ . . . ὤμεν* include the only possible ways of marching *ἐπὶ φάλαγγος*, and Xen. gives objections to both. — *περιττεύουσιν ἡμῶν*, *will outflank us* (G. 175, 2). — *τοῖς περιττοῖς*, i. e. *those by whom they will outflank us*. — *χρήσονται . . . βούλωνται*, i. e. *we shall be at their mercy*. — *οὐδὲν ἄν εἴη* has two protases, both future, but of different forms: see *Moods and Tenses*, § 55, 1. — *ἀθρόων*, *in a mass*: predicate with *ὑμῶν*.

Page 119. — 12. *τοσοῦτον . . . λόχοις*, *to cover sufficient ground with the companies by leaving spaces between them*. — *τοσοῦτον . . . ὅσον*, *so much*

that, *sufficient*, takes the infinitive as an adjective (*Moods and Tenses*, § 93, 1, N. 1): the idea is, *to cover ground enough to have the outer companies get beyond the enemy's wings*. See note on ὀρθοῖς τοῖς λόχοις on iv. 2. 11. — οἱ κράτιστοι ἡμῶν, i. e. οἱ λοχαγοί. — πρῶτον for πρῶτοι, which is perhaps necessary here: see § 18.

13. τὸ διαλείπον, *the interval between the columns*: cf. τὸ διάχον, iii. 4. 22. — οὐδεὶς μηκέτι μείνη, *not a man will stand his ground for a moment* (G. 257): the compounds of οὐ and μή (as here) can be used in these emphatic future expressions.

14. ἐμποδὼν τὸ μὴ εἶναι, *in the way of our being* (G. 263, 2). — ὦμοὺς καταφαγεῖν, *devour (them) raw*, a common expression, rather stronger than *our cut them in pieces* or *gobble them up*: cf. Il. iv. 35, ὦμόν βεβρόβηος Πριάμον Πριάμοιο τε παῖδας ἄλλους τε Τρώας.

16. ἔξω γενόμενοι, i. e. with a view to outflanking the enemy.

17. ἀντιπαραθέοντες, i. e. *hastening along (their own line) to meet them*. — κενόν, *empty*, i. e. without men enough.

Page 120. — 19. ὡς ἤρξαντο θεῖν, i. e. *when the targeteers began to run* (§ 18).

20. τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, *in other matters* (G. 160, 1), opposed to τὰ δὲ σμήνη (= ἔσμοι), *bees*. — θαύμασαν, *found strange*, is emphasized by καί, which has no exact English equivalent. — τῶν κηρῶν (G. 170, 1; cf. 171, 2). — κάτω διεχώρει αὐτοῖς, i. e. *they had a diarrhoea*: διεχώρει is impersonal. — ἀποθήσκουσιν: dative of the partic., in same construction as μεθύουσιν and μαινομένοις.

21. ὥσπερ τροπῆς γεγενημένης (G. 277, N. 3), *as if they had suffered a defeat*: in full, ὥσπερ ἂν ἔκαιντο εἰ τροπὴ ἐγεγένητο, *as they would have lain, if they had suffered a defeat* (lit. *rout*), referring to the disheartened condition of a defeated army. — πού, *somewhere*, makes τὴν αὐτὴν less definite. — ἀνεφρόνουν, *began to come to their senses*. — ἀνίσταντο: opposed to ἔκαιντο. — φαρμακοποσίας (φάρμακον, *a drug*, and πίνω, *to drink*), *being drugged* (W. 54, 4, 3, γ): for the suffix, cf. θυσίαν in § 25. The idea is, the men recovered from the effects of eating the honey as they would have done from the effects of *drugging* or *poisoning*. "Most modern travellers attest the existence, in these regions, of honey intoxicating and poisonous, such as Xenophon describes. They point out the *Azalea Pontica* as the flower from which the bees imbibe this peculiar quality. Professor Koch, however, states that after careful inquiries he could find no trace of any such." Grote.

22. Τραπεζοῦντα: the modern Trebizond. — Σινωπέων, *the people of Sinope*, a Greek city on the coast of Paphlagonia.

24. συνδιεπράττοντο (sc. τοῖς Ἕλλησιν), *they negotiated with the Greeks*. — ἐπέρ, *in behalf of*.

25. εἶξαντο: cf. iii. 2. 9. — ἱκανοὶ ἀποθῆσαι: cf. ἱκανώτερα φέρειν, iii. 1. 23. — Σωτήρι (G. 129, 2 b). — ἡγεμόσυνα (found only here), *thank-offerings for safe guidance*, made to Ἡρακλῆς Ἡγεμών; the wanderings of Hercules were believed to give him special sympathy with wanderers.

Page 121. — ἔφυγε οἰκοθεν, *was banished from home*. — ἄκων (Hom. ἄκων, from α- and ἔκων), *accidentally*. The Greeks looked upon a person who had caused the death of another, even by accident, as a polluted person, and he was obliged to leave the country, at least for a time. The law of Athens — a relic of the Draconic legislation, usually famous for its severity — provided that a person who had committed involuntary homicide should leave the country within an appointed time and by a prescribed road, and should remain in exile until he should become reconciled with the family of the person whom he had killed; but the law protected him in his departure and during his absence, so far as it could, and his property was not confiscated like that of persons condemned to perpetual banishment. Even inanimate objects which had caused the death of a person through no human agency, or when the agent was unknown, were, according to the Draconic law, solemnly tried before the court at the Prytaneum, and on conviction formally cast out of the country as polluted. — ἐπιμελεθῆναι, προστατῆσαι: infinitives of purpose after εἰλοντο (G. 265).

26. τὰ δέρματα, *the hides* of the victims (§ 25), which were to be offered as prizes in the games. — ὅπου . . . εἴη: the direct words of the command would have been ὅπου πεποίηκας (G. 248, 1). — δρόμον, *race-course* (from δραμ-, a stem of τρέχω): cf. ἵππόδρομος, *hippodrome*. — τρέχων, *for running* (G. 261, 2). — ὅπου ἂν τις βούληται, *wherever any one shall please*: the future apod. is found in τρέχων. — οὕτως, *like this*: placed emphatically after the adjectives which it qualifies. — Μᾶλλον τι ἀνίσταται, *will hurt himself rather more*, and so they will try harder to keep on their feet; as if this were a recommendation of the spot for a race-course.

27. στάδιον: cognate accus. with ἡγωνίζοντο; like δόλιχον with ἔθειν, and πάλην, etc. with ἡγωνίζοντο understood. — τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οἱ πλείστοι, *the greater part (being) of the number of the captives*, appos. to παῖδες. — δόλιχον (noun), *the long race*, variously estimated from six to twenty-four stadia in length, probably variable. The adj. δολιχός (oxytone), *long*, appears in the Homeric δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος. The δολιχοδρόμος ran several times round the ordinary στάδιον: for the stadium, see note on i. 4. 1. — παγκράτιον, *double* (lit. *complete*) *contest*, one which combined both πάλη and πυγμή. — κατέβησαν, *entered* (the contest): cf. Lat. descendere ad Olympiam.

28. αὐτοῖς, i. e. the horses: object of ἄγειν. — ἐλάσαντας and ἀναστρέψαντας agree with τοὺς ἵππους understood, the subject of ἄγειν. — τὸν βωμόν, *the stand*, probably a mound of turf, to mark the starting-place in the race.

For an account of the further fortunes of the Greek army, see the Prefatory Note, pp. 2 and 3.

HELLENICA.

[Book II.]

THE Peloponnesian War lasted twenty-seven years, from B. C. 431 to 404, of which the first twenty are included in the narrative of Thucydides, and the remainder in the Hellenica of Xenophon. It arose from the fear and jealousy felt by Sparta and other Greek states at the power and glory of the Athenian Empire, aided by the uneasiness of the subject allies of Athens herself under what they believed to be an oppressive rule. Since the formation of the confederacy of Delos in 477 B. C. — which was a defensive union of voluntary allies under Athens as presiding city, made to secure the Aegean against the possibility of another Persian invasion, — the maritime power of Athens had steadily increased, and the smaller states had gradually been changed from independent allies to subjects of an imperial city. This change is well explained in Chapters XLIV. and XLV. of Grote's History of Greece. The splendor of Athens reached its height under Pericles, the most illustrious of her statesmen (who died in 429 B. C.); and her Dorian neighbors in Sparta, Corinth, Megara, and Thebes were now ready to combine for her destruction. In 432 B. C. the disputes between Corinth and Athens about the Corinthian colonies of Corcyra and Potidaea gave a plausible pretext for war, and war was at once declared. But, as Thucydides tells us, the war arose chiefly from the alarm felt by Sparta at the extent of the Athenian power, and her dread of its further increase. The war began in the spring of 431 B. C.; and it ended in the spring of 404 B. C. with the surrender of Athens, which is described in the first extract from the Hellenica. The power of Athens had been seriously crippled by the disastrous expedition to Syracuse (B. C. 415–413); it was finally broken by the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami, as related in the chapter immediately preceding the narrative here given.

Aegospotami, or Goat's River, was a station on the European side of the Hellespont, opposite the Asiatic town of Lampsacus, which had just been captured by Lysander, the Spartan commander. It was "an open beach, without harbor, without good anchorage, without either houses or inhabitants or supplies"; and was chosen by the Athenian commander, merely to compel Lysander to an engagement. Each morning the fleet would cross the strait in line of battle, but the Spartan forces kept close under shelter of their port. Each day it withdrew to its anchorage, followed only by a few scout-boats to watch the disembarking; and then the men would stray on

shore for provisions, as far as Sestos, a few miles below. For five days the same scene was repeated. In vain Alcibiades, then living in exile near by, warned the generals of the exposed condition of their fleet, and urged that they should at least fall back to the safe and friendly harbor of Sestos; he was dismissed with the taunt that they were now in command, not he. "At length, on the fifth day, Lysander ordered the scout-ships, which he sent forth to watch the Athenians on their return, to hoist a bright shield as a signal as soon as they should see the ships at their anchorage, and the crews ashore in quest of their meal." The moment he beheld this welcome signal, he gave orders to his entire fleet to row across the strait as swiftly as possible, while the land forces marched along the strand in case of need. The fleet was taken by complete surprise. A squadron of twelve vessels under Conon, with the sacred ship called *Paralos*, escaped. All the remainder, nearly one hundred and seventy in number, were captured on the shore, defenceless, and seemingly without the least attempt on the part of any one to resist. This sweeping victory was won without the loss of a ship, almost without the loss of a man. Of more than thirty thousand prisoners, all the Athenians, some three or four thousand, were put to death. It had been charged against them that they had resolved, if victorious, to cut off the right hands of all their prisoners; and one of their generals, Philocles, had put to death the captured crews of two ships, allies of the Lacedaemonians, by hurling them headlong from a precipice. Charges like these, at the end of a long and obstinate war, account for the vindictive and bitter temper of the conquerors. (See Grote, Ch. LXV.)

The battle at Aegospotami was fought in September, B. C. 405. Byzantium surrendered directly after; Lysander permitting its garrison, with other Athenians found there or elsewhere, to sail to Athens, "but nowhere else," says Xenophon, "for he knew that the more there were gathered in the city and Piræus, the sooner they would be brought to straits by famine."

II. 3. Παράλον: the *Paralos* ("Seaboard") and the *Salaminia* were two sacred vessels maintained by Athens, and used in the service of the government. They carried deputations to the sacred festivals, and embassies; and were sometimes used to bring state criminals to Athens, as in the case of Alcibiades in 415 B. C. — νηκτός (G. 179, 1). — ἡ ξυμφορά (= συμφορά), the disaster to the fleet at Aegospotami: ξύν is often used for σύν in the older Attic. — Πειραιώς, the *Piræus* was the principal port of Athens; it was fortified, and connected with the city (ἄστυ) which was four and a half miles distant by the two long walls of Pericles. (See the plan at the end of the volume.) — ὁ ἕτερος . . . παραγγέλλον: we should expect the gen. absol., but the nominative is in apposition with the

nominative implied in the verbal noun *ολιγωγῇ* (as if *ἔμωζον* had been used).

Page 122.—*πενθούντες*, agreeing with the subject implied in *οὐδέεις*, as if it had been, *all were sleepless*. — *πέσεισθαι*, *that they were to suffer* (G. 246). — *οἱα ἐποίησαν*: see G. 247 (last example) and N. 2. — *Μηλῖους*: Melos, a Spartan colony, had been subjugated by Athens in 416 B. C.; the men of military age were put to death, and the women and children were enslaved.

4. *ἔδοξε*, *they voted*, lit. *it pleased them*: the expression is the same which was used in the Athenian decrees, *ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ*. — *ἀποχῶσαι* (v. *ἀποχώννυμι*), *to block the channel*. — *περὶ ταῦτα*, *thus employed*.

5. *ναυσίν* (G. 188, 5). — *κατεσκευάσατο*, *established*, i. e. in the form of "an oligarchy of ten native citizens, chosen from among his most daring and unscrupulous partisans, to govern in conjunction with the Lacedaemonian harmost." — *τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης*, often without *χωρία*, a common expression for the coast of Thrace.

6. *ἀφειστήκει*, *had (already) revolted*. — *Ἀθηναίων* (gen. governed by *ἀπο-* in *ἀφειστήκει*, G. 193), *from the Athenians*. — *σφαγὰς . . . ποιήσαντες*, *having made a massacre of the aristocrats*: this massacre took place eight years before, but was recent enough to forbid the Samians to hope for mercy.

7. *Δεκλείαν*: a post in Attica, whence Agis, the Spartan king, was now threatening the city. — *ὅτι*: understand *λέγοντάς τινας*, or *ἀγγέλλοντας* after *ἔπεμψε*. — *προσπλεῖ* (G. 243). — *τοῦ ἑτέρου*, *the other of the two kings*, Agis being one.

8. *ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ*, the common reading, would be an unusual expression for *in the gymnasium called the Academy*. Perhaps we may insert a comma after *Ἀκαδημίᾳ*, and take the following words in apposition with *Ἀκαδημίᾳ*, *in the Academy*, viz. *in the gymnasium thus named*. Many scholars consider the last three words as an interpolation. The Academy (i. e. the grove of the hero Academus) was northwest of the city, on the Sacred Way leading to Eleusis. It was afterwards made famous by Plato, who used it as his place of instruction; and its name is thus a familiar word in all modern languages.

9. *Αἴγιαν*: in the first year of the Peloponnesian war (431 B. C.), the Athenians expelled the Aeginetans with their families from their island, and the Spartans allowed them to settle in Thyrea. — *ἀπέδωκε* implies that Lysander restored Aegina to its former inhabitants. — *δσους ἐδύνατο πλείστον*, *the greatest number which he was able (to collect)*, like *ὡς πλείστον* or *ὅτι πλείστον*. — *ὡς αὐτως*, *likewise*, adv. of *ὁ αὐτός*, *the same*. — *Μηλῖους*: see note on § 3 above. — *τῆς αὐτῶν*, sc. *χώρας* (G. 141, N. 4). — *πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ*, *he came to the Piraeus and anchored there*.

10. *τί χρὴ ποιεῖν* (G. 243).

Page 123.—*δυνων* (G. 277, 2.)—*σωτηρίαν τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν*, *security against suffering*, the *μὴ* strengthening the negative idea (of *prevention*) implied in *σωτηρίαν* (G. 263, 1).—*ἃ . . . μικροπολίτας*, *what they had not done for punishment, but had done unjustly* (*ἡδίκουν*) *through insolence to men of the small states*: *ἃ* is direct object of *ἐποίησαν* and cognate object of *ἡδίκουν*.—*οὐδ' ἐπὶ μιᾷ*, more emphatic than *ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ*.—*ἐκείνους*, the Lacedaemonians.

11. *ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες*: they passed a vote of amnesty, *restoring to full civic rights* all who had forfeited any of those rights (i. e. who had become *ἄτιμοι*) either as public debtors or by sentence of the law. After this vote, the citizens met in the acropolis and pledged themselves to harmony.—*ἀποθνησκόντων* (G. 277, 5).—*έχοντες*, *keeping*.—*ἐπὶ τούτοις*, *on these conditions*.

12. *εἶναι*, sc. *ἔφη*.—*κύριος αὐτός* (G. 136, N. 3 a): *αὐτός* is adjective pronoun, *himself* (145, 1).

13. *πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς*: as Sellasia is generally said to be *in* Laconia, *πλησίον* should perhaps be omitted here.—*οἷα*, sc. *τοιαῦτα*.—*αὐτόθεν*, *instantly*.—*εἰ δέονται* (G. 247).—*τι*, *at all*.—*κάλλιον* (G. 75).

14. *ἦκον* (G. 200, N. 3).—*ἐνέπεσε*, v. *ἐμπίπτω*.—*ἕως ἂν πέμπωσιν*, *while they should be sending* (G. 247; 202, 1): *ἕως πέμπειν* might have been used.

15. *Λακεδαιμονίους*, dat. with *εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι* (G. 186, N. 1).—*ἐφ' οἷς προεκαλοῦντο*, *on the terms which they offered* (G. 153, N. 1).—*ἐκάτερον*, i. e. *each of the two long walls* leading to the Piraeus; see note on § 20, below.—*μὴ ἐξῆναι* depends on the verbal force of *ψήφισμα* (G. 261, 1, N.).

16. *εἰ βούλονται*, *if they wished* (G. 247): the direct form of the sentence following *ὅτι* would be, *εἰ βούλεσθέ με πέμψαι, ἤξω εἰδὼς πρότερον ἀντέχουσι*, &c.—*Λακεδαιμονίους* is by *anticipation* object of *εἰδὼς*, instead of being subj. nominative of *ἀντέχουσι*.—*ἥ* connects *βουλόμενοι* (G. 277, 2) to *πίστωσιν ἕνεκα* (*in order to secure good faith*).

Page 124.—*ὅ τι τις λέγοι*, *whatever any one might propose* (G. 248).—*ὁμολογήσαν* (G. 202, 3, N.).

17. *τίως*, *for some time*.—*κατέχοι* and *κелеύοι* are instances of the rare imperfect optative, representing *κατεῖχε* and *έκελευε* of the direct discourse, which would regularly be retained in such cases (G. 243, N. 1).—*εἶναι*, sc. *ἔφη*.—*κύριος* (G. 136, N. 3 a).—*ὃν ἐρωτῶτο*, *of what he* (Lysander) *was asked* (G. 153, N. 1), the direct form being *ὃν ἐρωτῶμαι* (indic.).—*δέκατος αὐτός*, a common expression for *one of ten*, generally applied to the principal person in the number mentioned.

18. *ἀγγελοῦντα* (G. 277, 3) *ὅτι ἀπεκρίναντο*, *to inform them that he had replied*, &c. (the message was *ἀπεκρίναντο Δύσανδρος*, &c.).

19. *ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ*, *in what capacity*.—*καλεῖν ἐκέλευον*, *gave orders to*

summon them. — μή σπένδεσθαι, [urging] to make no terms. — ἔλαιρειν, sc. τὴν πόλιν.

20. οὐκ ἔφασαν . . . ἀνδραποδεῖν, refused to [said they would not] enslave, &c. It is said that, when a Theban delegate advocated the destruction of Athens, a Spartan replied, that he would not put out one of the eyes of Greece, and leave her ἑτερόφθαλμον. The same argument was used at Athens in favor of helping Sparta, after the battle of Leuctra, in 371 B. C. — ἀνδραποδεῖν (G. 110, II. N. 1 c). — ἐποιούντο, offered to make (G. 200, N. 2). — ἐφ' ᾧ . . . ἔπεσθαι (G. 267). — τὰ μακρὰ τεύχη: probably only the two long walls leading to the Piraeus are meant; as the third or Phaleric wall, leading to the old port of Phalerum, was now of less account, since the Piraeus had been strongly fortified and connected with the city by two walls. — καθέντας (v. καθήμι), restoring. — τὸν αὐτόν, &c., lit. regarding as foe and friend the same with the Lacedaemonians.

21. μὴ ἦκοιεν, lest they might have come (G. 200, N. 3; 202, 2). — οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἐνεχώρει μένειν, for there was no longer room (χώρα) for delay.

22. ἐφ' οἷς . . . ποιοῖντο, the terms on which (they said) the L. offered to make peace; ποιοῖντο representing ποιοῦνται of the direct form (G. 248, 4): see ἐποιούντο in § 20, above.

Page 125.—ἐπ' αὐλητρίδων, to the music of flute-girls.

III. 1. τῷ ἐπώννῳ ἔτει, the year beginning at midsummer 404 B. C., the first year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad. — δὲν . . . οὐκ ὀνομάζουσι, whom the Athenians do not name, i. e. among the ἀρχοντες ἐπώννυμοι: the first of the nine Archons gave his name to the year, whence he was called the Eponymus. — ἀναρχίαν: the word ἀναρχία was entered in the public records for this year instead of the name of Pythodorus. — There are strong reasons for believing all of § 1, except τῷ δ' ἐπώννῳ ἔτει, to be an interpolation; it will be seen that the other words break the construction of the sentence, which becomes grammatical only by taking τῷ . . . ἔτει with ἔδοξε in § 2.

2. ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ, the people voted: see note on II. 4, above. — οἱ . . . ξυγγραψουσι (G. 236, N. 3), who were to compile, &c.: see note on § 11, below.

The omitted sections (4–10) refer to matters in Thessaly and Syracuse (under the tyrant Dionysius), to the surrender of Samos to Lysander, and to Lysander's return to Sparta.

11. ἐφ' ᾧτε ξυγγράψαι (G. 267), equivalent to οἱ ξυγγραψουσι in § 2. — πολιτεύουσιντο is an indirect statement (G. 248, 4) of the idea of the Athenians in choosing the Thirty: in § 2 the indicative of the direct form is retained. For the middle voice, see G. 199, N. 1. — ἀεὶ ἔμελλον, they continually delayed.

12. ζώντας and δοντας (G. 246; 280). — βαρεῖς, odious. — ἐπήγον θάπτον, arraigned capitally (G. 178, last example). — αὐτῶν (G. 173, 2, N.).

Page 126.—*δοσι ξυνήδσαν ... δντες* (G. 280, N. 2).

13. *δπως αν εξέη ... δπως βούλονται*, how they might get the power to treat the city as they pleased; indirect question, representing *πώς αν εξέη ήμιν τη πόλει χρῆσθαι δπως βουλοίμεθα* (G. 245; 247, N. 3). The first *δπως* is an indirect interrogative (like *πώς*); the second is relative (G. 232, 4). — *φρουρους σφίσι ξυμπράξει ελθείν*, to help bring it about that guards should come to them, i. e. to aid in having guards sent them: *σφίσι* refers to the Thirty (G. 144, 2). — *ἔως ... καταστήσαιντο* (G. 239, 2; 248, 3). — *θρέψειν* (G. 17, 2, N.; 203, N. 2). — Compare *αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι* with *σφίσιν ελθείν* above: as *Δύσανδρος* is subject of *ξυνεπράξεν*, *σφίσιν* would have been incorrect here.

14. *ὥς ... πράττειν* (G. 248, N.): the idea of the Thirty was *ὥς πάντα ἐπαινῇ ἃ αν πράττωμεν* (or *ἃ πράττομεν*), that he may praise everything which we may do (or everything which we do). — *τῶν φρουρῶν*, depending on the omitted antecedent of *οὗς*. — *ἥκιστα ... ἀνέχεσθαι*, representing *ἥκιστα ... ἀνέχονται*, they [are men who] least endure being thrust out (unless *αν* is omitted by accident before *αν-έχεσθαι*, or unless *αν* in the next clause affects *ἀνέχεσθαι* also). — *πλείστοις αν ... λαμβάνειν*, would get most adherents (G. 211): the protasis is expressed in *ἐπιχειροῦντας*, = *εἰ ἐπιχειροῦσιν* (G. 226, 1).

15. *ἐπὶ τὸ ... ἀποκτείναν* (G. 262, 1). — *ἄτε ... φυγάν*, inasmuch as he had been exiled (G. 277, N. 2): *φεύγειν* often means to be exiled; hence *ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου* follows, as if the verb were passive (G. 197, 1). — *εἰ τις ἐτιμᾶτο ... εὐργάζετο*, in case one was honored, &c. depends as protasis on *ἀντέκοπτε λέγων*, and not on *εἴη*: if it belonged to the indirect discourse after *δτι*, we should expect *τιμᾶτο* or *τιμᾶται*, &c.

16. *οικείως ἐχρήτο*, treated as a friend. — *δτι οὐκ ἐγχωροίη*, that it was not possible (lit. there was no room). — *μη οὐκ ἐκποδῶν ποιέσθαι*, not to put out of the way (G. 283, 7): when we should have (affirmatively) *ἐγχωρεῖ μη τοῦτο ποιέιν*, we may have (negatively) *οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ μη οὐ τοῦτο ποιέιν*. — *ἥττόν τι* belongs to *ἐπιμελίσθαι*. — *ὥσπερ τυραννίδος*, as a tyranny: the meaning is, if you think that our large number prevents our government from being in spirit a tyranny (properly a rule of one), and from requiring the same vigilance as a tyranny, you are a fool.

17. *δῆλοι*, evidently (G. 138, N. 7; 280, N. 1). — *ξυνιστάμενοι*, banding together (in a threatening way).

Page 127.—*εἰ μή ... λήψονται, ... ἔσονται*, representing *εἰ μή ... λήψεται* (G. 223, N. 1), *ἀδύνατον ἔσται* (G. 202, 4). — *τις*, they (by the English idiom); for we should say *unless we take for εἰ μή τις λήψεται* in the direct form.

18. *συρρῆλθσαν*, v. *συρρέω*. — *καταλέγουσι*, register them in the list (*κατάλογος*, catalogue) mentioned in § 20. — *τοῖς μετέξοντας δῆ*, who (as they said) were to take part in the administration (G. 277, 3): we might have had *οἱ μετέξουσι* (see § 2, above).

19. *κοινωνούς ποιήσασθαι* belongs at once with *βουλομένους* and with *τρισχιλίους*, *that, wishing to make the best of the citizens partners, they made three thousand of them partners*. — *τό* before *πρώτον* belongs to *ποιήσασθαι*, which is the subject of *δοκοίη*: we should expect another infinitive after *ἔπειτα δέ*, but after the new verb *ὁρῶ* the construction changes to that of the participle (G. 280). — *ὥσπερ . . . εἶναι*, *as if this number* (three thousand) *must needs be honorable men: ἔχαι ἀνάγκην τινὰ ποιεῖν τι* is to be under some necessity of doing something (G. 261, 1, N. 1). For the accusative absolute see G. 278, 2, N; for *ὥσπερ*, G. 277, N. 3. — *οἶόν τε εἴη* is irregularly added, by an entire change in the form of the sentence, as if *εἰ ἔχοι* had been used after *ὥσπερ* in the preceding clause, instead of the conditional participle *ἔχοντα* (G. 277, 4). Here *οἶόν τε ὄν* would have been the regular form after *ὥσπερ* (without *εἰ*), *as if it were possible*; *εἴη* representing *εἰ . . . ἔστιν* in the words of Theramenes, as *δοκοίη* (above) represents *δοκεῖ*. — *γενέσθαι* has *τινάς* understood as its subject, and is followed by *σπουδαίους* and *πονηροῦς* in the predicate. — *κατασκευαζομένους* is added, by a sort of apposition, to explain *πράττοντας*. — *ἥττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων*, *weaker than its subjects*.

20. *οἱ δ' ἔξισιν*, &c. The meaning of this obscure description seems to be as follows. The Thirty held a general review of all the citizens capable of bearing arms; but while the Three Thousand were reviewed together in the market-place, the other citizens were scattered over the city in small detachments (*ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ*). Then, while the ordinary citizens were dismissed for dinner or some other purpose (*ἀπέληλύθεσαν*), leaving their arms stacked at the places of review, a general call to arms was suddenly sounded (*κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα*); on which the Spartan garrison (*φρουροί*) and those citizens who understood the plot rushed and seized the arms of the unsuspecting citizens before the latter could return and secure them. — *ἐκεῖνοι*, those who were *ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου*. — *ἐν τῷ ναῷ*, *in the temple*, i. e. the Parthenon.

21. *ὡς ἔξόν*, *since (as they thought) it was in their power* (G. 277, N. 2). — *ὅ τι βούλονται* (G. 248). — *τῶν μετοίκων*, *resident foreigners*, living at Athens chiefly for purposes of trade, without political rights; as many of them were rich, they were selected as victims. Lysias (in Eratosth. § 2) says that the Thirty seized *ten μέτοικοι* in this way, including two poor men in the number lest the purity of their motives should be suspected. — *ἀποσημήνασθαι*, *to confiscate* (properly to put a seal upon).

During this reign of terror, the orator Lysias was arrested by order of the Thirty while he was entertaining friends at dinner; but he escaped from custody and fled to Megara. His brother Polemarchus, however, was arrested in the street by Eratosthenes, one of the tyrants, and was put to death without trial, and without so much as hearing the offence with which he was charged. The house of Polemarchus was plundered, even the golden ear-rings were torn from the ears of his wife, and his family were dependent on the charity of friends for the means of giving him a decent

burial. Lysias describes these terrible scenes in his oration against Eratosthenes, whom he afterwards prosecuted for the murder of Polemarchus.

22. **ὄντινα βούλοιο** (G. 248, 1) : this use of the optative must not be confounded with that seen in **παρ' ὧν λαμβάνοιεν**, below (G. 233). — **φάσκοντες**, while we declare.

Page 128. — **μηδέν** (G. 283, 4). — **τῷ παντί**, in every way.

23. **ἐμποδὼν τῷ ποιῆν** (G. 262, 2 ; 185). — **ἰδίᾳ . . . ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον**, privately ; one to this man, one to that.

24. **πλέονας τοῦ καιροῦ**, more than is fitting (lit. seasonable). — **μεθίστανται**, are changing. — **τοῖς . . . μεθιστᾶσι**, those who are changing (the government). — **διὰ τὸ . . . εἶναι**, because the city is ; **διὰ τὸ . . . τεθράφθαι**, because the people have been reared (G. 202, 2).

25. **τοῖς οἰοῖς ἡμῖν**, to such as we (G. 153, N. 5). — **οἱ βέλτιστοι**, the aristocracy (the better class), opposed to the **δῆμος**, the mass of the people.

26. **ἐὰν αἰσθανώμεθα** (G. 225). — **ἐκποδὼν ποιούμεθα**, put out of our way.

27. **οἷς δύναται**, by whatever means he can. — **ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ**, and (as a proof) that this is true. See § 33, below. — **ἦν κατανοήτε** (G. 223) ; but **ὅταν βουλώμεθα** (G. 233). — **εἰ ἐγίνωσκε**, if he had this opinion (G. 221), has two apodoses, **ἦν** and **ἐνομίξετο ἄν**. The latter has its main protasis implied in **δικαίως**, if he were justly estimated, to which it conforms (G. 222). See G. 227, 1 ; and *Moods and Tenses*, § 54, 1 (a).

Page 129. — 28. **τοῦ δήμου**, of the democracy. — **τοῖς . . . εἰς ἡμᾶς**, on those who were first brought before us (for judgment), follows **ἐπιτιθέναι** (G. 187). — **αὐτῷ ἀρίσκα**, by *anacoluthon*, where **τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἀρίσκεται** would be expected. — **ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλῇ**, in safety (G. 139, 2).

29. **ὅσῳ . . . φανεροῦ**, by as much as what is secret is harder to guard against than what is open. — **ἐχθιον** (v. **ἐχθρός**), more hostile. — **οὔτε ἰσπεύσαστο οὔτ' ἐπίστευσε**, gnomic aorists (G. 205, 2 ; see N. 1) : the subjunctive **λαμβάνωσι** (G. 233) depends on these aorists, as they are *primary* tenses (G. 201, Rem.). — **τοῦ λοιποῦ**, for the future (G. 179, 1).

30. **ἀναμνήσω** (v. **ἀναμνήσκω**) here takes two accusatives (G. 164) ; this verb may also take the accusative and the genitive (G. 171, 2, N. 3). — **κατὰ τὸν πατέρα**, i. e. as his father had been. — **τοὺς τετρακοσίους**, the oligarchy of the Four Hundred was established in Athens in 411 B. C. ; it lasted only four months. See Grote, Chap. LXII. — **ἀντίπάλον τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ**, a party hostile to the oligarchy.

31. **κόθορνος**, a high buskin, worn by tragic actors : see the cut in Smith's Dict. of Antiq. s. v. *Cothurnus*. — **ἀποβλέπει**, it is adapted to both feet, as the man who is said to resemble it has an eye to both sides. — **ἄνδρα τὸν ἄξιον ζῆν**, the man (who is) fit to live (G. 142, 2). — **οὐ . . . ξύνοντες** : οὐ belongs to εἶναι, and **προάγειν** depends on **θανόν**. — **ὥς ἂν εἰς ὄρεον καταστῶσιν**, until they get into fair sailing (G. 239, 2 ; 233). — **ἐπειδάν τι ἀντικύψῃ** : we should expect the optative, by assimilation to

πλείον (G. 235), and we must translate it like one. See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 34, 1 (b).

32. δῆπου, *no doubt*. — πλείστοις . . . ἀπολωλέναι, *you are in part to blame that very many who were on the side of oligarchy have perished at the hands of the people*: αἰτίας τινί τινος means the cause of something to some one; and αἴτιος may take the simple infinitive (G. 261, 1) as here, or the infinitive with τοῦ (G. 262, 2).

Page 130.—ἀνελίσθαι (v. ἀναιρέω), *to take up or recover*. — ναυμαχ(α, the sea-fight at Arginusae, B. C. 406, in which the Athenian fleet was victorious, but sailed away leaving, besides the slain, more than a thousand perishing upon the wrecks: the commanders were afterwards brought to trial before the people, and six of them sentenced to death, for this neglect; but the trial was hasty and informal, and their execution was regarded by many as a public crime. — ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς, *caused their death*: Theramenes, who was one of the commanders, joined in the accusation of the others.

33. τοῦ πλεονεκεῖν, *gain*; τοῦ καλοῦ, *honor*. — τούτου, gen. after φείσασθαι, v. φείδομαι (G. 171, 2). — ἡμᾶς ταυτό, *the same to us* (G. 165).

34. καλλίστη: Critias, who was a very able man, a kinsman of Plato and a friend of Socrates, wrote a treatise on the excellence of the Spartan constitution. — ἀντὶ . . . πεῖθεσθαι, *instead of yielding to the majority*. — τοῖς παρattoμένοις, *the acts of the government*. — ἄν before οἰεσθε belongs to δέωσθαι (G. 211). — πολλοὺς . . . ὑμῖν, *would make many of those who hold views (γυγνωσκόντων) hostile to you haughty*. — τῶν ξῶ, the political exiles, those who afterwards restored the democracy.

35. ἀποκτείνειν (G. 203). — οὐκ ἤρχον κατ' ἐκείνων λόγου, i. e. *my charge against them did not begin the controversy*. — προσταχθέν, *when it was ordered* (G. 278, 2). — ἀπολογούμενος, *alleging in defence*. — οὐδέ, *not even*. — μὴ εἴπει, *not to say, much less*. — ἔδοξα . . . λέγειν, *was acknowledged to have spoken (seemed to speak) reasonably*.

Page 131.—προέμενοι, v. προίημι. — ἀπολέσθαι (G. 265). — ἀποπλέοντες ἔρχοντο, *sailed away* (G. 279, 4, N.).

36. παρανενομηκέναι, *has acted unlawfully* (i. e. in accusing me); for which some editors suggest the milder παρανενοηκέναι, *has erred in judgment*. — πένιστας, *serfs* (like the Laconian Helots): the charge of exciting a democratic revolt would be particularly galling to a proud aristocrat like Critias.

37. ὦν, sc. ἐκείνων, depending on μηδέν. — μηδέν . . . γένοιτο, *may nothing of the kind be done here*. — ὑμᾶς, obj. of παῦσαι, *depose you* (see § 43, below). — δίκαιον εἶναι explains τάδε, the obj. of ὁμολογῶ. — εἰ κατανοήσετε, see last note on § 31.

38. μέχρι . . . καταστήναι, *until you were established in the magistracy (βουλεῖαν)*: μέχρι τοῦ belongs also to ἀποδειχθῆναι and ὑπάγεσθαι; but with ὑπάγεσθαι, μέχρι must be translated *while*. — Νικηράτου, son of the famous Nicias, who fell in Sicily B. C. 413.

40. ὑπόπτως ἔξοιν, *would be suspicious* (G. 202, 4). — ἕκαστον, see § 21. — τούτων ἀπολομένων (G. 226, 1) represents the protasis to ἔσονται: in the direct form, εἰν οὗτοι ἀπόλωνται, πολέμιοι ἔσονται.

Page 132. — 41. παρηρύντο, *took away* (see § 20, above). — ὅπως . . . ἀφελείν, in appos. with τούτου ἕνεκα (G. 215, Rem.). — μηδέν, *in nothing*. — ἔξην γάρ, &c., *for if they had wanted that, they might have left no one* (G. 222, N. 2) *by distressing* [the city] *with famine a little longer* (ἔτι): πίεσαντας agrees with the understood subj. of λιπεῖν (G. 138, N. 8 b).

42. οὐκ αὖ ἐδόκα μοι, *again, I did not approve*. — τὸ ἀντίπαλον, *the opposition*, of which the head-quarters were with the exiles. — οὕτως, *in this way*, referring to the following protasis. — εἰ . . . προσγενήσονται . . . φανήσονται: μέν and δέ show that εἰ belongs to both verbs. In the direct form the protasis would have the fut. indic. (G. 223, N. 1).

44. ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω and ἃ οὗτοι πράττουσιν are subj. of γίγνεσθαι. — ἂν belongs to βούλεσθαι (G. 211). — οὗτοι, i. e. the Thirty, represented by Critias. — αὐτούς, i. e. the exiles. — χαλεπὸν . . . χώρας, *that they think it would be hard to get even a footing anywhere in the country*: ἡγεῖσθαι, like νομίζειν, depends on οἶμαι (αὐτούς); and χαλεπὸν ἂν εἶναι (= χαλεπὸν ἂν ἦν) depends on ἡγεῖσθαι.

45. οἷος, [such a one] *as*, with infin. (G. 261). — ἃ, sc. ἐκεῖνα (G. 160).

Page 133. — τετρακοσίων, see § 30, above. — πάση πολιτείᾳ, *any form of government* (G. 184, 2).

46. ἐκείνοι οὐδὲν ἀνέσαν, *they (the Spartans) relaxed nothing of their hostility*. — οἱ ἀμφί, &c. the party of the oligarchy (G. 141, N. 3). — ἔρυμα: this was a fort on the mole (χώμα) which commanded the entrance of the harbor of Piræus, built under pretence of defending the city from a hostile fleet, but really to introduce a Lacedæmonian force to uphold the tyranny of the Four Hundred. — ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ποιήσασθαι, *make subject to themselves*.

47. ἀποκαλεῖ, *nicknames*. — ὡς περὶ μένον, *because (as he says) I try*. — τί ποτε, *what in the world?*

48. οὐ πρόσθεν . . . πρὶν, *not . . . until*. — καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι . . . μετέχουσιν, *until even the slaves, and those who for poverty would sell the state for a drachma, should receive a drachma*, i. e. have a seat in the Senate, the pay of a senator being a drachma (17 cts.) a day. Or the passage may mean simply, until all who would sell the state for a drachma should have an opportunity to do so, i. e. *should have a drachma offered them*. — εἶναι ἂν represents εἴη ἂν, and πρὶν . . . μετέχουσιν stands like a conditional relative sentence (G. 240, 1, third example). — οἱ . . . ἂν ἀποδόμνοι (G. 211) is equivalent to ἐκείνοι οἱ . . . ἂν ἀπόδοιντο. — ἐγγενέσθαι ἂν (= ἐγγένοντο ἂν), *could arise or be formed*. — εἰς τὸ . . . τυραννεῖσθαι, *lit. into the [condition of] being under the tyranny of a few*. — τὸ μέντοι . . . πολιτεῖαν, *but with the help of the powerful, both by horses and by shields, to aid the government* (I say) *by these means*; all this is the subject of εἶναι, if the

text is correct. But διὰ τούτων is thus a mere repetition of what precedes, and the words have probably been corrupted in copying.

49. εἰν . . . ἐλεγχθῶ . . . πράττων . . . πεποιηκώς, if I am (shall be) convicted of doing . . . or of having done (G. 280): the apodosis δικαίως ἂν ἀποθνήσκειν, that I should justly die, has another protasis implied in παθών (= εἰ πάθομι); see note on § 27, above. — ἐσχατάτα (double superlative), *extremest*.

50. δῆλη . . . ἐπιθουρήσασα, let it be seen that it applauded with favor (G. 280, N. 1).

Page 134. — εἰ ἐπιτρέψῃ: some MSS. have ἐπιτρέψοι, corresponding to ἐποφεύζοιτο (see G. 247, N. 1). — οὐ βιωτόν, intolerable. — τοὺς . . . ἔχοντας, the young men mentioned in § 23. — φανερώς τῇ βουλῇ (G. 185). — δρυφάκτοις, the railing, which separated the Senate from the spectators.

51. προστάτου . . . οἷον δεῖ, that it is the duty of a leader who is what he ought to be (for τοιοῦτου οἷον εἶναι δεῖ). — ὅς ἂν . . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃ, not to permit: irregular for τὸ . . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπαι. — οἷδε, the young men above mentioned. — τῶν ὄντων, dep. on μηδένα. — κυρίους θανάτου, competent to put to death. — ξυνδοκοῦν, since it is agreed on (G. 278, 2).

52. Ἑστίαν: the altar of Hestia (*Vesta*), the Goddess of the Household, "the senatorial hearth, the altar and sanctuary in the midst of the Senate house." — ἐπὶ Κριτίᾳ, in the power of Critias.

53. ὑμῶν, obj. of θαυμάζω (G. 171, 2). — καὶ ταῦτα γινώσκοντες, and that too, when you know. — οὐδέν (G. 160, 2). — τὸ ὑμῶν ἐκάστου, that of any one of you.

54. τοὺς ἑνδεκα, the Eleven, who had charge of prisons and executions. — ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην, to seize Theramenes. — ἐκεῖνοι, nom. without verb.

Page 135. — οὐ δεῖ, to the proper place, with ἀπαγαγόντες. — τὰ ἐκ τούτων, what follows from this, i. e. execution.

55. τὸ ἔμπροσθεν, the space in front.

56. δηλοῦντα οἷα ἔπασχε, proclaiming aloud the treatment he was suffering. — οὐκ . . . οἰμᾶσθαι, shall I not suffer? The word, as used by Satyrus, meant that he would suffer for it if he did not keep quiet. — τὸ λεπτόμενον, i. e. the last few drops of hemlock. — ἀποκοτταβίσαντα, jerking out: the κότταβος was a sort of toast, in which the guest flung out a few drops of wine, at the same time calling the name of his beloved; the sound of the wine, as it struck the mark aimed at, was accepted as an omen, or sign of favor. — ἐκεῖνο τοῦ ἀνδρός, this quality of the man. — τό belongs to ἀπολιπεῖν, in appos. with ἐκεῖνο.

"The scene just described," says Mr. Grote, "is one of the most striking and tragical in ancient history. The atrocious injustice by which Theramenes perished, as well as the courage and self-possession which he displayed in the moment of danger, and his cheerfulness even in the prison, not inferior to that of Socrates three years afterwards, naturally enlist the warmest sympathies in his favor. But . . . he was a selfish, cunning,

and faithless man ; ready to enter into conspiracies, yet never foreseeing their consequences ; and breaking faith to the ruin of colleagues whom he had first encouraged, when he found them more consistent and thorough-going in crime than himself."

IV. 1. *προείπον μὴ εἰσέναι*, i. e. *excluded or expelled from the city*. — *ἦγον*, *arrested* : it was said that as many as fifteen hundred prisoners suffered death. Among the banished were the most eminent intellectual teachers, native or foreign, Socrates being hardly spared. — *φευγόντων*, genitive absolute. — *ἐπέπλησαν* (v. *ἐμπλήμι*), i. e. the Thirty *caused Megara, &c. to be filled with the fugitives (εποχωρούντων)*.

2. *ὡς σὺν*, *with about*. — *Φυλὴν*, *Phyle*, a frontier fortress among the hills, on the road to Thebes, about fifteen miles from Athens.

Page 136.—3. *τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ*, *during the night* (G. 179, 1) *and on the next day* (G. 189). — *ὑπό*, [taken] *by*.

4. *ληλατήσουσιν*, *would forage* (i. e. those in Phyle). — *φυλάς* : the Attic army was mustered according to the ten tribes.

5. *συνελεγμένων* (v. *συλλέγω*), *as there were gathered*, gen. abs. with *περὶ ἐπτακοσίους*.

6. *ἀνίσταντο*, i. e. the forces of the Thirty. — *ὅποι*, *to [the post] where* (after *ἀνίσταντο*, which implies motion), i. e. *each to his own work*. — *ὅπλων*, *encampment*. — *ἔστι μὲν οὖς*, *some* (G. 152, N. 2).

Page 137.—8. *ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύσι*, *under guard of the cavalry*. — *πόσοι εἶεν*, i. e. the people of Eleusis. — *προσδεήσονται* (G. 243), *how much additional garrison they would need* (i. e. in consequence of the seizure of Phyle). — *τὸν δὲ ἐξόντα*, *every one as he went out*. — *ξυναλημμένοι* (v. *συλλαμβάνω*), *seized*. A similar visit and seizure of prisoners was made at Salamis. — *τοῖς ἑνδεκα*, i. e. for execution.

9. *Ὀιδεῖον* : not the Odeum of Pericles, but the older building near the Ilissus, once used as a theatre. — *τοὺς ἄλλους*, those not mentioned in § 4 and § 6. — *ταῦτά ἡμῖν*, *the same with us* (G. 159, N. 2 ; 186, N. 2).

10. *ὅσοις . . ἐμελεν*, *to such as cared only for gain*. The number thus put to death, says Lysias, was about three hundred. — *ἐβόθουν*, *went to their relief* (i. e. that of their party in Piræus). — *ἔπατα*, i. e. on approaching the Piræus. — *ἀναφέρουσιν*, *leading up*, i. e. to the high ground.

11. *μὴ ἀνέναντι αὐτοῖς*, *not to let them come up*, i. e. upon any of the high land of the peninsula. — *κύκλος*, the whole circuit of the fortifications which surrounded the Piræus. The name Piræus was given to the whole peninsula with its three harbors ; this included Munychia, which was the high hill on the east side of the peninsula, directly overlooking the smallest of the three harbors, the little bay of Munychia. The town of Piræus occupied part of the larger lower hill south of the great harbor (the harbor called Piræus), and extended across the isthmus along the shore, and over the low land west and northwest of Munychia, to the place at which the two long walls from Athens joined the fortifications of the Piræus. In

this northern part of the town of Piraeus was the market-place named for Hippodamus of Miletus, who was employed by Pericles to lay out the new town of Piraeus. Hippodamus astonished the Athenians by his broad straight streets, crossing each other at right angles. One of these was the street here mentioned, leading from the great square (the ἀγορά) up the hill of Munychia; on which hill stood the temple of Artemis Munychia and that of the Thracian Artemis (Bendis). [On many maps the relative positions of Munychia and Piraeus are reversed, and Phalerum is wrongly made one of the three harbors of the peninsula of Piraeus.]

Page 138.—ἐγένοντο . . . ἀσπίδων, *they formed* [a body] *not less than fifty shields in depth*. — ἀνω, *upwards*, to Munychia.

12. ἀνανέπλησαν, i. e. Thrasybulus and his men *filled* the upper part of the same street *to oppose* them. — ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, *behind them*. — αὐτόθεν, *from that quarter*. — ἐν ᾧ, *while*. — θέσθαι, *to rest* the shield on the ground. — στάς, *taking his stand* (not *standing*): see G. 200, N. 5 b.

13. εἰσὶ τῶν προσιώντων, &c., *there are among those who are advancing against us* (G. 169, 1), *first, those on the right, whom, &c.* — ἡμέραν πέμπτην, *four days ago* (G. 161, N.). See Anab. 4, V. 24. — ἀπεσημαίνοντο, *marked for death*: this word usually means *to put a seal on property taken for confiscation* (see above, II. 21, with note). — οὐ, *where*, explained in the next section.

14. ἔχοντες . . . καθίσταμεν, *we stand in front of them, with arms in our hands*. — ὅτι . . . ξυνελαμβανόμεθα, *because we were seized while dining, &c.* — οἱ δὲ καὶ, *some of us also*. — οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικοῦντες, *not only when we were guilty of no wrong*: lit. *not to speak of our being guilty of any wrong*: in full οὐ λέξω ὅπως (= ὥς) ἀδικοῦντες ἐφυγαδευόμεθα. — χαίμωνα, &c., see §§ 3 and 6 (above).

Page 139.—15. ἐξίζόμεθα, v. ἐξικνέομαι: it governs the gen. by G. 171, 1.

16. ᾤετο ἂν τις, *one might suppose* (G. 226, 2). — ἀμαρτήσεται, *will miss*: the object αὐτῶν (antec. of ὧν, § 238) is understood. — δραπετεύουσιν, *will skulk*, a word used in contempt of fugitive slaves. — ἐναλλομένους, *leaping or rushing upon them*, agrees with ἡμᾶς, the omitted subject of ἀνατρέπαν, instead of agreeing with ἡμῖν understood after ἐξίσταται (G. 138, N. 8).

17. ἕκαστός τις . . . ὧν, *each man shall be conscious to himself of being the main cause of victory* (G. 217). — αὕτη, *she*, viz. νίκη. — οἷς εἰσὶ, *to those who have them* (G. 153, N. 1). — ἡμῶν, gen. part. after οἷς. — ἐπιδώσει (G. 232, 3), v. ἐφοράω. — μνημεῖον . . . τεύξεται, *for none so rich, who shall win so fair a sepulchre*: the construction is idiomatic; understand οὕτως before καλοῦ. — Ἐνυάλιον, *the God of battles*, a name of Ares (or Mars). — ἀνθ' ἃν ὑβρίσθημεν, *in requital of the insults we have borne*: the active construction would be, ταῦτα ἡμᾶς ὑβρίζαν (G. 159, N. 4; 153, N. 1).

18. ὁ μάντις : the article is used because the *prophet* or *diviner* had his official place in the host. — ἐπειδὴν . . . δοκεῖ, the words of the diviner.

19. τέθαιπται, *lies buried*. — τῶν δέκα, chiefs of the force established by the Thirty. — Χαρμίδης : he was an uncle of Plato, from whom one of Plato's dialogues is named. — πολλοί, *many* [of both parties].

Page 140.—20. ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κήρυξ, *the herald of the* [Eleusinian] *mysteries*, belonging to one of the ancient priestly families. (See *Eumolpidae* in Smith's Dict. of Antiquities). — κατασιωπησάμενος, *having proclaimed silence*. — ξυγχορευταί, *companions in the choral dance*.

21. πρὸς, *in the name of*. — ὀλίγου δαίν, *almost* (G. 268). — ἀπεκτόνασιν, v. ἀποκτείνω. — μηνί, v. μῆν. — δέκα ἔτη, the last ten years of the Peloponnesian war, the Decelean war.

22. τῶν ἀποθανόντων, part. gen. after ἔστιν οὗς. — ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . κατεδακρύσαμεν, *some of them we too greatly lamented*. — οἱ λοιποί, *the survivors* of the Thirty.

23. ξυνεκάθηγτο, v. συγκάθημαι. — διεφέροντο, *disputed, wrangled*. — βιαιότερον (sc. τοῦ προσήκοντος), *unusually or unduly violent*.

Page 141.—τοῖς τριάκοντα, dat. after πείθεσθαι. — τὸ τελευταῖον, *finally* (G. 160, 2). — ἐκείνους καταπαύσαι, *to depose them* (the Thirty).

24. Ἐλευσινιάδε (G. 61), see § 8, above. — τῶν ἐν ἄστει, *those in the city* (gen. following ἐπεμέλοντο). — ἐφώδεον, *they patrolled*. — τὸ μὲν ἄφ' ἑσπέρας (G. 161), *after dark*. — τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὄρθρον, *but towards morning*, an exception to the preceding statement.

25. οἵτινες, [to] *whoever* : understand an antecedent dative after ἔσθαι, depending on πιστὰ δόντες, *giving pledges that all who, &c. should have equal rights*. The direct discourse would be [πᾶσιν] οἵτινες ἂν ξυπολεμήσωσι, καὶ ἂν ξῖνοι ὦσιν, ἰσοτέλεια ἔσεται.

Many exiles came to their aid, others sent money or arms, — the orator Lysias sending two hundred shields and two thousand drachmas in money, and hiring, besides, 300 fresh soldiers ; there was one loan of five talents in money (\$ 5,400), afterwards repaid by the people.

26. ἔστιν ὅτε, *at times*. — ληστὰς ἐχαροῦντο, *roughly handled foragers*. — Αἰξωνίεον, *men from Aexone*, a town (or deme) on the coast of Attica. — πολλῶν ἰππέων, i. e. many of the men under Lysimachus.

27. τῶν ἰππέων, possessive gen. (sc. ὄντα) after Καλλίστρατον.

Page 142.—εἰ δὲ . . . δεῖ εἰπεῖν, *if I may be permitted to speak* : the apodosis (ἐρῶ, *I will speak*) is omitted. — τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ depends on τοῦτο. — κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον, *over the race-course leading from the Lyceum*. The Lyceum was a gymnasium just outside of the city walls on the east ; and it was used in the next century by Aristotle as his place of instruction, as the Academy was used by Plato (see note on II. 8, above).

For this reason the word is a familiar one in modern languages, though in a somewhat different meaning. — *δπου βούλοιτο* (G. 248). — *τοῦ δρόμου*, partitive gen. after *δπου*. — *πράγματα*, trouble.

28. *δτι . . . εἴη*, that it was possible (not would be) : the direct discourse was *οἷόν τέ ἐστιν . . . ἂν ἀποκλεισθῶσιν* (G. 223). — *αὐτοῖς*, the oligarchy at Athens.

29. *μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ*, were highly elated with hopes of Lysander. — *προχωρούντων* (sc. *τῶν πραγμάτων*), when matters were thus going on. — *εἰ . . . εὐδοκμήσοι . . . ποιήσοιτο* (G. 248, 2 ; 226, 4, N. 1) *πέσας*, by consent of. — *φρουράν* (in its Spartan sense), an armed force.

Lysander's selfish policy had already disgusted the general feeling of the Greeks ; and a party in Sparta, jealous of his authority, were resolved that he should not plant his own creatures a second time as rulers of Athens. On his arrival at Athens, Pausanias was beset with prayers for protection and redress by those who had suffered from the tyranny of the oligarchs, which strongly inclined him to make terms with the patriot party.

30. *δτι ἐγγνωσκον*, because they were of opinion : they suspected that Pausanias meant to make Attica a separate province of Sparta (*οἰκίαν καὶ πωστήν*). — *Ἀλιπεῖα*, the low land near Piraeus.

Page 143. — 31. *ἐπὶ τὰ ταυτῶν*, to their homes. — *δσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἐνεκεν*, only for appearance' sake (lit. as far as shouting went, implying with no real purpose). One preposition is superfluous, and the simpler *δσον ἀπὸ βοῆς* is found in later Greek. — *δῆλος . . . ὦν* (G. 280, N. 1). — *κωφὸν λιμένα*, the still harbor, probably the small cove west of the principal harbor of Piraeus. — *πῇ εὐαποτείχιστος*, i. e. where was the best line for blockading the Piraeus (i. e. on the side towards Athens).

32. *ἐνέντας* (v. *ἐνῆμι*), at full speed, used intransitively. — *τοὺς . . . ἡβητας*, i. e. those who had been ten years of the military age ; referring to the civic ἐφηβία, which began in the eighteenth year.

33. *ἐπὶ πόδα*, backward (without turning). — *οἱ τεθαμμένοι* (v. *θάπτω*) *ἐν Κεραμακῷ*, i. e. whose graves are in the Ceramicus. The outer Ceramicus is described by Thucydides as "the most beautiful suburb" of Athens. It was northwest of the city, and the road to the Academy (see note on II. § 8, above) passed through it. On this road (as on the Roman Via Appia) were many monuments of illustrious men, especially of such as had fallen in battle.

34. *ἐπὶ ὀκτώ*, eight deep. — *ξεώσθησαν*, v. *ξεώβω*. — *ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς* : this must refer to the marshy district at the junction of Piraeus with the mainland, not to either of the Attic demes called Ἀλαί.

Page 144. — 35. *οὐδ' ὥς*, not even under these circumstances : *ὥς* for *οὕτως* is rare in Attic prose (G. 29, N.). — *οἷα* is object of *λέγοντας*, which belongs to *πρέσβεις*. — *δίσσῃ*, divided (by making discord). "It seems plain that this is not a correct account. Pausanias did not create this dis-

cord, but found it already existing, and had to choose which of the parties he would adopt. The peace-party was already uppermost in Athens, and it was both easiest, and most for the Lacedaemonian interest, to follow the course he did." Grote.

36. νομίζεται, *it is according to [Spartan] custom.* — τῆς γνώμης ὄντες, *being of the opinion.*

37. ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, *i. e. those representing the government*, the Ten (§§ 23, 24), the first embassy being sent by Pausanias. — χρῆσθαι ὃ π βούλονται, *to deal with as they pleased* (G. 248). — ἀξιούν, *thought fit.*

38. ἔχεν (G. 267). — ἀπιέναι, &c., *i. e. no man should be molested for past acts, except the Thirty, &c.*

39. διήκει (v. διήμι), *disbanded.*

Page 145.—40. ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ἄνδρες, *i. e. those who had fought against Thrasylbulus.* — γινῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, *to come to know yourselves.* — ἐπὶ τίν . . . φρονητέον . . . ὥστε, *on what ground you have a right to be (so) presuming, as, &c.* — δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκει, *i. e. you have no claim on the score of justice.*

41. ἣ ὥς, *than the manner in which.* — οἷ γε would naturally be the subject of οἴχονται, but it is disregarded after the clause ὥσπερ . . . παραδιδάσιν, and κἀκεῖνοι is introduced (by *anacoluthon*) after οὕτω. The subject of παραδιδάσιν is τινές understood. — ἀπιόντες (G. 279, 4, n.).

42. ὦ ἄνδρες : here he addresses his own followers, who had just taken the oath in the Acropolis. — οὐ . . . ἀξιώ . . . παραβῆναι οὐδέν, *I adjure you not to violate any part of the oath which you have taken (ὦν οὐδέν = οὐδὲν ἐκείνων ᾧ).* Οὐκ ἀξιώ sometimes means *I ask some one not to do something* (like οὐ φημι, *I deny*) : here οὐδέν (not μηδέν) merely repeats the negative idea expressed in οὐ . . . ἀξιώ. — ἐπιδειξαι depends on ἀξιώ (without οὐ).

43. ἀρχάς, *magistrates (authorities)* : the chief Archon then chosen, the *Eponymus* of the year 403–402, was Euclides, whose year is a famous era in Athenian history. — τοὺς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι : see § 24, above. — ἡ μὲν, a formula often prefixed to an oath. — μὴ μνησικακήσαν, *not to remember evil*, *i. e. they declared an amnesty (α- and μνήστις).* A part of the oath was as follows : καὶ οὐ μνησικακήσω τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδενί, πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα. — δμου πολιτεύονται, *they conduct the government in harmony*, *i. e. the oligarchical party and the democracy.*

After these events, Athens was still left comparatively weak, disabled by the loss of her fortifications and of the long walls connecting the city with the port, until the great naval victory of Conon at Cnidus (B. C. 394) enabled him to rebuild the walls, and restore to the city something of its ancient glory and strength.

HERODOTUS.

THE subject of the historical work of Herodotus, as he himself announces it, is the famous invasion of Greece by Xerxes. The greater part of his history, however, is taken up with an introduction to this subject, in which he gives an account of almost every nation in the world with which the Greeks had come in contact, and preserves many valuable fragments of the early history of both Athens and Sparta as well as other Greek states.

The Persian Wars (490–479 B. C.) mark one of the most important eras in the political history of Athens. It was a period of anxious excitement and finally of terrible hardship, a fierce struggle for existence, from which the Athenian democracy emerged in full maturity. Before the restoration of Athens after the battle of Plataea, the constitution was far from being purely democratic. The constitution of Solon (594 B. C.) had given the great body of the people very limited political and judicial functions, excluding all except the wealthiest class from the chief magistracy, the archonship, and the fourth or lowest class from all civic offices. Even the constitution of Clisthenes, which followed the expulsion of the family of Pisistratus (510 B. C.), did not venture to remove these barriers which guarded the offices of state, although it did allow the lot to decide in most cases between candidates who had the legal qualifications. But after the battle of Plataea, even the conservative Aristides felt that the time was come when the right of the whole people to govern the state which they had saved from destruction must be recognized. He then proposed the decisive law which abolished all political distinctions between the citizens, and opened all the offices of state to all Athenians. Thus completely had the common sufferings united all parties and silenced all doubts.

The chief events of this memorable period are the battle of Marathon in 490 B. C.; the defence of Thermopylae by the Spartan king Leonidas, and the two sea-fights at Artemisium and Salamis, in 480 B. C.; and the battles of Plataea and Mycale (on the same day) in 479 B. C.

Herodotus was born at Halicarnassus, one of the Doric cities on the western coast of Asia Minor, about the year 484 B. C. In his manhood he travelled extensively in Asia, Egypt, and Greece, — a keen, intelligent, and accurate observer. His history is one of the earliest, and is much the most curious and interesting, of our sources of knowl-

edge as to the countries, people, customs, history, local politics, and family traditions of the century before his own day. It is in nine Books, named for the nine Muses. It is full of illustrations of the religious beliefs, omens, oracles, customs, and feelings of the time. The conflict between Asia and Europe appears in Herodotus as part of a great drama, in which the Argonautic expedition and the Trojan war had been successive acts, which was watched at every point and guided by the manifest direction of the Gods; while in the earlier parts of his History he is constantly tracing proofs of that divine judgment, which humbles the pride and punishes the crimes of men.

Asia Minor, with the Greek colonies on its western coast, had been added to the Persian dominions by Cyrus the Great, who conquered Croesus, king of Lydia, B.C. 546. About the year B.C. 500, the Ionic cities, with Miletus at their head, revolted against the Persian rule; and, with the help of allies from Greece, especially the Athenians, captured and burned the Lydian capital, Sardis. The war continued about six years, and ended in a complete Persian victory. The Ionic city of Miletus was captured and reduced to slavery, to the passionate grief of its generous allies in Athens. But the attention of the Persians had been drawn to the free states and islands towards the west, and these hostilities led the way to their two formidable invasions. Meanwhile the tyrant Hippias, son of Pisistratus, had been driven from Athens (B.C. 510), and had taken refuge at the Persian court. He was now a feeble old man; but his hate of the Athenians and desire of revenge made him eager to serve the invader, whom he accompanied himself to the plain of Marathon.

Although Herodotus was a Dorian by birth, he wrote his History in Ionic Greek. His intercourse with the Ionic cities in his immediate neighborhood must have made him familiar with their speech, even if we reject the account given by Suidas of his long residence as an exile in the Ionic island of Samos. But he probably chose the Ionic dialect chiefly because it had been used by the historians or annalists who preceded him. The dialect of Herodotus is known as the *New Ionic*, which, where it differs from the Attic, is very similar to the Old Ionic of Homer. Its general peculiarities should be learnt by the beginner from the grammar.* Others will be seen in the Lexicon; as the use of κ for π in $\kappa\omega\varsigma$, $\delta\kappa\omega\varsigma$, $\kappa\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$, &c., for $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$, $\pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$, &c., and the interchange of aspirates in $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\nu$, $\kappa\iota\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$, for $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\upsilon\theta\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\nu$, $\chi\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$. The chief peculiarity in syntax is the use of

* See G. Introduction, pp. 1 and 2; §§ 30; 39; 44; 59; 67, Note 1; 70; Notes to 76-86; §§ 119; 120; 126; Notes to 127; see also §§ 140, Note 4; 144, 2 (b); 148, Note 4. Much of the detail in the notes can be learnt by practice while reading.

the forms of the article beginning with τ as relative pronouns (G. 140, n. 4), which must be kept constantly in mind.

The story of the Persian Wars is begun in the sixth book of Herodotus, and is continued in the three following books. The extracts here given include the battle of Marathon and the battles of Thermopylae, Artemisium, and Salamis, and end with the retreat of Xerxes to Asia after his defeat at Salamis. They begin with VI. 48, to which V. 105 is prefixed by way of introduction.

I.

Page 146. — 1. βασιλεῖ, uncontracted form for βασιλει (G. 53, 3). — *ὧς, when.* — Σάρδεις = Σάρδεις (G. 53, 1, n. 3), accus. plural. — Ἰόνων . . . ποιησάμενον, *making no account of the Ionians.* — μετὰ δέ, *but afterwards* (G. 191, n. 2). — πυθόμενον, like ὧς ἐπιθέτο above. — εἰσεσθαι, *used to ask*, imperfect infinitive (G. 203, n. 1). — ἀπείναι for ἀφείναι (v. ἀφήμι : G. 17, 1, n.), *let fly.* — μὲν for αὐτόν (G. 79, 1, n. 4), i. e. the arrow. — βάλλοντα, *as he let it fly* (G. 204). — ἐγενέσθαι, infinitive for optative in a wish (G. 270), *be it granted.* — προστάζει depends on λέγεται (third line). — ἐς τρίς, *thrice.* — ἐκάστοτε, i. e. every day at supper. — μέμνεο (for μέμνησο), as if from a present μέμνομαι : the form μέμνη is found in Homer.

2. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο : Darius had sent an army and a fleet in 492 B. C., under his son-in-law Mardonius, to subdue Eretria and Athens, reducing the Greek populations on the way. Some, including the Macedonians, were subdued by the army ; but as the fleet beat about Mount Athos, "there fell on them a north wind, great and ungovernable, which treated them very roughly, dashing many of the ships against Athos ; three hundred of them are said to have perished, and more than twenty thousand men. And as this sea about Athos is most full of monsters, many were seized and devoured by them, and some were crushed against the rocks ; and some could not swim and so were lost ; and some perished with cold. So then fared that fleet." (Hdt. VI. 44.) After some successes in the south of Thrace, Mardonius returned to Asia. — *ὃ τι ἔχουσιν*, indirect question. — *κόττερα = πότερον.* — *ἑνὶ ᾧ = ἑαυτῷ.* — *σφέας αὐτοῦς = ἑαυτούς.* — *ὧν = οὖν, therefore.* — *ἄλλους ἄλλη τάξας*, i. e. *ordering them to different places.* — *πόλιας = πόλεις* (G. 53, 1, n. 3). — *νέας μακράς, ships of war, naves longas.*

3. τὰ προύσχετο αἰτέων, *what he put forward as his demand.* — *ἐς τοὺς ἀπικούατο = εἰς οὓς ἀφίκοντο* (G. 233). — *καὶ δὲ καί*, lit. *and moreover also*, an emphatic formula very common in Hdt. Here it stands for the usual *καὶ* in the expression *ἄλλοι τε . . . καί.* — *σφίσι* (G. 79, 1, n. 2), used like *αὐτοῖς* in Attic (G. 144, 2.) — *ἐπεκτάτο* (G. 127, VI. n.). *ἐπὶ σφίσι ἔχοντας*, *aiming a blow at them* (as English, "have at them").

Page 147. — *ὧς . . . στρατεύωνται*, *so as to join the Persians in marching upon them.* The jealousy thus roused threatened a war which would

have divided and weakened Greece: it was composed in season, and the men of Aegina fought bravely against the Persians at Salamis and Plataea. — τὰ πεποιήκοιεν, *what* [as the Athenians said] *they had done* (G. 248, 4, last ex.). — συνήπτο: the active form συνάπτειν πόλεμον (cf. συνάπτειν μάχην in § 12, to join battle), means, to engage in war. The hostility between Aegina and Athens is traced by Herodotus to the following circumstance: In time of famine, the Epidaurians had brought two statues of sacred olive-wood from Athens, paying therefor a yearly service at the shrine of Erechtheus. After these had for many years been effectual to avert the barrenness of the land, they were stolen by Aeginetans, colonists of Epidaurus, and the tribute ceased. The Athenians then sent to demand it at Aegina; but, while they were attempting to drag away the sacred statues, a violent storm burst forth, with an earthquake, so that their whole expedition, struck with frenzy, fell upon one another and perished, except one man who fled to tell the tale.

4. ὥστε is used with the participle by Hdt. in the same sense as ὅτε in Attic (G. 277, N. 2b); not in the sense of ὅς. — Πεισιστρατιδίων, i. e. Hippias and his household. Pisistratus, the father of Hippias, became tyrant at Athens B. C. 560. Hippias was expelled and the democracy restored B. C. 510, twenty years before the battle of Marathon. — προσκατημένον = προσκαθημένων. — ταύτης . . . προφάσις, adhering to this purpose. — Ἑλλάδος, partitive genitive with τοὺς μὴ δόντας. — φλαύρως πρήξαντα, cf. κακῶς πράττειν (G. 165, N. 2). — παραλῖς, "relieves." — ἀποδείξας = ἀποδείξας, having appointed. — Δάτιν, Ἀρταφέρνης, in apposition with στρατηγούς.

Here follows the expedition of the fleet against the Grecian islands, and the capture of Eretria, in Euboea, the inhabitants of which were colonized by Darius eastward of the Persian Gulf.

5. ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν: Eretria was opposite the northern point of Attica, across the strait, which is here about five miles wide. — κατέργοντες = καθ-έργοντες, *hemming* in the Athenians *greatly*: the word is doubtful. — δοκίοντες . . . τὰ, *expecting to do the same by the Athenians, as, &c.* (G. 165). — καὶ . . . γάρ: here the separate force of these particles can be seen, *and . . . for*. Generally, however, καὶ γάρ means simply *for surely* (more emphatic than γάρ alone), the original ellipsis of a clause with καὶ being forgotten. — ὁ Μαραθὼν: "the plain of Marathon is about six miles from north to south, and of varying width, having the eastern declivities of Pentelicus on the west, and the sea on the east." Felton. It is about twenty miles northeast from Athens, and fifteen southeast from Eretria. — ἐνιππεύσαι, i. e. *for cavalry movements*. — κατηγέρο = καθηγέρο. — σφε (G. 171, 3, N.). — δέκα, i. e. one from each Attic tribe. — δέκατος, *one of ten* (not tenth). — τοῦ, *whose*. — κατέλαβε, *it befell*: its subject is φεύγειν, which means properly *to get banished* (aorist), while φεύγειν is *to be in exile*: φεύγω is of course transitive, lit. *to flee from*, hence Πεισιστρατών.

6. *ἦκων ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου*: this refers to the Thracian Chersonesus (on the west side of the Hellespont), where Miltiades had been several years governor or "despot." Hence Byron's familiar lines,

"The tyrant of the Chersonese," &c.

His uncle, Miltiades, the so-called *οἰκιστής* (or *founder* of the Chersonese), had led the first Athenian colony to this region during the reign of Pisistratus. Miltiades the younger, according to Herodotus, had advised breaking down the bridge on the Danube, and leaving Darius to perish in his campaign against the Scythians (about 516 B. C.): hence the king's enmity against him, and attempt to seize him, described below.

Page 148. — *περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιεῖντο*, *made great efforts*. — *τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, θηρεύον*. — *ὑποδεξάμενοι*, *watching for his return*: the simple *ἰδεάμεν* in Ionic Greek, as in Attic, belongs to *δέχομαι*: but in compounds care must be taken to avoid confusion with this and similar Ionic forms (as *ἰδέχθην*) belonging to *δεῖκνυμι*. — *ἀπεδέχθη*, *was appointed*.

7. *τοῦτο μελεῶντα*, i. e. this was his profession. — *τῷ = φ*, dative after *περιπίπτε*, *falls in with* (G. 187). — *βώσαντα* (v. *βοάω*), *calling*. — *Πάνα*, subject of *κελεύσαι*, which depends on *εἶπε* understood: Pan was the Pelasgic (i. e. aboriginal) deity, whose chief seat of worship was the Pelasgic district of Arcadia. — *ἀπαγγέλλαι*, *to carry this message* (implying *to ask*). — *διδότι* (= *διὰ τί*) . . . *ποιεῖνται*, *why they paid no reverence to him*. — *τὰ δέ* is used before *ἔτι* as if *τὰ μὲν* stood before *πολλαχῇ*. — *κατασθέντων* . . . *πρηγμάτων*, *when their affairs were now restored to good condition*. — *εἶναι*: the subject is *ταῦτα* after *πιστεύσαντες*. — *ἱρόν*, *shrine*: this was a grotto below the Acropolis, with a descent of 47 steps. — *ἀπό*, *in consequence of*. — *λαμπάδι*, *a torch-race*.

8. *δευτεραῖος*, *within two days*: the distance is about 140 miles. — *περιπεσούσαν* (like *περιπείσειν*), aorist participle without time (G. 279, 3). — *πρός*, *at the hands of*. — *πόλι*, dative of difference (G. 188, 2): *Greece is become poorer by one notable city*. — *ἔαδε*, v. *ἀνδάνω*. — *ἀδύνατα ἦν*, *it was impossible*, a common expression for *ἀδύνατον ἦν* (G. 135, 2).

Page 149. — *ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνός*: the lunar month was divided into three parts, called *ιστάμενος*, *μεσών*, *φθίνων*. — *εἰνάτη* = *ἐνάτη*, *ninth*. It is supposed that in this particular month occurred the Carneia, the great Dorian festival in honor of Apollo, lasting from the seventh to the fifteenth (i. e. till the full moon), during which no Dorian might bear arms. It occurred generally in August, but this year early in September. — *μὴ οὐ* (G. 283, 7, Rem.) . . . *τοῦ κύκλου*, *while the moon's disk was not yet full*.

9. *συνεννυθῆναι τῇ μητρὶ*: this he understood to mean, that he should sleep in the grave in his native land. — *γῆραιός*, *in his old age*. — *κατελθών* (G. 138, N. 8).

10. *τοῦτα μὲν . . . τοῦτο δέ* (G. 148, N. 4). — *ἀπέβησε*, *put ashore*. — *καταγομένας*, *brought to land*: the corresponding *ἀνάγεσθαι* is *to put to sea*. — *οἷ*, *to him*, dative following *ἐπηλθε*. — *ἑώθε* for *εἰώθε*, v. *ἔθω*. — *οἷα*

(G. 277, N. 2 b) with *ἔοντι*, since he was. — *πρεσβυτέρῳ*, rather old. — *ἐξηλθῆναι*, had come to pass (lit. had come out).

11. *ἐν τεμένει Ἡρακλέος*, i. e. in Marathon. — *Πλαταιαίς*, the city of Plataea was about twenty-five miles northwest from Athens, in the territory of Boeotia. — *ἀναρραϊάτο*, for *ἀνήρητο*, v. *ἀναιρέω*, had undertaken (G. 119, 3). — *ἐκαστέρῳ*, too far off (to be of any use to you).

Page 150. — *τοιγάρ . . . ψυχρή*, such a service would prove to be cold, i. e. too weak to be of use. — *φθαίητε . . . ἡμέων*, for you might be enslaved many times before any of us would hear (G. 279, 2): *πυθίσθαι* here follows *φθαίητε* ἢ from the force of *πρὶν* implied in the verb (G. 274, N.); a rare construction. — *τιμωρεῖν οὐ κακοῖσι*, no towards to help. — *συνιστεύσας*, v. *συνίστημι*, coming in collision. — *Βοιωτοῖσι*: especially Thebans, who would object to the proposed union of Plataea and Athens.

12. *οὐκ ἠπίστησαν*, i. e. they followed their advice. — *ποιούντων* is temporal. — *ἐπιτρεφάντων ἀμφοτέρων*, both sides choosing them umpires. — *οὐρίσαν* for *ᾠρίσαν*, v. *ὀρίζω*. — *ἔαν . . . τελείν*, that the Thebans should leave at liberty (*ἔαν*) those of the Boeotians who were unwilling to belong to the Boeotian league, which was under the exclusive control of Thebes.

13. *ἐπεθήκαντο* (G. 110, III. 1, N. 1). — *ἑσώθησαν* (for *ἤσσω*, v. *ἡσάσμαι*), were defeated. — *τοὺς . . . οὄρους*, the boundaries which, &c.: *τοῖς* is relative.

14. *ἐγίνοντο δῖχα*, were divided. — *τῶν μὲν*, &c., one part voting not to engage. — *ὀλίγους*, too few. — *τῶν δέ*, &c., the other, including Miltiades, urging it. — *ἐνίκα ἢ χείρων*, the more timid was likely to prevail (imperfect). — *κυάμῳ λαχὼν*, elected by lot (lit. by the bean). The polemarch was the third in rank of the nine archons, and he was originally (as his name denotes) a military commander. Soon after the Persian Wars, however, his duties were confined to the management of the affairs of foreigners resident at Athens, and military matters were left to the board of ten generals (*στρατηγοί*).

Page 151. — 15. *οὐδέ*, &c., not even Harmodius and Aristogiton, who delivered Athens by slaying Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus and brother of Hippias, who was then tyrant: they were from the same deme with Callimachus (Aphidnae). — *δέδοκται τὰ πέσονται*, it is already determined what they shall suffer: i. e. the tyranny of the Pisistratidae will be restored and the democracy abolished. — *πριγένηται*, shall get the victory. — *οὐκ ἔστι* (G. 151, N. 4). — *ἀνῆκε ἐς σέ*, has come up to you [for decision]. — *ἐλπομαι*, I anticipate. — *στάσει*, commotion or civil conflict. — *ὥστε μηδίσαι*, so that they will favor the Persians, i. e. prove traitors to the national cause: in this verb *μηδίζω*, and often elsewhere, the Persians are incorrectly called *Medes* by the Greek writers. — *πρὶν τι . . . ἐγγενέσθαι*, before there come anything rotten (cowardly or corrupt) into one and another of the Athenians. — *θεῶν . . . νεμόντων*, if the Gods judge justly. — *ἢν ὁλη*, if you prefer (v. *αἰρέω*). — *τῶν . . . ἀγαθῶν* (for *ἀν . . . ἀγαθῶν*), by attraction and assimilation (G. 154, N.) for *τῶν ἀγαθῶν* (G. 181, N.) & *κατέλαβαν*.

16. μετὰ δὲ (G. 191, N. 2). — *πρυτανίῃ τῆς ἡμέρας*, *command for the day*, which passed in rotation through the whole board of ten generals: as one general belonged to each tribe, it is likely that the same order was followed here as in the ordinary succession of the tribes in the *πρυτανεία*, which was determined annually by lot (see note on § 17, below, and on Xen. Mem. § 18). — *δεκόμενος* = *δεχόμενος*. — οὐ . . . κω = οὐ . . . πω, *not yet*. — *πρὶν*, *until* (G. 240, 1).

Page 152. — 17. τότε, &c.: the right wing was the post of honor, as being most perilous, that side being unprotected by the shield; it was anciently assigned to the king. — *ὡς ἡριθμούντο*, *in order*, as they were numbered; see note on § 16, above. — *ἀπὸ ταύτης . . . σφί μάχης*, *from their fighting in this battle*: for σφί (the Plataeans) see G. 184, 3, N. 4. — *θυσίας . . . γινομένης*, *when the Athenians celebrate the sacrifices and festivals which take place every four years*: this refers especially to the greater Panathenaic festival. — *λέγων* is parenthetical, and *γίνεσθαι* depends on *κατεύχεται* (G. 203, N. 2). — *ἐξισούμενον*, *extended to equal length*. — *ἐπὶ τάξιας ὀλίγας*, *but a few ranks deep*.

18. ὡς δὲ σφί διετίτακτο, impersonal (see G. 188, 3, second ex.) — *ἀπείθησαν* (v. ἀφίημι), *were allowed to advance* (lit. *let go or sent forth*) "like racers in the course" (Stein). — *μανίην . . . ἐπέφερον*, *they imputed madness*: in fact, only the admirable training of the Athenians saved them from being thrown into disorder, by which they must have perished. — *ἵππου* (fem.), *cavalry*. — *ἀνέσχοντο ὀρόντες*, *endured to behold*. — *ταύτην ἐσθημένους*, *wearing it* (a peculiar word: G. 164; 197, 1, N. 2). — *τότεως*, *till then*. — *φόβος ἀκούσαι* (G. 261, 2, N.).

19. *μαχομένων*, genitive absolute denoting time, *while they fought*. — *τὸ μέσον* (G. 160, 1), *at the centre*, like *κατὰ τοῦτο ἐνίκων* just below. — *τῇ*, *where*. — *Σάκαι*: these were Scythian bowmen, serving probably as mariners in the fleet, and efficient in land service. — *ἐτετάχατο* = *τεταγμένοι ἦσαν*. — *ῥήξαντες*, *breaking through*.

Page 153. — *ἔων*, *they suffered*, for *έων*. — *τοῖς . . . ῥήξασι*, dative after *ἐμάχοντο*. — *φεύγουσι*, *in their flight*. — *Πέρσῃσι* (G. 186, N. 1).

20. ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε, the verb is ἀπέθανε, the prepositions being separated by tmesis (G. 191, N. 3). — *γεγόμενος*, *having proved himself*. — *Κυνέγαρος*, a brother of the poet Aeschylus: he was attempting to climb into the ship by the stern-works (*ἀφλάστων*). — *τὴν χεῖρα* (G. 197, 1, N. 2).

21. *ἐξανακρουσάμενοι*, *backing water*. — *ἀπικόμενοι* (G. 279, 4). — *αἰτή*, &c., *an accusation became current* (*ἔσχε*) *that they planned this by contrivance of the Alcmaeonidae*: this was a powerful family in Athens, at feud with Miltiades, — the same to which, in the next generation, Pericles belonged. — *ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα*, *displayed a shield* (G. 203): this depends on the idea of saying in *αἰτή*. This shield, "discernible from its polished surface afar off, was seen held aloft upon some high point of Attica, — perhaps on the summit of Mount Pentelicus. . . . A little less quickness on

the part of Miltiades in deciphering the treasonable signal and giving the instant order of march, — a little less energy on the part of the Athenian citizens in superadding a fatiguing march to a no less fatiguing combat, — and the Persians, with the partisans of Hippias, might have been found in possession of Athens. . . . Nothing could have rescued her, except that decisive and instantaneous attack which Miltiades so emphatically urged." Grote.

22. ποδῶν (G. 168, N. 3), genitive following τάχιστα, i. e. *at the top of their speed*. — ἔφθησαν ἀπικόμενοι (G. 279, 4). — πρὶν ἢ ἦκαν (G. 274, N.). — Κυνοσάργει, a grove and gymnasium, eastward of the city, like the Academy (see note on Xen. Hellen. ii. 2. 8). — ὑπεραιωρηθέντες, *lying off* (lit. *above*): in the same way the Greeks spoke of a vessel leaving the shore by ἀνάγεσθαι, and of one approaching the shore by κατάγεσθαι. Compare the active expression νῆας ἀνακωχέσαντες, *keeping the ships at anchor*, just below. — Φαλήρου, the old port of Athens (see map, and note on Xen. Hell. p. 42): at this time the Piræus had not been fortified.

23. συνήνικε, v. συμφέρει, *it befell*.

Page 154. — πληγέντα, *struck* with sword or pike; βληθέντα, *hit* with arrow or javelin. — σκιάζαν (G. 260, 2, N. 2).

24. ἔχοντες . . . οὕτω, *making such haste to reach Athens in time for the battle*. — τριταῖοι, *on the third day from Sparta* (i. e. two days after leaving Sparta). Plato says that they arrived the day after the battle. — θεήσασθαι (v. θεόμαι).

After the victory at Marathon, Miltiades procured an armament of seventy ships under his own command, for secret service, — which proved to be an attack on Paros, to revenge, says Herodotus, a private quarrel. He returned unsuccessful, and was impeached of treason by Xanthippus, father of Pericles. The penalty of death was commuted for a fine of fifty talents; and before this was paid, he died of a wound or bruise received in his escape from Paros. Meanwhile, the Greeks were left in security and peace, and the next invasion, under Xerxes, was delayed for a period of ten years.

The date of the battle of Marathon, according to the most satisfactory calculations, is September 12, B. C. 490. The account of the battle in Herodotus, although it is the best that we have, is very far from satisfactory. We have no detailed description of the movements, no account of the feeling in Athens either before or after the victory, no statement (even on conjecture) of the numbers engaged on either side. This silence on some points probably arose from the fact that the invasion of Xerxes was the chief object of interest in his history, and the invasion of Darius was looked upon chiefly as introductory to this. But on other points, especially as to the numbers, we may safely presume that he is silent simply because he had no authentic

information. He is very minute in giving the numbers of the slain, one of which at least (that of the one hundred and ninety-two Athenians) he could have known from inscriptions. As to the numbers of the Persians, hardly a guess can be made: they are variously stated by later historians from 600,000 to 110,000, which last is the estimate of Cornelius Nepos. The same historian gives the number of Greeks as 10,000, including 9,000 Athenians and 1,000 Plataeans. Others give 10,000 Athenians and 1,000 Plataeans. If this estimate included only the heavy armed, and the usual addition is made for light armed, we shall make the whole Greek force consist of 20,000 or 22,000 men. (See Rawlinson, Appendix to Book VI.)

Herodotus does not mention cavalry in the battle, although he states that the field of Marathon was selected by the Persians because it was excellent for cavalry movements (*ἐνπιπνεύσαι*). We may suppose the cavalry to have been absent foraging on the day of the battle, which the Persians were not expecting (as Rawlinson suggests); or it may not yet have been landed, for some reason not given. At all events, no account is given of its re-embarkation, which would have been difficult after the defeat.

By the view given in Blakesley's "Excursus," the landing at Marathon was meant only for a lodgement. The region near held many partisans of Hippias, who were also formidable in the city; and if their expected movement had taken place, the Persians might have landed their cavalry, destroyed the little army of the Greeks, and occupied the country at their leisure. This plan was foiled by the generalship of Miltiades, who, after the two armies had held each other several days in check, *suddenly* extended his wings, and struck his blow so promptly that the Persians were beaten by sheer surprise. They even drove the Athenian centre in rout, as Herodotus says, into the interior (*μεσόγειον*); the wings, alone, had fled in "panic" flight, and perished in the marshes on the flanks, — the service rendered, at this crisis, by the god Pan. On the whole, the main force must have come off with small loss and in good order, the greatness of the victory being exaggerated by the patriotic pride of the Greeks. Their ships lay moored, stern to the shore, and were easily got off, only seven of the whole fleet being taken or sunk. The battle was won, not by the mere superior valor of the Greeks, but by the skill and energy of their commander, who for many days kept his little army safe from attack, in a well-chosen position, and fought when a longer delay might have been fatal; for the Persians were expecting a demonstration from the disloyal faction in Athens, which was prevented only by the promptness and completeness of his victory.

II.

Page 154. — 1. *καγαργμίνον*, *exasperated*, lit. *sharply cut*: the same verb (*χαράσσω*) from which our own word *character* is derived. — *δανότερα ἐποίησεν*, comparative of *δανὰ ποιέειν*, *to take (a thing) ill, aegre ferre*.

Page 155. — *ἐδονέτο*, *was kept in commotion* ("din"). — *ὥς . . . στρατευομένων*, *since they were to attack Greece*: this phrase gives the reason of *ἀρίστων*.

2. *τετάρτῳ ἐτεί*, i. e. probably in the summer of B. c. 487. — *Καμβύσις*: Cambyses, son and successor of Cyrus the Great, had made Egypt a Persian province in 525 B. c. — *μᾶλλον ὤρμητο*, *was the more eager* (lit. *had been the more impelled*). — *στέλλομένου*, *about proceeding*, i. e. getting ready his *στόλος*. — *παίδων*: the dispute was between Xerxes and Artabazanes. Xerxes, though the younger, was son of Atossa, daughter of Cyrus the Great, the queen of Darius. Through her he inherited his own claim of sovereignty, and she was now all-powerful at the Persian court. He had, besides, the claim of having been "born in the purple," after Darius came to the throne, — Artabazanes being son of a former wife. — *ἡγεμονίης*, *precedence* as to the succession. — *ὥς δέα* depends on the idea of *demanding* vaguely implied in *στόλους ἐγένετο*. — *οὕτω* refers back to *ἀποδείξαντα*: the meaning is, that after nominating a successor he should *so* set forth, i. e. he should *not* set forth *until* he had done this. — *παρασκευάζόμενον* agrees with *Δαρείον*, which is subject of *ἀποθανεῖν*. — *συνήνεκε*, *it happened*.

3. *καὶ Ἐφέης*: Herodotus represents that Xerxes was at first indifferent to the expedition against Greece, but was urged to it by Mardonius (afterwards slain at Plataea), who hoped to become satrap of Greece. In a royal council held after Egypt was subdued, Xerxes declared his intention to make the invasion by way of the Hellespont, and was supported by Mardonius, but dissuaded by his uncle Artabanus, his wisest counsellor, — who, however, yielded to the terror of a vision, which "threatened to burn out his eyes with hot irons" for his opposition to the will of destiny. He now "openly favored the expedition; and so Xerxes gathered together his host, ransacking every corner of the continent." — *ἐπὶ τέσσαρα ἔτη*, *four full years*, counting from the reduction of Egypt in B. c. 485. — *ἀνομένῃ* (v. *ἄνω*), *advancing*, i. e. *in the course of the year*. — *χαρὶ μεγάλῃ πλῆθος*, *with a mighty (hand of) force*: with this use of *χαρὶ* cf. Latin *manus*. — *στόλων*: this refers to the expedition of Darius against the Scythians, the great Scythian invasion of Media, the war of Troy, and the conquest of Thrace and Northern Greece, still earlier, by the Mysians and Teucrians; "yet not all these," says Herodotus, "nor all others which have ever been, were worthy to be compared with this single one." — *οἱ μὲν*, &c., i. e. *the several nations and districts subject to Xerxes*. — *ἐς πείδον ἐπετάχατο*, *had orders for foot soldiers*: τὸ πείδον means foot soldiers when opposed to

cavalry, but *land force* (in general) when opposed to a naval armament. — ἵππος (fem.), *cavalry*, “horse.” — ἄμα (G. 277, N. 1). — γεφύρας, see below, § 10.

4. τοῦτο μὲν (G. 148, N. 4), here with no correlative τοῦτο δέ. — ὥς implies that προσπταισάντων gives the reason of Xerxes for digging the canal through Athos (G. 277, N. 2): for προσπταισάντων, see note on I. § 2. — προετοιμάζετο (impersonal), *preparations were made in advance*. — ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων, *from a time three years back*. — Ἐλαιούντι, *Elaeus*, at the extreme southwest point of the Chersonesus, was the base of the naval operations at Athos; the military head-quarters were at Sestos, about eighteen miles above. — ἄρμεον is from ὀρμέω, while ὀρμύμενοι is an Ionic form (= ὀρμύμενοι) from ὀρμάω. — ὑπὸ μαστίγων, i. e. driven to their work by scourges. See below, § 21; and III. § 44, where Hdt. describes the Persians at Thermopylae as driven into the battle by scourges. — παντοδαπός, *various detachments*. — διάδοχοι, *in relays*.

Page 156. — 5. σχοινοτενές, *a straight line* (as if by a stretched cord). — βάθια (for βαθεία): at the greatest depth, the canal would be about sixty feet below the surface. — βάρων, *slayings*: the Phoenicians, according to Herodotus, were the only ones skilful enough in engineering to avoid the caving in of the banks by beginning the excavation with double the width required at the bottom. — πρητήριοι, Ion. for πρᾶτήριοι, *a market, a place for selling*, from πᾶρα- (stem of πιπράσκω). — ἀηλεσμένους (v. ἄλλω), *ready ground*.

6. ὥς . . . εὐρίσκαν, *so far as I can find out* (G. 268): in fact, it was not a very difficult work, and was highly politic, especially in case Greece should be subjugated. The canal, which has been traced, “is about a mile and a quarter long, and twenty-five yards across; it has been much filled up with mud and rushes.” — παρὲν (G. 278, 2), *when it was in his power*. — διεπύσαι, *to haul across*, an operation easily performed with the light vessels of the ancients. — εὖρος ὥς . . . πλώων, *of [such] width that two triremes could pass through* (G. 266, N. 1). — ἐλαστρευμένας (for ἐλαυνόμενας), *driven by oars*. — ζεύγαντας γεφυρώσαι, *simply to bridge the river*: the Greeks said ποταμὸν ζεύει (§ 8) and ποταμὸν γεφυρώσαι, and Hdt. has even γεφύρας ζευγνύν.

7. Κριτάλλων, the frontier town of Cappadocia. — γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, see below, § 28. — δειπνα, see below, § 25.

Page 157. — 8. οἱ δέ: those who had charge of the work (see τοῖσι προσέκετο below). — ἐξεγύνυσαν, *were* (in the mean time) *building*. — τὴν μὲν . . . τὴν δέ: understand γέφυραν from ἐγεφύρουν above. — βυβλίνην, *of papyrus*: this plant was used by the Egyptians for ropes as well as for paper. — ἔστι . . . στάδιοι (G. 135, N. 5).

9. ἐπικίσθαι μαστίγι (= μαστιγῶσαι), *to scourge*, here takes πληγὰς as a cognate accusative (G. 159), *to strike the stream three hundred blows with a lash*. Understand τινὰς as subject of both ἐπικίσθαι (v. ἐφικνέομαι) and κατείνει (v. καθέμι). — ποταμῷ: the current, about three miles an hour, gives the Hellespont the aspect of a river.

10. τὰς δὲ, *the bridges*. — ὑπὸ, *under*, as a support. — ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τρηκοσίας: the upper bridge may have been made stronger (of three hundred and sixty vessels) to resist the greater force of the stream; or it may have been at a broader part of the channel, which is here about a mile wide. (See Grote's note.) — τοῦ μὲν . . . κατὰ ῥέον, *at right angles with the Pontus, and in the line of the current of the Hellespont* (to diminish the resistance). — ἵνα ἀνακωχέῃ, *that it* [this arrangement of vessels] *might ease* (i. e. by lifting) *the strain on the tackle*: ἀνακωχέω (kindred to ἀνέχω) means *to hold up*, with the idea of *relieving or keeping quiet* (see ἀνακωχέουσιν τὰς νῆας, *keeping the ships off the coast*, in I. § 22): so ἀνακωχή means *a truce*. It is hard to see why (according to the common interpretation, *that the force of the stream might keep up the tension of the cables*, i. e. *keep them taut*) there should be any anxiety to provide for the tension of cables which were stretched over a strait a mile wide, and rested on vessels in a stream running three miles an hour! — συνθέντες is repeated after the long parenthesis. — τὰς μὲν . . . τῆς ἐτέρης, [they cast] *those (ἀγκύρας) of [the ships forming] one bridge towards the Pontus*. — ἐνεκεν, *to guard against*. — ἔσωθεν, i. e. *from the Euxine*. — τῆς δὲ ἐτέρης, i. e. *the anchors of the other bridge*. — πρὸς ἐσπέρης, sc. κατήκαν. — εὐρου, νότου: these were southeast and south winds, both blowing more or less up stream.

Page 158. — διέκπλοον: the small craft (πλοῖα λεπτά) would pass in and out underneath the cables.

11. χωρὶς ἑκάτερα, i. e. *the flaxen cables and those of papyrus*. — εἰλε, *weighed*: if the talent here meant is the Euboean, or old Attic, a cubit (eighteen inches) weighed nearly eighty pounds. — τῶν δπλων τοῦ τόνου, *the stretching of the cables*, i. e. *the cables, as they were stretched across the strait*. — ἐπεξεύγνυν, *joined them above*, either by ropes or by strips of wood.

12. χυτοί, *breakwaters*. — ῥηχίης, *surf*: the tide in this sea being very slight. — ὁ ἥλιος: no eclipse of the sun, visible at Sardis, took place in B. C. 480, if the latest astronomical calculations can be trusted; the story here told may belong to the departure from Susa in the preceding year, when there was such an eclipse. The date of the invasion of Xerxes (B. C. 480) is too well established to admit of doubt. — ἐπινέφελον ἐόντων, *genitive absolute: the indicative would be ἐπινέφελά ἐστιν, it is cloudy* (G. 135, 2). — αἰθρίης (noun), *in fair weather*, is *genitive of time* (G. 179, 1). — τὸ ἐθέλοι (= τί ἐθέλοι), *τό* being relative used interrogatively (G. 282, 1). — προδέκτορα, verbal of προδείκνυμι, *that which designates or foreshows*.

Page 159. — 13. ἀναμῖ, i. e. *not divided into separate bodies, as they marched according to cities or provinces*. — διελέλειπτο, *impersonal*. — οὔτοι, *these*, who marched in advance. — προηγύντο, i. e. *led the part of the army which accompanied the king; opposed to οὔτοι*. — κάτω τρέψαντες, *this was a mark of respect to the king, who followed them*. — ἔρμα Διός: by Zeus Hdt. means the chief God of the Persians, Auramazda or Ormuzd.

14. λόγος, choice or fancy. — κατὰ νόμον, i. e. with point upward. — οὔτος, the ten thousand just mentioned. — βούις, pomegranates, probably as sacred emblems. — ἀντὶ σαυρωτήρων, in the place of points at the lower end. — οἱ . . . τράποντες (Ion. for τρέποντες, present), those who preceded the Nisæan horses (§ 13).

Page 160. — 15. Σκάμανδρον, the Scamander of the Iliad: here a shallow brook, in a bed about two hundred feet broad; in the dry season only three feet deep. — ῥέεθρον (G. 160, 1). — οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε . . . πινόμενος, and did not have water sufficient for the army to drink (lit. did not suffice when drunk, &c.). — ὡς ἀπύκροτο repeats the genitive absolute ἀπύκρομένου after the long relative clause.

16. "On this transit from Asia into Europe, Herodotus dwells with peculiar emphasis; and well he might do so, since when we consider the bridges, the invading number, the unmeasured hopes succeeded by no less unmeasured calamity, it will appear not only to have been the most imposing event of his century, but to rank among the most imposing events of all history." Grote. — καὶ . . . γάρ are here to be separated, and—as (for) a seat had been erected for him here, &c. (See note on I. § 5, above.) — ἐθίετο = ἐθεάτο. — ὦρα = ἑώρα, imperfect of ὄρω.

17. ὥνῃρ = ὁ ἀνῃρ. — φρασθεῖς, perceiving (see Lexicon). — ὡς . . . εἰ περιέσται, the direct exclamation would be, πῶς . . . ἐστίν, εἰ περίεσται; how short is the whole of man's life, if no one . . . is to be alive, &c. (G. 221, N.).

Page 161. — the second οὕτω qualifies εὐδαίμων. — τῷ (G. 237, N.). — γλυκὺν γεύσας τὴν αἰώνι, after giving [inan] a taste of the sweetness of life, lit. a taste of life as (being) sweet. — φθονερός, jealous, i. e. lest man should vie with him in blessedness.

18. τῶνδ' ἐγὼ ὑμῶν χρῆζων, wanting this (G. 148, N. 1) of you: so δέομαι occasionally takes two genitives, instead of the common construction (G. 172, N. 1). — ξυνὸν . . . σπεύδεται, for this which we are seeking is for the good of all in common: the construction being τοῦτο γὰρ σπεύδεται (passive) [δν] ἀγαθὸν πᾶσι ξυνόν: the adjective ξυνός = κοινός. — ἐντεταμένως, vigorously (adverb formed from participle of ἐντείνω). — τῶν (= ὧν) for καὶ τούτων. — οὐ μὴ τις . . . ἀντιστή (2 aorist), an emphatic future expression (G. 257). — λελόγγασι (v. λαγχάνω), have in charge (as if assigned by lot): cf. Latin sortiti sunt.

19. τὸν ἥλιον, the Sun, under the name of *Mithra*, was one of the chief objects of worship in the Persian religion.

Page 162. — ἡ μιν παύσει (G. 236). — πρότερον ἢ . . . γένηται, = πρὶν ἂν . . . γένηται (G. 240, N.). — ἀκινάκην, a short, straight-pointed sword, or dirk. — μαστιγώσαντι (G. 277, 2).

20. ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτὸς Ξέρξης, i. e. after the chariot. — ἀνήγοντο, put off from the shore.

21. εἰδόμενος, *likening thyself*; θείμενος, *taking to thyself*. — ἐξήν . . . ποίειν (G. 222, N. 2).

22. ὃν Ἑλλησποντον, accusative governed by the phrase ἐξω πλώων, as if it were a compound verb like ἐκλείπαι, which takes the accusative. — πρήσσω τὰ ἑμπαλιν τοῦ πεζοῦ, *taking the opposite direction from the land force* (lit. *doing the opposite*), i. e. sailing southwest towards the Aegean, while the army marched northeast into Thrace. — Δορίσκον: this was a strong Persian fortress, which had been held since the invasion of Scythia by Darius. (See note on I. § 6.)

Page 163. — 23. πλήθος ἀριθμόν, *number of people*. — τοῦ πεζοῦ, *of the foot-soldiers* (as we know from Hdt. VII. 184, where the cavalry are estimated at 80,000 in addition to this number. — τὸ πλήθος: by this reckoning, 1,700,000 men, a very uncertain estimate, as the numbers might easily be exaggerated in the loose way of counting. Ctesias makes 800,000, and Aelian 700,000; but "we may well believe," says Mr. Grote, "that the numbers of Xerxes were greater than were ever assembled in ancient times, or perhaps at any known epoch of history." — συννάξαντες ταύτην, i. e. τὴν μυριάδα. Compare κατανάξαντες τὴν γῆν in § 11, above. — ὕψος (G. 160, 1).

24. διεξέλασας (G. 138, N. 8) θηήσασθαι, *to see them in review* (G. 204, N. 2). — μετὰ, *afterwards*. — ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί: these lists, it has been thought, may have fallen into the hands of the Greeks, and been the authority for the account of Hdt. (see Rawlinson). — ὅσον τι τέσσαρα, *about four*; τέ being used by Hdt. after ὅσος, as it is even in Attic Greek after οἶος, *able* (G. 151, N. 4). — ἀνεκώχεον (v. ἀνακωχέω). See I. § 22.

Page 164. — ἐντός, *between*, governs both πρῶτον and αἰγιαλῷ.

25. τοῖς . . . ἐμποδόν, *whoever came in his way*. — ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ, *into all sorts of distress*. — ἀνάστατοι ἐγένοντο, *lost house and home*. — δκου (= δπου), *at which time*. — Θασίοισι . . . ἀπέδεξε (v. ἀποδείκνυμι), *rendered an account to the Thasians for 400 talents spent* (about \$400,000). Compare ἀποδανκύναι λόγον. — ἀραιρημένος (v. αἰρέω), *appointed* (to manage the business).

Herodotus adds: "As soon as the herald's message came, the people would distribute their stores of grain, and proceed to grind wheat and barley-flour for many months' supply; then buy up and fatten the finest cattle; feed poultry and waterfowl in pens and coops for the service of the army; and provide gold and silver drinking-cups and bowls. These things for the king's table only; for the others, food alone. When the army arrived, a tent stood ready spread, in which Xerxes took his rest, while the troops remained in the open air. When dinner-time came, great was the toil of the entertainers; and after spending the night well fed, the army next day tore down the tent, and carried off all it held, leaving nothing."

26. ἔπος εὖ εἰρημένον, *a saying well expressed, a bon mot*. — καὶ τὸ λοιπόν, *also for the future* (as they had done in the present case). — παρέχεν ἄν, = παρέχειν ἄν (G. 211); depends on the idea of *saying* implied in

συνεβόλυνσε: for it would have subjected them to the alternative, &c. — κάκιστα, &c., by the worst fate that ever befell men. (G. 168.)

27. ἐρομένειν, to wait (for him). — ἀπήκε (v. ἀφίημι), sent off. — Θέρμη δέ τῃ . . . οἰκημένη, and [I mean] *Therma* which is situated, &c.

The account of the march of Xerxes from Doriscus (§ 25) to Acanthus (§ 27), which is chiefly descriptive, is here omitted. Acanthus is just northwest of the Isthmus of Mount Athos, through which the canal (§ 4) had been dug by order of Xerxes. Here therefore, as is stated in § 27, the king separated from his fleet, sending it through the canal and round the two western capes of Chalcidice to the head of the Gulf of Therma. The only account given by Herodotus of the passage of the fleet through the canal is in the words (VII. 122), διέξπλωσε τὴν διώρυχα τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἄθῳ γενομένην. The fleet remained at Therma until its departure for the coast of Thessaly (p. 171, § 5).

Meanwhile Xerxes marched with his army across Chalcidice, from Acanthus to Therma. On the way (according to Hdt. VII. 125) the camels which carried the provisions were attacked by lions (?). On reaching Therma, they encamped on the shore of the Gulf, the camp extending from Therma to the mouth of the Haliaeum on the western coast. South of this river and north of Mount Olympus was Pieria, celebrated as the birthplace and the home of the nine Muses. In this region Xerxes remained (§ 28), until he began his march of eleven or twelve days to Thermopylae (p. 174, § 13).

28. κήρυκες: see p. 156, § 7. — κεινὸί (= κενοί), empty-handed.

Page 165. — ἵταμον ὄρκιον: cf. Latin *ferire foedus*. — καταστάτων εἶ, having come into (i. e. being in) a good condition. — σφέ (G. 184, 3, N. 4). — δεκατεῦσαι (causal) depends on ὄρκιον εἶχε, as if it were *they took an oath to, &c.* (G. 271).

29. Δαρείου πέμψαντος: see p. 146, § 2. — οἱ μὲν, the Athenians. — τὸ βάραθρον, the pit: this was a deep hole at Athens, like a well, into which the dead bodies of executed criminals (and sometimes even living criminals) were cast, iron hooks in the sides tearing the body to pieces as it fell. Miltiades is said to have counselled this act, wishing to commit the city to inexpiable hostility against Persia. — συνήνεκε (v. συμφέρειν) γενέσθαι, chanced to befall. — ἀνεθέλητον, lit. *unwelcome*, belongs to δ τι. — In later times it was believed that the misfortunes of Miltiades were the retribution of this impiety. In Sparta, the wrath of the hero Talithybius, herald of Agamemnon, fell upon the state, and would not be appeased until two noble Spartans had offered themselves in expiation, and surrendered themselves to the Persians; Xerxes, however, generously spared their lives. But their sons, when proceeding as Spartan envoys to Persia, during the Peloponnesian War, were captured by the Athenians and put to death. Then at length, sixty years after it was committed, the crime against the ambassadors of Darius was atoned.

30. κατ'εἶρο, was sent forth. — οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι, likely to suffer no harm.

31. *ξέρομαι, I am constrained.* Herodotus is writing some fifty years after the Persian wars, when Athens was unpopular in consequence of the extent of her empire.

Page 166. — *ἐπειρώντο ἀντιέμμενοι, would have attempted opposition:* in Hdt. *πεπρώμαι* takes the participle like the verbs mentioned in G. 279, 4, N. — *ἦντιούτο* and *ἐγένετο* both refer to past time, like *ἐπειρώντο* *ἀν* above (G. 222). — *εἰ καὶ πολλαί*, i. e. *no matter how many*. — *κιθῶνες* (Ionic for *χιτῶνες*), an unusual expression for *walls*: Hdt. once calls a wall a *θῶρηξ* (I. 181), and Demades the orator uses *ἐσθῆτα τῆς πόλεως* in the same sense. (Kriiger.) Compare the English *curtain* of a fortress. — *ἐλληλαμένοι διὰ*, *extended across*. — *προδοθέντες ἀν . . . ἐμουνώθησαν: ἀν* belongs to the verb (*not* to the participle). So below, in *μουνωθέντες ἀν . . . ἀπέθανον*: in § 32, *ὀρέοντες ἀν . . . ἀν ἐχρήσαντο*, we find *ἀν* repeated on account of the length of the sentence, as it might have been in the two other cases. (See G. 212, 2; and also *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 42, 3, Note 1).

32. *πρὸ τοῦ, beforehand* (G. 143, 2). — *βασιλέος ἐπικρατέοντος*, *protasis* to *ἦν ἀν*, = *εἰ βασιλεὺς ἐπικράτει* (G. 226, 1). — *ἀν τις λέγων: ἀν* belongs to *ἀμαρτάνοι*: see last note on § 31, above. — *τοῦτο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν* (*accusative after ἐγείραντες*) = *τούτους τοὺς Ἕλληνας*.

Page 167. — 33. The oracles are in hexameter verse (G. 295, 4), and the language is generally an imitation of the Homeric; the constructions are often confused, as would be expected from the fact that the verses were (or purported to be) spoken under the inspiration of the moment. (1.) *φεῦγ'* is addressed to the whole people represented by the messengers, as if it were but one person. — *ἔσχατα γαίης, to the ends of the earth* (G. 162). (2.) *δῶματα* and *κάρηνα* are governed by *λιπὼν*. — *τροχοειδής* refers to the walls of Athens, which made an irregular circuit around the Acropolis or citadel. (3.) *ἐμπέδον* (as adverb), *firm, in its place*. (4.) *μέσσης* (for *μέσης*), sc. *πόλεως*. (5.) *κατὰ* belongs to *ἐρείπει* (G. 191, N. 3). (6.) *Συριηγανές*, i. e. *Assyrian*: the Persians, who were highlanders, having learned the use of chariots from the Assyrians of the plain. — *διώκων, driving*: in the Persians of Aeschylus (vs. 83), Xerxes is said to come *Σύριον ἄρμα διώκων*. (7.) *ἀπολεῖ*, sc. *Ἄρης*. (8.) *ιδρώτι ῥεούμενοι, dripping with sweat*, in their terror. (9.) *κατὰ* belongs to *κέχυται*: the meaning seems to be that *blood falls in showers from the temple roofs*, in which case the dative *ὀρόφοισι* must be explained as in certain Homeric constructions (G. 184, 3, N. 1-4). But *καταχέω* generally takes the dative in Homer (as the genitive in Attic) in the sense *shower down upon*, which does not suit the present passage as well, but perhaps is correct. — (10.) *προῖδόν, foreboding*, as if the blood were itself terrified. (11.) *ἵτον*, apparently addressed to *two* messengers; but the plural follows immediately. — *ἐπυκιδνατε*, sc., *deluge your souls with woes* (*perfundite animum malis*, Stein); or (as Liddell and Scott translate), *spread a brave spirit*

over your ills: the former suits the context better: κιδνημι is kindred to σκεδάννυμι, scatter.

34. ἐχρέοντο, *felt themselves in*. — προβάλλοντο σφέας αὐτούς, *abandoning themselves to despair* (dat. after συνεβούλευε). — ἱκετηρίας (ράβδους), *the suppliant olive-branches*. — ἐλθόντας agrees with the omitted subject of χρᾶσθαι, instead of taking the case of σφί (G. 138, N. 8). — ἀναξ (= ὦ ἀναξ): for the special sense of the title ἀναξ in Homer, see Gladstone's *Juventus Mundi*, p. 152, according to whom it corresponds nearest with the partly religious and partly feudal term *Lord*. — ἔστ' ἂν τελευτήσωμεν (G. 239, 2).

35. λέγουσι (dative), *as they spoke*. (2.) λισσομένη (G. 277, 5). (3.) ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας (sc. αὐτό), *making it like* (i. e. firm as) *adamant*. (4.) οὔρος may be either for ὄρος, *mount, hill*, or for ὄρος, *boundary*: it may mean, therefore, either the Acropolis of Athens or the bounds of Attica. Cecrops is one of the early (mythical) kings of Athens, in whose reign (says Hdt.) the people were called Κεκροπίδαι. (5.) Κιθαιρώνας, the boundary of Attica towards Delphi (see map). (6.) τεῖχος ξύλινον, this is the celebrated *wooden wall* of the oracle. (8.) μέναι, infinitive for imperative.

Page 168. — (10.) ἔτι . . . ἔσση, *yet a day shall come (πότε) when thou shalt meet him*. (12.) Rawlinson translates

"When men scatter the seed, or when they gather the harvest."

36. συνεστηκυῖαι, *opposed*, like wrestlers who *stand together* in the ring. — ῥηχῇ, *palisade*: there were a few who clung to this interpretation, and perished on the sacred hill (see IV. § 34). — κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν . . . εἶναι, *was (used) with reference to, &c.* — τοῦτο, *this expression*. — συνεχέοντο, *were confounded (con-fusi)*.

37. Θεμιστοκλῆς, a Greek of the Greeks, able, keen-witted, patriotic, and unscrupulous: the man who by his single counsel proved the deliverer of Greece. — εἰ . . . ἰόντως, *if the saying had really been uttered with reference to the Athenians* (εἶχε . . . εἰρημένον = εἶρητο: Stein). — οὐκ ἂν . . . χρησθῆναι = οὐκ ἂν ἐχρήσθη (G. 211). — μιν δοκέειν, (he said) *that he believed*. — τῷ θεῷ, *by the God* (G. 188, 3).

Page 169. — συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθόν, *to one judging rightly* (G. 184, 5): Themistocles may probably have devised the oracle, as well as the interpretation, wishing to impress the deepest terror at the real danger, so as to overcome the timid clinging to the city, and persuade the people to accept the only chance of safety. — τούτου, *this*, refers to παρασκευάζεσθαι . . . ναυμαχῆσοντας: i. e. the ships (here implied) were the wooden wall of the oracle. — ἔγνωσαν, *decided* (G. 200, N. 5b): σφί belongs to αἰρετώτερα. — τὸ σύμπαν εἶναι (G. 268, N.), *in short*.

38. ἐς καιρὸν ἥριστος, *prevailed (proved to be best) seasonably*. — τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυρείου (G. 191, N. 6) belongs to μετᾶλλων. — ὀρχηδόν, *in shares*, to each male citizen. If Hdt. is right (V. 97) is estimating the Athenian

citizens at thirty thousand, the sum must have been fifty talents (about fifty thousand dollars). — **δέκα δραχμαί**, about two dollars. — **χρημάτων**, genitive of price. — **διηκοσίας**: as Athens had only two hundred ships at Salamis, and must have had a fleet before this resolution of Themistocles (Miltiades sailed to Paros just after the battle of Marathon with seventy ships), and as fifty talents are an incredibly small sum for building two hundred ships of war, we must understand Hdt. to mean that this money was used (with other sums from the treasury) in building the fleet of two hundred ships which fought at Salamis. Plutarch (Them. IV.) says the money from the mines was used in building one hundred ships. — **τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας**: see above, I. § 3. The Aeginetans at this time had the finest navy in Greece, and they were called **θαλασσοκράτορες**, *rulers of the sea*, during the ten years from 490 to 480 B. C. Plutarch says of them at this time, **κατεχον οἱ Αἰγινῆται πλῆθει νεῶν τὴν θάλασσαν**. — **ἐς τό**, *for what* (for the purpose for which). — **ἐς δέον**, nearly equivalent to **ἐς καιρόν**, *seasonably*. — **τοῖσι βουλομένοισι** (G. 186).

39. **ἐς τούτῳ**, *into one place*, probably the Isthmus of Corinth, afterwards the place of meeting of various councils of war (see below, III. § 1). — **σφίσι**, *to each other*, as reflexive in sense of reciprocal (G. 146, N. 3; 144, 2). — **πρῶτον . . . πάντων**, *first of all things*: according to Plutarch, Themistocles proposed this general reconciliation. — **ἐγκεκρημένοι** (which is an emendation for **ἐγκεκρημένοι**), from **ἐγκεράννυμι**: the wars are said to have been *mixed up or concocted*. See **πόλεμος συνήπτο** above, I. § 3.

Page 170. — **πρηγμάτων**, objective genitive. — **φρονήσαντες εἰ κως ἐν τε γένοιτο**, &c.: the sense is, they resolved to send these spies and messengers, *having formed a wise plan* (**φρονήσαντες**) *in case the Greek race should in any way become united, &c.* The apodosis to **εἰ . . . γένοιτο . . . πρήσσοιεν** is suppressed (G. 226, N.), being implied in the context: i. e. *their plan would succeed* (or the like) in case of union. See Hdt. VI. 52: **βουλομένην εἰ κως ἀμφότεροι γενοίατο βασιλεῖς**, *wishing that both might in some way become kings*, lit. *having a wish* (which would be realized) *in case both should in some way become kings*. (See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 53, N. 2). — **ὡς . . . ἐπιδόντων** gives the ground on which the Greeks acted (G. 277, N. 2).

In the narrative which follows, the spies sent to Persia are taken and brought before Xerxes, who "gave orders to his guard to take them round the camp, and show them all the footmen and all the horse, letting them gaze at everything to their heart's content; then, when they were satisfied, to send them away unharmed to whatever country they desired," — thinking he was thus surest to terrify the Greeks from all thought of resistance. Argos jealously refused the alliance, unless she should have equal command with Sparta, claiming that the supreme authority was justly hers, by right of descent from Agamemnon. She was even charged with having invited the Persians to the invasion of Greece. Gelo (whose exploits in Sicily are told at length) refused his aid, unless he should be put in supreme com-

mand, — to which the Greeks retorted that they came “to ask for an army, and not a general”; so Gelo stood ready to submit if the Persians were victorious. He afterwards claimed, however, that he would have helped the Greeks but for the embarrassment of a war with Hamilcar of Carthage. Corcyra promised help, but kept back her fleet (under pretence of head winds) till the crisis was past. The Cretans refused to assist, having once suffered calamity from Minos (who had perished in his pursuit of Dædalus) for the aid given by Idomeneus in the Trojan war. And the Thesalians submitted, reluctantly, to overwhelming force.

III.

Page 170. — 1. $\tau\eta$ (= η), *where* (in what region). — $\epsilon\nu\ \omicron\lambda\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\ \chi\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$, *on what sort of ground*. — $\iota\sigma\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu$, i. e. from Thessaly into Central Greece. — $\tau\eta\varsigma\ \epsilon\varsigma\ \Theta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\nu$, i. e. the pass of Tempe, at the mouth of the Peneius. Herodotus gives three reasons why the pass of Thermopylae was preferred: the second ($\kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$), that it was *single*, refers to the Persians having entered Thessaly by another route, and not by Tempe as was expected; and to justify the choice on this ground, he mentions the ignorance of the Greeks as to the mountain pass, $\tau\eta\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\alpha\pi\omicron\nu$, by which Thermopylae was finally turned. — $\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\iota\acute{\eta}\pi\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$, the territory of Histiaeæ (afterwards Oreus) in the north of Euboea. (For the bearing of these places, see a map of Greece.) This position was chosen to prevent the Persian fleet from taking the flank or rear of their force at Thermopylae.

2. $\tau\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, $\tau\acute{\omicron}\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$, *first, as to Artemisium*: $\tau\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ corresponds to $\eta\ \delta\epsilon\ \alpha\delta\ \dots\ \epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$ (i. e. the pass of Thermopylae) below. — $\epsilon\kappa\ \dots\ \Theta\eta\rho\acute{\eta}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$, *after* (coming from) *the Thracian sea*. — $\sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ (sc. $\tau\acute{\omicron}\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\gamma\omicron\varsigma$) $\epsilon\varsigma\ \dots\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \pi\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\nu$, *it* (the sea) *contracts into the strait, &c.* — $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, i. e. *after passing the strait, the shore* (of) *Artemisium in Euboea* (possessive genitive) *comes next*: $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ is used like $\epsilon\kappa\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ and $\upsilon\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ (§ 3), *excipit*. — $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\pi\lambda\epsilon\theta\rho\omicron\nu$, about 50 feet. The line of the coast is now much farther from the hill, owing to the deposits made by the river. Rawlinson says: “The pass is now separated from the sea throughout its entire extent by a tract of marshy ground, a mile or two in width.” — $\tau\acute{\omicron}\ \sigma\tau\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \chi\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\varsigma\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\varsigma$, *the narrowest part of the whole pass*: $\tau\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\varsigma$ is used as Thucydides speaks of the Peloponnesian war as $\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \pi\rho\omicron\gamma\epsilon\gamma\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$, *lit. the most notable of those which had preceded it*; and as we often hear a thing called “the most perfect of all others.” See map of Thermopylae at the end of the volume.

Page 171. — 3. $\tau\acute{\omicron}\ \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\varsigma$ (G. 160, 2), *towards the west*: in fact, more nearly towards the south; Hdt. thought of the coast as lying from north to south. — $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, *caldrons*: of these there are two, enclosed in masonry. The hot springs of Thermopylae are salt, and of the

temperature of 100° Fahr. — **Ἡρακλῆος**: it was said that these springs were created miraculously that Hercules might have a warm bath after one of his labors. — **τὴν Αἰολίδα**, the *Aeolian land*, the more ancient name of Thessaly. This irruption of Thessalians from Epirus is one of the earliest movements mentioned in the traditions of the race afterwards called Hellenic. Thucydides (I. 12) speaks of the migration of Boeotians from Arne in Thessaly into the land afterwards called Boeotia, a result of this Thessalian migration; and he assigns the sixtieth year after the capture of Troy as its date. — **ἐπήκων**, *conducted* (by trenches). — **ὥς ἄν**: Homer and Hdt. sometimes used **ὥς ἄν** and **ὅπως ἄν** with the optative, as all writers do with the subjunctive, without affecting the sense (G. 216, I, n. 2). Here the **ἄν** belongs to the participle, not to the verb (G. 207, 2); in Attic Greek, such an **ἄν** would belong to the verb and form an apodosis.

4. **ἐν Πιερίῃ**: see note on II. § 27, above. — **διαλυθίντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ**, *breaking up* [at, and departing] *from the Isthmus*.

Page 172. — 5. **ἰθὺ Σκιάθου** (G. 182, 2). — **Τροίηνή**: this ship was captured by the Persians, who (as Hdt. adds) "took the handsomest man on board, and sacrificed him at the ship's prow," reckoning it a good omen, — the more so as the man's name was *Leon*. The two other triremes were taken; but the crew of the Athenian ship escaped. On hearing of this advance of the Persian fleet, the Greeks left their anchorage at Artemisium, and retreated to Chalcis on the western coast of Euboea.

6. **περὶ τὸ ἔρμα**, *upon the reef*: this still lies in the mid-channel. — **κομίσαντες**, *having brought it* (the column) for this purpose. — **καθαρόν**, *removed*, i. e. by being made harmless. — **ἑνδεκα ἡμέρας**: see note on II. § 27, above. — **πανημερὸν πλώοντες**: the distance is about 100 miles. — **τῆς Μαγνησίδος χώρας**, possessive genitive with the following accusatives. — **στρατός**, the whole *armament* (army and navy).

In the estimate which follows (VII. 184–187, here omitted), Herodotus makes the whole Persian armament, including army and navy, before the battle of Thermopylae and before the storm, to consist of 2,641,610 men. To the number of 1,700,000 foot-soldiers counted in the review at Doriscus (see above, II. § 23), he now adds 80,000 for the cavalry, 517,610 for the crews and marines of the fleet, 20,000 for Arabs with camels and Libyans with chariots, and lastly 324,000 for the land and sea forces furnished by the Thracians, Macedonians, and Thessalians, whom Xerxes had pressed into his service since he entered Europe (see II. § 25). This immense total of 2,641,610 Herodotus proposes to double, to include all the non-combatants (attendants, crews of corn-vessels, and camp-followers), giving a grand total for the entire host of 5,283,220! Rawlinson, on various grounds, reduces the estimates for the military force to about 1,500,000, taking no account of the still greater exaggerations in the number of non-combatants. "Of all these myriads," says Herodotus, "there was not one who for beauty and stature better deserved to hold this vast power than Xerxes himself."

7. *πρόκροσσαι* . . . *νέας*, they lay at anchor, arranged alternately (or in a *quincunx*), heading seaward, and eight rows deep. The scholia on II. XIV. 35 explain *προκρόσσας* (sc. *νῆας*) *ἔρυσαν* as follows: *ἄλλην πρὸ ἄλλης παραλλήλως ἀνέλικυσαν κλιμακῆδόν*, i. e. they drew them up in parallel rows like steps; Aristarchus adds, that this would give the appearance of a theatre, *κρόσσαι γὰρ αἱ κλίμακες*. This means the seats of the Greek theatre, which were *steps* like those of a modern circus; and we may refer *κλιμακῆδόν* (= *πρόκροσσαι*) to the general appearance of the ships from the sea, which, if they were arranged (for example) as in the figure, might suggest the idea of a *cuneus* in the theatre, especially if the shore were curved, and if the inner rows of ships were drawn up (as here) on a sloping beach. In II. 125, Hdt. says that the *steps* on the outside of the pyramids of Egypt were sometimes called *κρόσσαι*. We may, however, refer *κλιμακῆδόν* to the irregular lines in which the ships were arranged from front to rear (as in the second figure). For another explanation, opposed to that of Aristarchus, see Liddell and Scott, s. v. *πρόκροσσαι*. — *οὔτω* (sc. *ἔρμεον*). — *ἰερώσης*, having become seething (i. e. before the storm burst). — *ἀπὸ-ἡλίου*, properly an east wind, here (east-northeast, referring to the *Ἑλλησποντίας*. — *τοῖσι* . . . *ἔρμεον*, who were so anchored (as to allow it): for *οὕτω εἶχε ἔρμεον* (impersonal), see G. 168, N. 3. — *οἱ δέ* (G. 234; 227, 2), these. — *ἀνασπασάντες* (G. 279, 4). — *μεταρσίας*, at sea. — *ἔλαβε* (sc. *ὁ χειμών*). — *Ἴπνους*, Ovens: see below. — *τοῦ χειμῶνος χρέμα*, the matter of the storm, a common expression for the storm: cf. *ὕς χρέμα μέγα*, a huge wild boar (Hdt. I. 36).



Most writers place Sepias, the rocky headland on which the Persian fleet was wrecked, near the southeastern point of Magnesia, or even (as Grote) beyond that point upon the southern coast. For the following account of the topography we are indebted to Professor Sophocles, who was born on the coast of Magnesia, and who has known the whole shore as a boy and studied it as a scholar:—

The east-northeast wind, the *Ἑλλησποντίας* of the ancients, is still the terror of navigators on the “harborless coast of Pelion” (Eurip. *Alcest.* 595). But it is dreaded chiefly north of Cape Nekhóri; a vessel overtaken by the wind south of this point can easily enter the channel between Thessaly and Euboea. The rocky headland directly east of the highest point of Pelion agrees best with the accounts of Sepias. Between this and the probable site of Casthanaia (four miles below) are two beaches, separated by a point of rocks. North of Sepias is another small beach, beyond which are several caves in the steep cliffs (*ἐν Πηλῳ*), which are probably the *Ἴπνοι* or *Ovens*. On these three beaches the fleet must have been drawn up, and here the disaster must have occurred.

Page 173. — 8. Ὀρείθυια: Orithyia, daughter of the Attic king Erechtheus, was said to have been carried off by Boreas (the northeast wind), as she was picking flowers on the banks of the Ilissus. The story is pleasantly told in the beginning of Plato's Phaedrus. — ἄρμηται, *has gone forth or spread*. — περί Ἄθων: see above, I. § 4, and note on I. § 2.

9. λέγουσι διαφθαρήναι is understood with οὐκ ἐλάσσονας. — γηοχέοντι, *being a landholder* (γήοχος or γαιήοχος). — καὶ τοῦτον, *him too* (as well as other men), object of λυπεῖσα. — συμφορὴ . . . παιδοφόνος, *a calamity afflicting him by the death of a child (or children)*: this seems to imply that he was accidentally the cause of his child's (or children's) death.

10. οὐκ ἔπην ἀριθμός, *there was no reckoning*. — καταείδοντες γόησι, *singing incantations by enchanters*: γόησι is suspected by many recent editors. — ἀνέμῳ belongs to both participles. — Θέτι, *Thetis*, the sea-goddess, mother of Achilles. It was said that the place at which Thetis was seized by Peleus was called Sepias, because she there changed herself into a cuttlefish (σηπία) to escape her lover.

Page 174. — 11. ὀπίσω ἠπείγοντο: see note on § 5, above. — ἐπωνυμίην . . . νομίζοντες, *keeping up the name*, i. e. continuing to invoke Poseidon with this title of *Saviour*.

12. τὴν ἄκρην: the southeast cape of Thessaly, often mistaken for Sepias itself. — ἰθείαν (sc. ὁδόν), *straight*. — φέροντα, *leading* (Pagasae being at the head of the bay, the Gulf of Volo). — εὐτ' . . . ἐπλεον, i. e. on the Argonautic expedition, τὸ κῶας being the famous Golden Fleece. — Ἀφεταί, *Aphetae*, or place of *departure*, from ἀφίημι (through ἀφετος) in its neuter sense seen in ἀφήσειν, *to set sail*.

13. πορευθεῖς: see note on II. § 27, above. — ἐς Μηλιάς, i. e. into the land of the Malians, at the head of the Gulf of Malis, in whose territory was the outer end of the pass of Thermopylae. — τὸ ρέεθρον (G. 160, 1) belongs to ἀπέχρησε: see note on II. § 15, above.

Page 175. — οὗτος is not antecedent to ὅστις, but repeats the idea of the relative clause for emphasis.

14. ἀμπαυίς τε καὶ ῥηχίη, *ebb and flow of the tide*, which is seldom sufficient to be noticed in the Mediterranean. — ἰώντι (G. 184, 5). — βοηθέντα, *as an aid*: the future is more common in this sense (G. 277, 3). — καιομένῳ, *when he burnt himself* on Mount Oeta. — ἀποφανῆναι (G. 203).

15. κατ' ἣ, *at which = where*, referring to ταύτῃ (where ἥ would have been more regular). — δισχιλία . . . πλέθρα, 22,000 *plethra*, i. e. in surface: the πλέθρον is a long measure of 100 (Greek) feet in length, or a square measure of 10,000 square feet; the Trachinian plain, therefore, must have contained nearly 8 square miles.

16. Ἀσωποῦ, not to be confounded with the Boeotian Asopus (see above, I. § 13).

Page 176. — Ἀμφικτύσι, i. e. for the Amphictyonic Council, which met twice in each year, once at Thermopylae and once at Delphi. The word Ἀμφικτύσιες (the same as ἀμφικτύσιες) originally meant *neighbors*, and shows the origin of this and other similar assemblies. The hero Amphictyon, whose temple is here mentioned, was probably invented to connect the foundation of this famous council with the Greek mythology.

17. Θερμο-πύλαι, from the *hot* springs. — φερόντων (like ἔχόντων just before it), *extending*: see note on § 12, above. — τὸ ἐπὶ . . . ἡπείρου (G. 160), *as regards what was on this continent* (Greece): see above, § 3.

18. τοσοῦτοι μὲν, i. e. the 2120 just mentioned.

19. ἦκοιεν represents ἦκομεν of the direct discourse (G. 200, N. 3). — οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι: the indirect discourse changes here from the optative to the infinitive (G. 246). — τῷ (= ᾧ) . . . συνεμύχθη: this aorist, being in a dependent clause, could not be changed to the optative (G. 247, N. 2). — ὀφείλειαν . . . πεσεῖν ἄν, *ought to fall*: ἄν may belong to ὀφείλειαν (= ὀφείλοισι ἄν), *it would be his due to fall*; or it may belong to πεσεῖν (πέσοις ἄν), *it is his due that he should fall* (if he should test his fortune). In the former case it is very irregular in its position; in the latter, in its construction. (See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 42, 2, N.; § 41, N. 4.)

Page 177. — 20. Hdt. honors Leonidas, the king of Sparta who belonged to the elder branch of the royal family, by giving his genealogy through the line of Spartan kings up to Aristodemus, the great-great-grandson of Hercules, one of the semi-fabulous Heraclidæ who led the Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus. The twin sons of Aristodemus — Eurysthenes and Procles — founded the two lines of Spartan kings. (See Smith's larger History of Greece, Chap. IV.)

21. ἔρσηνος γόνου (G. 180, 1, N. 2): Leonidas became king in 491 B. C. — εἶχε, i. e. in marriage. — τοὺς κατεστῶτας, *the established number* of 300, this being the regular body-guard of a Spartan king; Leonidas, however, knowing the desperate nature of the present undertaking, instead of taking youths, as usual, now took only those who had sons living, that no family might become extinct.

22. κατηγορήτο, impersonal (G. 134, N. 2), *it had been charged against them*, μηδέξιν being the subject. — εἴτε συμπέμψουσι: the future optative might be used (G. 243). — ἀλλοφρονέοντες, *reluctantly, or leaning to the other side*.

23. ἵνα . . . στρατεύωνται (G. 216, 2); subj. on the principle of indirect discourse. — μηδέ, *and not*, sc. ἵνα: *and that these too might not join the Persians in case they should learn, &c.* (G. 248). — ὑπερβαλλομένους, *backward, pulling off*. — Κάρνεα, the same festival which kept the Spartans from Marathon: see note on I. § 8. — ὀρτάσαντες, *after keeping the festival*.

Page 178. — ἐνίνωντο (v. νοέω). — ὥς δὲ καὶ . . . καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔτερα τοιαῦτα, pleonastic. — συμπεσούσα (like an adjective with ἦν), coincident: the Olympic festival occurred every fourth year on the first full moon after the summer solstice, about a month before the Spartan Carneia.

24. Ἀθοῦσι (G. 138, N. 8). — περισπερχέντων, being much incensed. the word is very doubtful, and most probably a mistake for περισπερχθέντων (see Liddell and Scott). — ἀλέξασθαι depends on ὀλίγων, too few.

25. ὁκόσοι . . . ποίειν (G. 243): the direct questions would be πόσοι εἰσιν; and τί ποιοῦσιν; — τοὺς ἡγεμόνας (G. 160, 1), by anticipation, instead of being subject of εἶπεν. — Ἡρακλείδης: see above, § 20. — πᾶν μὲν οὐ, not the whole, in antithesis to ὃ δὲ τοὺς ἔω. — ἀλογίης . . . πολλῆς, i. e. very little notice was taken of him. — ἐπάπει (v. ὀράω).

Page 179. — 26. ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ, but . . . since. — Δημάρητον: Demaratus was king of Sparta in the younger or Proclid line, but was declared illegitimate and succeeded on the throne (491 B. C.) by the next heir, Leotychides; soon after which he left his country to join the Persians. He proved the most sagacious counsellor of Xerxes, but was almost always overruled by the jealousy of the Persian court-officers. — γέλωτά με ἔθεν, you made fun of me. — ἀγὼν μέγιστός ἐστι, it is my utmost endeavor.

27. νόμος, (here) custom. — οὕτω ἔχων, of this nature. — τοσοῦτοι, so few. — χρᾶσθαι (G. 269).

28. παρέθηκε (v. παρέζημι), let pass. — φερόμενοι, impetuously. — ἐπεσφίσαν, came up to succeed them (ἐπι-). — καίπερ (G. 277, N. 1 b).

Page 180. — πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι, ὀλίγοι δ' ἄνδρες, many people, but few men.

29. τρηχέως περιέποντο, were roughly handled: περίπειν = to follow round, to tend, to treat, &c. — ἐκδεξάμενοι, succeeding: see note on § 2, above. — θθανάτους, Immortals: this body of 10,000 picked Persians were so called because the vacancies in their ranks were immediately filled, so that the number always remained the same (Hdt. VII. 83). — κατεργασμένοι, sc. τοὺς Ἕλληνας. — οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο, gained no more: see below, § 32, μέγα τι οἰσέσθαι.

30. ἄλλα τε . . . καί, showing, both in other ways, and especially [in this]. — ἐπεσπτάμενοι, used (like an infinitive) with ἀποδεκνύμενοι, showing that they thoroughly (ἐξ-) understood how to fight, &c. (G. 280). — δπως ἐντρέψαιεν (G. 233). — φεύγεσκον (G. 119, 10). — δῆθεν implies that the flight was a pretence. — ἄν belongs to ἐπέστρεφον in the iterative construction (G. 206), not in apodosis. — καταλαμβανόμενοι, when they were overtaken (in their pretended flight). — εἶναι (G. 265). — ἰδυνάτο (G. 126, 5; 119, 3), imperfect for ἰδύναντο.

31. ἀναδραμεῖν, leapt. "With the grave Orientals, nothing could so completely indicate an all-engrossing feeling of fear or horror as a gesture of this kind." Blakesley. — κατατρωματίζεσθαι, indirect discourse with

ἔσεσθαι after ἀπίσαντος. — τὴν ἀτραπὸν, the secret *path* mentioned above in § 1. — ἐνόρων (v. ἐνορώ).

Page 181. — 32. ὁ τι . . . πρήγματι (G. 244 ; 188, 1, n. 2). — διὰ φθεῖρα, brought destruction upon. — Πυλαγόρων, a portion of the delegates to the Amphictyonic council were so called. The meeting of the council was called Πυλαία from Πύλαι (see note on § 16, above), even when it met at Delphi.

33. Πυλαγόροι: there is also a form Πυλαγόραι. — πάντως κού . . . πυθόμενοι, having certainly gained the most accurate knowledge. Many names were current of persons said to have betrayed the pass to Xerxes ; probably it may have been made known by more than one, in a region where many favored the invasion, and many more were in terror of the invader. — τοῦτο δέ, and secondly. — εἰ . . . ὀμνηκῶς εἴη, if he should have had much to do with the region, i. e. as a consequence of having had much to do with it (G. 202, 2) : for the force of the rare perfect optative, see *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 18, 1, with Note.

34. ἦρεσι (v. ἄρισκω). — τῶν ἐστρατήγει (see note on § 29). — ὀρμέατο (G. 119, 3), for ὄρμηγτο. — περὶ λύχων ἀφάς, about lamplight.

Page 182. — τότε (see note on § 3, above). — ἐν σκίπῃ τοῦ πολέμου, sheltered from the war (G. 167, 3). — ἐκ . . . χρηστή, at so remote a period (see G. 191, n. 6) had it (the path) been shown by the Malians (G. 188, 3) to be a pernicious thing : οὐδὲν χρηστή (commonly οὐδὲν χρήσιμος), of no good, is a euphemism for bad : these words are sometimes understood to refer to the pass of Thermopylae itself (ἰσβολήν), and to mean that the Malians had so long ago shown the pass to be useless.

35. Μελάμπυγον : this was an epithet of Hercules, implying manliness and strength. — Κερκόπων : these Cercopes were droll, mischievous dwarfs, who appear often in the stories of Hercules, sometimes amusing and sometimes tormenting the hero. In the local legend of Thermopylae, they appear as footpads lurking about the pass (hence their *seats*, ἔσρας, at the narrowest place), where they steal the arms of Hercules while he is sleeping. Hercules seizes two of them and ties them to a pole, which he throws over his shoulders and walks away with them. They have been varied by their mother to beware of the Μελάμπυγος ; and on seeing this characteristic of Hercules as they are swinging behind him, they make such sport of him that finally he too begins to laugh at their jokes and releases them. A bas-relief taken from a temple at Selinus in Sicily represents Hercules carrying the two Cercopes on his shoulders. The stone called Μελάμπυγος probably had some imaginary resemblance to the sleeping Hercules.

36. τὰ Οἰτᾶων : the mountain (usually called Callidromus) over which the path led forms a part of the Thessalian range of Oeta : the words ἐν δεξιῇ refer to the march southward and eastward after crossing the Asopus. — ῥυόμενοι, keeping guard (as protectors). — φρουρέοντες, guarding (as sentinels). — ἡ κάτω ἰσβολή (G. 141, n. 3), i. e. Thermopylae itself. — ὑποδεξάμενοι, having pledged themselves (or given a promise) to Leonidas.

37. ἀναβηκτός (G. 280). — ὧδε, *as follows*, belongs to ἔμαθον. — ἐνδυνον . . . ἐνδυμένους (G. 199, N. 1) : as they were putting on *their* own armor, the middle is more exact. — οἱ βάρβαροι is subject of ἐγέροντο. — φανήσονται (G. 203, N. 2).

38. μή . . . ἔωσι, *lest they might prove to be* (G. 218 ; 216, 2).

Page 153. — φεύγοντες (G. 279, 4, N.). — ἀρχήν, *originally*, i. e. on purpose to attack them. — παρισκυνάδατο (G. 108, 4, I.). — οἱ δέ refers to Πέρσαι, the subject of the preceding clause : this is not an Attic usage (G. 143, 1).

39. ἦοι (G. 55, N. 1). — ἐπὶ, *besides* (G. 191, N. 2). — οὔτοι, the diviner and the deserters. — οὐκ ἔω, *forbade*.

40. οὐκ ἔχεν (G. 203, N. 1), depends on λίγεται, by a change of construction (G. 260, 2, N. 1). — ἀρχήν : see § 38, above ; ἀρχήν may often be translated *at all*, like Latin *omnino*. — τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστός εἰμι, *I am most strongly inclined to the opinion* : so πολὺς εἰμι (see Liddell and Scott). — κλεῖσθαι (G. 203) depends on the phrase τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστός εἰμι. — αὐτῷ, intensive. — ἔχεν (G. 203, N. 1). — ἐλείπετο, *awaited*. — οὐκ ἐξηλείφετο, *remained undiminished*.

41. γινέσθαι . . . ἀπολείσθαι : we should expect these to be in the future, on the principle of indirect discourse (G. 203) ; but verbs signifying *to give an oracle* are exceptional, probably because they imply a *command*. (See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 23, 1, N. 2). — “The notion which gave rise to this oracle seems to be the one, that in a dire extremity the anger of the deity was only to be propitiated by a most costly offering.” Blakesley. It was related that Leonidas, before he left Sparta, gave instructions to his wife Gorgo for her conduct in widowhood ; and that “funeral games were performed, as over him, in his presence.”

Page 154. — (2.) Περσίδῃσι, *descendants of Perseus* : Herod. (VII. 61) says that the Persians received their name from Perseus, son of the Greek hero Perseus ; a mere device to unite the two similar names. — (3.) τὸ μὲν οὐκ . . . δέ, *not this, but, &c.* — (4.) οἶρος (= ὄρος, *boundary*), *Sparta's bounds*. — (5.) τόν (G. 140), *him*, i. e. the invading Persian. — (7.) ἑτερον, *one or the other*. — δια-δάσθαι (v. δατέομαι or δαλομαι). — ἀποπέμψαι and οἰχεσθαι depend on τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστός εἰμι in § 40, being partly a repetition of κλεῖσθαι, &c. in that passage. All from μένοντι δέ (§ 40) through the oracle is a sort of parenthesis.

42. τὰ ἀνέκαθεν, *by descent*. — οὐκ ἀπελείπετο, *remained not behind*, i. e. *did not separate himself* from the army. Krüger.

43. Θηβαῖοι δέκοντες : as unwilling hostages, they could have been of little service ; it is probable that this is the representation made afterwards by the Thebans, to reconcile themselves with the Persian conqueror. (See § 55.) Their politics were at this time “essentially double-faced and equivocal.” Grote. A later orator, confounding Thespians and Plataeans, says of the latter, that one half the adult citizens perished in the pass,

and the remainder fought in the Athenian fleet at Artemisium and Salamis. — οὐκ ἔφασαν, *said that they would not, &c.* — ἀπολιπόντες (G. 138, N. 8).

44. ἐς ἀγορῆς . . . πληθῶρην, *until about full-market time, i. e. the last part of the forenoon, before μεσημβρία.*

Page 185. — χάρος, here = *space* to be passed over. — τὸ μὲν γὰρ . . . ἐφυλάσσετε refers to the fight of the two preceding days.

45. πολλοί refers to the Persians: but the subject changes suddenly at αἶψα γάρ. — τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου, *the dying.* — ῥάμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον, *their utmost strength*; like ὡς μέγιστον expanded into ὡς (or ὅσον) ἐδύναντο μέγιστον. — παραχρέμενοι (sc. τοῖς σώμασιν), *making their lives of no value.* — ἀτίοντες, *reckless.* — κατεγγότα (v. κατ-άγνυμι). — οἱ δέ, referring to τοῖς πλείοσι, not Attic (see note on § 38, above).

46. γενόμενος, *having proved himself (not having been).* — τὰ οὐνόματα: the names of the 300 could still be read on a column in Sparta in the time of Pausanias, 600 years afterwards. — οἶκον, *his estate.* — ὡς ἰδοῦς gives the reason of Artanes himself.

Page 186. — τοῦτον ὑπέφρουσαν, *rescued his body.* The bones of Leonidas were carried to Sparta forty years later, according to Pausanias; when the column just mentioned was erected. — τοῦτο συνεστήκει, *this kind of battle continued.*

48. πλὴν Θηβαίων: see below, § 55. — λείων, with reference to the name Λεωνίδης. — τοῖσι . . . περιεῦσαι, *such of them as happened still to have them (μάχουραι) left.* — καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι, as we say "tooth and nail," but of course with no comic idea. — ἐξ ἐναντίας, *in front.* — περισταδόν (adv. from stem of περιστήμι), *so as to surround them.*

49. πρὶν ἢ (G. 274, N.). — τοσοῦτο . . . εἶναι depends on εἶπῃ implied in what precedes. — τὸν δέ, *but he*, irregularly inserted, as if the sentence had not been introduced by the relative τὸν, to which πυνόμενον belongs. — ὡς ἀγγέλλοι depends on the *past tense* εἶπεν (G. 203; 201, N. 2). — εἰ . . . ἔσοιτο represents εἰ ἔσται in the direct form (G. 221, N.), *if it was to be (not if it should be).*

51. αὐτοῦ ταυτῇ τῇ περ ἔπεσον, *there (i. e. at Thermopylae), on the spot where they fell.* — σφί refers to the Spartans and Thespians. — πρότερον ἢ . . . οἰχεσθαι, like πρὶν ἢ in § 49: the subject of οἰχεσθαι is τοῖς συμμάχοις understood, which is also implied (in the genitive) after τοῖς πρότερον τελευτήσασι. — ἐπιγέγραπται: this verb applies especially to inscriptions, properly called ἐπιγράμματα (see below, after the inscriptions).

Page 187. — Πελοποννήσου: the Doric form, with *ā* for *η* (G. 30, 1). In the preceding verse, τῷδε and τριακοσίοις are sometimes substituted (on conjecture) for the Ionic forms of the MSS., which can hardly be correct. — χιλιάδες τέτορες: the number who *fought* (ἐμάχοντο), although Herodotus elsewhere speaks as if 4,000 *fell* (VIII. 25). The inscription refers only to those from Peloponnesus, who (according to § 18) amounted to 3,100. But

later writers speak of 700 or 1,000 Lacedaemonians *besides* the 300 Spartans; and these must be included, although Herodotus makes no mention of them. The whole question of the numbers at Thermopylae is much disputed. The stern simplicity of the second inscription has made it especially famous. — ἀγγέλλειν is used for the imperative (G. 269). — In the third inscription, Μεγιστιά is Doric genitive (G. 39); and οὐκ ἔτλη = *scorned* (Rawlinson). — ἔξω ἤ, *except*. — Σιμωνίδης: Simonides, the great lyric poet of Ceos, was often considered the author of all three epigrams. His still more famous ode on the heroes of Thermopylae (or perhaps only a fragment) is preserved by Diodorus:—

Τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων
 εὐκλείης μὲν ἂ τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ πόντος,
 βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γῶν δὲ μῶσσις, ὁ δ' οἶκτος ἔπαινος.
 Ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐτ' εὐρώς
 οὔθ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος, ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν.
 Ὅ δὲ σακὸς οἰκέταν εὐδοξίαν
 Ἑλλάδος εἴλετο· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ Λεωνίδας
 ὁ Σπάρτας βασιλεὺς, ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λειοπῶς
 κόσμον ἀνείων τε κλέος.

"Of those who at Thermopylae were slain,
 Glorious the doom, and beautiful the lot;
 Their tomb an altar: men from tears refrain,
 To honor them; and praise, but mourn them not.
 Such sepulchre nor drear decay
 Nor all-destroying time shall waste; this right have they.
 Within their grave the home-bred glory
 Of Greece was laid; this witness gives
 Leonidas the Spartan, in whose story
 A wreath of famous virtue ever lives."

Translated by STERLING.

52. παρόν = παρόν (G. 278, 2). — μεμετιμένοι (see μεθήμι in Cat. of Verbs). — οὐκ ἐβέλθῃσαι depends on λέγεται in the first line. — τὸν εἰλωτα, *his Helot servant*: each Spartan soldier was entitled to be accompanied by seven Helots, and probably many of these fell in the first battles at Thermopylae, unmentioned by the historian (see, however, VIII. 25). — λαποψυχέοντα, (here) *faint-hearted*.

53. εἰ . . . ἦν, *if it had been* the case. — κομῶν, *return*: see κομίζεσθαι.

Page 158. — προστίθεσθαι ἄν (= προσέθετο ἄν) depends on λέγεται in § 52. — προφάσις (G. 171, 1).

54. *ἡτρίμωτο*, *he was disgraced*, as the perfect *ἡτρίμωται* means *he is disgraced*. — *ἐν Πλαταιῇσι*, i. e. at Plataea, in the following year (479 B. C.). — *ἀνέλαβε*, *he made up for*. — *ἐπενεχθεῖσαν* (v. *ἐπιφέρω*).

55. *ὡς . . . μηδίζουσι . . . ἀπικολατο* (G. 243).

Page 189. — 56. *πλεύνας = πλίονας*. — *σχόντα . . . Πλαταιῶν*: this attack of the Thebans on Plataea was the first hostile act committed in the Peloponnesian War (431 B. C.).

57. *τῇ ἀληθείῃ*, *truthfulness*. — *τὰς διεξόδους*, “*the ins and outs*.” — *οἱ βασιλεὺς γενόμενος*, *since you were once their king*. (See note on § 26, above.) The counsel of Demaratus (here omitted) was that Xerxes should occupy with part of his fleet the island of Cythera, off the south coast of Laconia, which would draw off the Spartans from the defence of the Isthmus, and put all Greece in his power. This wise counsel was overruled by the Persian Achaemenes. It was followed afterwards by the Athenians, in the Peloponnesian War.

58. *ἀποταμόντας*, sc. *τινέας*. — *δῆλα . . . γέγονε* (G. 135, 2). — *τῶν* (= *ὧν*) . . . *ἀνθρώπων* (G. 154, Note).

IV.

Page 190. — 1. *ναυτικὸν στρατόν*: the return of the Greek fleet from the Euripus to its position at Artemisium has been mentioned in III. § 11. After describing the battle of Thermopylae in the Seventh Book, Herodotus begins the Eighth Book with the sea-fight at Artemisium, which took place on the same three days with the battles at Thermopylae (see below, § 15). — *Πλαταιέας*: see I. §§ 11–13. — *πεντηκοντήρους*: these were vessels of the older style with fifty oars, all in one row; while the triremes, the more modern ships of war with three banks of oars, were specially called *νῆες*, sometimes *νῆες μακραί*.

2. *ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίον* (G. 191, N. 6). — *ἡγεμονεῖη*, *be commander-in-chief*.

3. *ἐς Σικελίην*: see II. § 39. — *εἰ στασιάζουσιν, ὡς ἀπολέγεται* (G. 223, N. 1; 247). — *τοσοῦτον . . . ὅσον* (G. 188, 2).

Page 191. — *μέχρι . . . ἰδέοντο*, *so long as they* (the Athenians) *were in extreme need of them* (the Peloponnesian allies): *μέχρι ὅσον* here = *ὅσον χρόνον*. The desertion of these allies, all of whom acknowledged the headship of Sparta, would have withdrawn 113 ships. — *περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου*, i. e. to liberate the Greeks in Asia Minor and the islands: this refers to the beginning of the Confederacy of Delos (about 477 B. C.). See notes, p. 31.

4. *Ἀφερτάς*: see III. § 12, above. — *παρὰ δόξαν . . . ἢ ὡς κατεδόκειον*, pleonastic for *otherwise than as they expected*, *παρὰ δόξαν* being more emphatic than the simple *ἐτέρως*. — *δρησμόν*, *a retreat*, which would have betrayed the force at Thermopylae to destruction, besides leaving Euboea

unprotected against the Persian fleet. — *προσ-μείναι* . . . *χρόνον*, to wait a little longer. — *Θημιστοκλέα*: Herodotus is writing after Themistocles had died in exile, when even his disinterested acts were liable to be suspected of corruption. But whatever we may think of his personal motives, we may easily believe that he used money furnished by the richer Euboeans in the way described in § 5. — *ἐπ' ᾧ* . . . *ποιήσονται* (G. 236, N. 2 and 3).

5. *ἐπισχεῖν* (G. 265). — *ἡσπαιρε*, struggled, i. e. resisted. — *ἀπολιπόντι* represents *ἐλ ἀπολίπους*, as protasis to *πέμψαι δὲ* (G. 226, 1). — *ἡπιστάετο*, imperfect, supposed (G. 126, 5; 119, 3): cf. *ἐυνέατο* above, III. § 30.

Page 192. — 6. *εἰ πως θιοιεν* (G. 226, 4, N. 1), in case they should capture them, i. e. to capture them if they could. — *καταλάβοι*, should close in about them (and save them), — an unusual meaning. — *καὶ ἐμελλον δῆθεν* . . . *περιγενίσθαι*, and they were likely (as the Persians thought, δῆθεν) to make their escape (i. e. if their flight was not hindered); whereas (δέ), according to their (the Persians') talk, not even a torch-bearer was to come off alive. The torch-bearer in an army or fleet kept alive the sacred fire which was brought from home, and his person was held sacred. His fall, therefore, implied the utter annihilation of the whole army. It was a common saying that "not even a torch-bearer escaped" (*οὐδὲ πυρφόρος ἐλείφθη*), implying utter destruction.

7. *πρὸς ταῦτα ὧν*: this corresponds to *ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἀντίης* in § 6, taking the place of a clause with *δέ*. — *ὡς δὲ* (G. 216, 1, N. 2). — *οἱ μὲν*, i. e. those who sailed round Euboea; *σφεῖς δέ*, and they, i. e. the main force; both in apposition with the subject of *περιλάβοιεν*. — *ἐξ ἐναντίας*, in front, like *ἐκ τῆς ἀντίης* in § 6. — *τὰς ταχθείσας*, i. e. the two hundred.

8. *αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο*, got for himself. — *ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἱ παρέσχε ὡς τότε*, but [had not done so], for he had never had [such] an opportunity as then. — *ἔτι*, at length.

Page 193. — *ἐς ὀγδώκοντα*: a swim of about nine miles! This is matched by another later story, that, during the storm at Sepias, the same man with the help of his daughter (also a diver) destroyed many Persian ships by diving down and loosening their anchors.

9. *ἀποδέχθω*, v. *ἀποδείκνυμι* (G. 202, 2, N. 1). — *ὡς γένοιτο*, that it had taken place (G. 243).

10. *ἐπενείκαντες*, ascribing or imputing. — *καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα*, resolved on this; *καταφρονεῖν* has this rare sense only in Ionic Greek. — *ἐς μέσον* implies that they hoped to get the Greeks into the circle which they were about to make. — *ἐπιστάμενοι*, feeling sure. — *ἀπονοστήσα*, would return safe. — *ἡδομένοισι ἦν* (G. 184, 3, N. 5). — *ὅπως* . . . *λάμψεται* depends on the idea of striving in *ἀμιλλαν ἐποιεύντο* (G. 217).

Page 194. — 11. *ὡς ἐσήμηνε*, when the signal was given (G. 134, N. 1 d). — *ἐς τὸ μέσον*: the sterns were brought together as the prows were turned toward the enemy on every side. — *ἔργου εἶχοντο*, held to the work. — *κατὰ*

στόμα, *beak to beak*. — Σαλαμινίων : the Salamis in Cyprus is meant ; but ἐν Σαλαμίνι below refers to the island near Athens.

12. μέσον θέρος, *midsummer* : τῆς ἡρῆς is partitive genitive. The battles of Thermopylae and Artemisium took place in July, 480 B. C. — κατιστάτω, imperfect, = καθίσταντο, *apprehending*. — ἐς οἷα = ἐτι ἐς τοιαῦτα, causal relative (G. 238). — ρεύματα ἰσχυρά, *swollen torrents*.

Page 195. — 13. ὅκως ἄν (G. 216, 1, N. 2). — τὰ Κοῖλα, *the Hollows* of Euboea are probably on the southwest side, opposite Attica.

14. ἐπεβάθεον, *came as reinforcement* : these 53 ships, added to those mentioned in § 1, raised the Athenian fleet to the full number of 200. — τὴν αὐτὴν ἡρῆν, *the same time of day* (see § 9, above).

15. σφι λυμάλινεσθαι, *should harass them* (G. 184, 2). — τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω, *what Xerxes might do*. — οἱ μὲν refers to the Greeks both at Thermopylae and at Artemisium ; οἱ δὲ to the Persians at both places : πόρου refers to the passage by sea and that by land. — ὅκως κρατήσουσι (G. 217, N. 2).

Page 196. — 16. παραλήσιοι, *equally matched*, not in numbers, but as is explained in the next sentence. — αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἑωυτοῦ ἔπιπτε : a Corinthian speaker in Thucyd. I. 69 speaks of the armament of Xerxes as αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῷ σφαλέντα. — τράπεσθαι (Ionic present passive), in apposition with χρήμα.

17. παλήσειε, *should suffer* : cf. ἦν τι καταλαμβάνη (G. 248). — σημαίνειν depends on προσετέτακτο and also on ἐτοίμον. — ἐς ἀναβολάς, *with delay*. The fleet had suffered so severely in the engagements, — half of the Athenian ships being disabled, — that it had already determined to withdraw ; and, by advice of Themistocles, the Greeks were slaughtering the cattle of the Euboeans for their own supplies.

18. περὶ τὰ πότιμα ὕδατα, i. e. on the northern shore of Euboea, where the Persians would land for drinking-water. — ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας : Attica was called the parent city of the Ionians in Asia Minor. — μάλιστα μὲν, *best of all*. — ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε (G. 184, 3, N. 6), i. e. *be neutral*.

Page 197. — καὶ αὐτοί, opposed to τῶν Καρῶν. — ἡ ἔχθρη . . . γέγονε : i. e. in the assistance given by Athens in the Ionic revolt. — βασιλεία, object of λαδόντα. — ἐπαίτε ἀνεναχθῆ : Herodotus occasionally omits ἄν in this construction, contrary to the usage in Attic prose (G. 234 ; 223, N. 2). — διαβληθῇ (sc. τὰ γράμματα), *should be misrepresented* (G. 248, N.).

In the interval which follows, Xerxes is said to have brought the soldiers of his fleet to Thermopylae, that they might view the Grecian dead, — concealing the trenches where 20,000 of his own dead lay buried, — “truly a laughable device,” says Herodotus, “which deceived nobody ; on one side a thousand men lying about the field [as if these were all the Persians had lost], and on the other four thousand crowded together into one spot.” He is also related to have asked of some Arcadian deserters what the Greeks were doing. “Holding the Olympic games,” was the reply, and “seeing

wrestling and chariot-races." "And for what prize?" he asked. "An olive-wreath to the winner." Upon which a Persian officer exclaimed, "What men are these against whom we are brought out to fight?—men who contend with one another for honor, and not for gain!" At this time, too, the Thessalians (who had an old border-feud with the Phocians) sent a messenger into Phocis, offering, for a ransom of fifty talents, to save the district from being ravaged by the Persians: to which the Phocians replied, that they were free as the Thessalians to make friends with the Medes, if they chose; but they would never of their own will be traitors to the liberties of Greece. This heroic answer greatly endeared them in later times to the Athenians; but the opinion of Herodotus was, that their ancient hate would have led them to choose the side opposite to the Thessalians, whichever that had been.

19. *ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα*: it is strange that Herodotus represents the whole army of Xerxes as marching into Boeotia by the road which leads through Doris and Central Phocis by the valley of the Cephissus, — a road which, by crossing a mountain ridge, avoided the pass of Thermopylae altogether. Stein remarks, that probably a part of the army at least passed through Thermopylae and took the upper road, which appears from the names of towns on that route which were burned by the Persians. This road also would be the only one practicable for the cavalry. — *ποδῖών*, *footlet* or *spur* (see Lexicon). — *ἡ περ* refers to Doris. — *μητρόπολις*, i. e. the starting-place of the Dorian emigration: the earlier home of the race was in Thesaly. — *οὐκ ἰδόκεα*, i. e. the Thessalians advised against it.

20. *ἡ κορυφή*, the name Tithorea was given to one of the summits in the mass of mountains called Parnassus: the place here mentioned was probably a natural fortress described by Plutarch (Sull. 15), below the highest peak of Tithorea; the present Velitza. — *κατὰ Νέονα*, *at* (or *above*) *Neon*. — *καμένη ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς*, *lying by itself*, i. e. a solitary peak. — *ἀνηνέκαστο*, understand *their possessions*.

21. *Παραποταμίους*, "*Riverside*," a town and people of the same name on the Cephissus.

Page 198. — *τὰς δὲ πόλεις . . . ἑσώζον*, *were protecting their cities*, i. e. when the Persians entered Boeotia.

23. *εἴτε . . . κατορύξωσι*, (G. 244): the direct question being *κατορύξωμεν*; *shall we bury them?* (G. 256). — *αὐτὸς* before *εἶναι* is adjective (G. 138, N. 8). — *πῆρι* (G. 191, N. 4). — *πέρην*, i. e. across the Gulf of Corinth. — *Κωρύκιον ἄντρον*, the Corycian cave, sacred to Pan and the nymphs, was high above Delphi, in the side of one of the heights of Parnassus. It is described as about 300 feet deep, 40 feet high, and abounding in stalactites.

Page 199. — 24. *ἀπώρεον*, *were in sight of*. — *Προνηΐης*, a title of the Delphian Athena (Attic *Προναία*), who was so called because her temple stood on the way leading to the great temple of Apollo, being thus *before*

the temple (πρὸ ναοῦ). — διὰ πάντων, *above all*: διὰ has occasionally (in Herodotus as in the poets, not in Attic writers) a meaning of *pre-eminence, of going through or beyond*.

25. δύο κορυφαί (G. 138, N. 6), great masses of rock detached from the mountain and thrown down, probably, by the defenders: many such fragments are now to be seen in the pass. — ἰθὺ Βοιωτῶν (G. 182, 2). — μέγας ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν, *of more than human stature*: ἔχοντας cannot be correct here unless there is some error in the preceding words.

26. τοὺς and δύο belong to ἥρωας. — τῆς Κασταλῆς, the famous fountain of Castalia, which flows from the cleft between the two lofty peaks, the Φαυδριάδες, which overhang Delphi. One of these peaks was called Hyampeia. These two peaks above Delphi have caused the idea that the chief peak of Parnassus, Lycoreia, has a double crest.

Page 200. — 27. τὸ ποιητέον = ὁ ποιητέον, as indirect question. — ἐπὶ τοῖσι κατήκουσι (v. καθ-ήκω) πρήγμασι, *on the circumstances that had arisen (or come in)*, like the Attic τὰ καθεστῶτα. — τῶν . . οὐδέν, *nothing of the kind*. — οἱ δέ, the Athenians: see note on III. § 38, above. — ἀπέναι (v. ἀφίημι) depends irregularly on ἐπυνθάνοντο, which takes the participle τεύχοντας regularly (G. 280).

28. Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σώζειν, for Ἀθηναίων τινα τῇ (= ἡ) δύναται σώζειν. — ἐς Τροιζήνα: Troezen, on the Argolic coast, was a seafaring place, sacred to Poseidon, and inhabited by an Ionic people kindred to the Athenians. It deserves to be remembered to the honor of the Troezenians, that they received the Athenian exiles "with eager good-will," and "passed a vote that they should be maintained at the public charge by a daily payment of two obols to every one, and leave be given to the children to gather fruit where they pleased, and schoolmasters paid to instruct them." (Plutarch, Them. 10.) — τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, that with reference to the "wooden walls." — ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ, *in the temple* of Athena Polias, which formed part of the Erechtheum on the Acropolis of Athens. Here was preserved the olive-wood statue of the Goddess, which was believed to have fallen from heaven, and which was decorated with the costly *peplus* at the great Panathenaic festival. — ὡς ἔόντι, i. e. to the serpent as *actually existing*, implying some doubt of his reality on the historian's part. — ἐπιμήνια, *monthly food-offerings*. — ὡς . . ἀπολελοιπύης: it was a common ancient belief, that a city could not be taken or destroyed unless first forsaken by its divinity. Thus the Romans had a formula for summoning forth the Gods of the cities they were about to attack; while the true name of Rome and that of its tutelary divinity were said to be kept as a mystery, lest they should become known to an enemy who might thus disarm the city of its protector. (See Macrobius, Sat. III. 9.)

Page 201. — 30. προθέντος (for the more common λόγον προθέντος), *having given notice*, the usual formula for opening a debate. — τῶν (= ὧν) χωρέων, by attraction for δκου χωρέων τῶν ἐγκρατέες εἰσι, *in which of the places they were themselves masters of*. — ἐπιλέγοντες, as if ἐλεγον or ἐγνώσαν

had preceded. — *ἐνα, where.* — *πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἴσθμῳ,* supply *έόντες* from the clause with *μὲν*.

31. *ἦκειν, had (already) come* (G. 200, N. 3); but *πυρπολλέεσθαι* (regular present), *was burning*: so with *ἦκε* and *έδηξεν* below.

Page 202. — 32. *τρισὶ μηνσί*: it was now September, B. C. 480, on the 20th of which the battle of Salamis was fought. — *ἄρχοντας, being Archon,* i. e. Eponymus for the year: see note on Xen. Hell. 2, III. 1. — *τὸ ἄστυ, the city proper,* all within the circuit of the walls. — *ταμίαις, stewards,* having charge of the temple-treasures.

33. *Ἀρήϊον πάγον, the Areopagus, or Mars' Hill.* — *δκως . . . έφααν* (G. 233). — *ένεδέκοντο, did they entertain them,* i. e. the proposals of the exiled family of Pisistratus.

34. *έκ τῶν άπόρων*: *άπορα* is used like *άπορία*. — *έμπροσθε*: the north side of the Acropolis is still sometimes called *the front*; the gateway and the only entrance are on the west side. — *ήλπισε* has here so much force of *apprehension* that it takes *μή* and the optative like *έφοβήθη* (G. 218): for *ήλπισε άν,* see G. 226, 2. — *ίρὸν . . . Ἀγλαύρου*: the Aglaurium, a sanctuary which commemorated the place where Aglaurus, daughter of Cecrops, was said to have thrown herself from the Acropolis.

Page 203. — *πρὸς τὰς πύλας, the gates of the temple, in the precincts* of which they had ascended.

35. *Ἀρταβάνῃ*: an uncle of Xerxes, who had been left in chief authority at the Persian capital, although he had attempted to dissuade Xerxes from his expedition against Greece.

36. *γηγενίος, born of the Earth*: see II. II. 548, *τίκει δὲ γείωπος άρουρα*. The temple of Erechtheus was one of the three temples united in the building commonly called the Erechtheum; a second was the temple of Athena Polias (see note on § 28, above); the third was the Pandroseum, which contained the sacred olive-tree planted by Athena, and the salt spring (*θάλασσα*) made by the stroke of Poseidon's trident. These were *proofs* (*μαρτύρια*) offered by the rival deities in their famous contest for the possession of Athens, which was represented by Phidias in the group of statues on the western pediment of the Parthenon. — *όσον τε, about, like ως* with words denoting number or size: the *τέ* is a poetic addition (not Attic) allowed by Herodotus (G. 151, N. 4).

37. *κυρωθῆναι* depends on *έμενον*, which sometimes takes the infinitive in the sense of *waiting for* something to be done. — *πρήγμα, subject* of discussion (see § 30, above).

Page 204. — *καί οί* (G. 151, N. 3).

38. *περὶ ούδεμιῃς . . . ναυμαχήσεις, i. e. you will no longer have any country to fight for* (for *οὐ . . . ούδεμιῃς*, see G. 283, 9). — *μή οὐ* (G. 283, 7). — *άναγκάσαι, to prevail upon*: this meaning of *άναγκάσκειν* is not found in Attic.

39. *συμμιξαι*, *communicare*. — *ἑωντοῦ ποιούμενος*, *making* (or *representing*) *them as his own*.

40. *τῶν εἵκεν* (relative), = *τούτων ὧν*, &c.: *τούτων* depending on *λόγον*. — *πολλός*, *frequent* or *urgent*; i. e. *he had much to say*. — *ἀπολυόμενος*, in *his defence*, *sese purgans*. — *οἱ ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι*, *they who do not enter the lists*.

Page 205. — 41. *ἀναζεύξῃς*, *break up, move off*; lit. *yoke up*, used properly of moving by land. — *ἀναπτεταμένῳ*, *open* (as a bird with its wings spread), in contrast with the narrow waters at Salamis. — *ἐς τό* (relative), supply *ἀνάγειν* or some similar verb. — *βαρυτέρας* (if correct) must mean *heavier* in movement, not *larger*. — *σφέας*, the Persians. — *κινδυνεύσεις* . . . Ἑλλάδι: compare *κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ* in III. 27.

42. *τοσάδε*, *the following* (G. 148, N. 1). — *πρὸς ἡμέων*, *for our advantage*. — *ἐς τήν* (G. 191, N. 6). — *ἐν αὐτοῖσι* (as above), i. e. in what I propose. — *μένων* = *ἦν μένης* (G. 226, 1).

43. *περιοῦσι*: cf. *περιγίνεται* in § 42. — *λόγιον* refers to the oracle, II. § 35. — *οἰκῶτα* is object of *βουλευομένοισι*, and is also understood as subject of *ἔθελε*, which here is used like *φιλεῖ* = *solet*. — *βουλευομένοισι* before *οὐκ ἔθελε* is *dat. commodi*, i. e. *for their sake*.

Page 206. — *προσχωρεῖν* . . . *γνώμας*, *conform (go over) to human ideas*.

44. *τῷ μὴ ἔστι* (G. 238): *μὴ* shows that there is a conditional as well as a causal force in the relative clause. — *ἐπιψηφίζεαν ἀπὸλι ἀνδρὶ*, *to put a question to vote for* (i. e. *on the motion of*) *a man without a country*. — *οὕτω συμβάλλεσθαι*, *then* (i. e. *after declaring his country*) *to join in proposing opinions*. — *ἑωντοῖσι*, *to himself and his fellow-citizens*. — *ἔστι ἄν*, so long as: the subjunctive in the direct discourse depends on *ἔστι* (here changed to *εἴη*), which has a future (as well as present) sense; the idea being, *we can certainly be said to have a country, so long as we have 200 ships to show*.

45. *ἐπιστραμμένα* (v. *ἐπιστρέφω*), *pressing, emphatic*. — *ἐ μείνας καὶ ἔσται*: the apodosis is suppressed, *it will be well*. — *τὸ πᾶν . . . φέρουσι*, i. e. *with them rests the whole fortune of war*. — *οἰκέτας*, (here) *our households*. — *Σίριν*, a town near Sybaris in Southern Italy. — *καὶ . . . αὐτήν*, *and which* (G. 156): a relative is seldom repeated in a new case, but a personal or demonstrative takes its place.

46. *δοκίαν*, used absolutely (G. 268). — *μὴ . . . ἀπολίπωσι* (G. 218; 216, 2). — *οὐκίτι* belongs to *ἀξιόμαχοι*. — *οἱ περὶ Σαλαμίνα* (G. 141, N. 3): *ἀκροβολισάμενοι*, *after skirmishing*.

Page 207. — *Αἰακίδας*: among the descendants of Aeacus were Peleus and his son Achilles. It is not to be supposed that the ship was sent for images of these heroes; but it was believed that they would come in person, though unseen, to help the Greeks.

47. *Δημαρήτω*: see note on III. § 57. — *Θριασίῳ πέδιῳ*, between Parnes and Eleusis. — *ἐπείν κοτε εἴη*, indirect question, like *δ τι εἴη* (below). — *πρόκατε* (= *πρόκα τε*), *suddenly, all at once*. — *ἱαχον*, the song sung by

the procession of the initiated (*μύσται* or *μεινυμένοι*) as they marched along the Sacred Way from Athens to the temple at Eleusis at the annual festival of Demeter: the name comes from the frequent recurrence of the verse *Ἰακχ', ὦ Ἰακχε*, in which Dionysus (or Bacchus) was invoked under the name of Iacchus.

48. *αὐτός* belongs to the omitted subject of *εἶπαι* (see G. 138, n. 8): *ἔφη* is still understood. — *ἑρήμου ἐούσης*, causal. — *Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ*, to Demeter (the Earth-mother or Ceres) and Core (the Daughter, Proserpine or Persephone; *Κόρη*, Ionic *Κούρη*). — *μυείται*, is initiated: the term probably refers to the candidates for initiation having their eyes closed or covered. — *τὴν φωνήν* (G. 159).

Page 208. — 49. *οὐδὲ εἷς*, *ne unus quidem*, more emphatic than the simple *οὐδέ τις*. — *ἐκ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ*, after the dust. — *ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος*, towards Salamis; but *ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον*, into the camp. — *καταπτόμενος*, calling to witness; properly used of clinging to the image of a God who is invoked.

50. *θηησάμενοι*: see note after § 18, above. — *Φαλήρω*, the old port of Athens; see map, and note on Xen. Hell. ii. 4, 11.

Herodotus now describes a discussion (here omitted), in which an immediate attack on the Greek fleet at Salamis was urged by all the Persian commanders except Artemisia, the queen of Halicarnassus. She advised distracting the Greeks by threatening various parts of their coast with attack. But her counsel seemed timid and slow, and was overruled by the majority, whom Xerxes followed. Herodotus also remarks, that the army and navy of Xerxes, when they reached Attica, were as numerous as they had been before the storm at Sepias and the battles at Artemisium and Thermopylae, the losses being made up by accessions from the Greeks. This, however, may well be questioned.

The movement mentioned in the words *ἀνήγον τὰς νῆας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα*, seems to have consisted in sailing across to some position southeast of Salamis, from which an attack could be made the next day on the Athenian fleet, which was lying in the Bay of Salamis (on the east side of the island). — *ὅτι . . . μέλλουσιν* (G. 250, n.).

51. *ἐπορεύετο*, began its march. — *συνγχάσαντες*, having destroyed (*dug away*): the road along the shore from Megara to Corinth is here artificially made on the steep side of the Scironian cliff (*Σκιρωνίδες*), and it is still rendered impassable by an ordinary rain-storm. This is the place at which the robber Sciron kicked travellers into the sea, until he was himself served in the same way by Theseus. (He has resumed his old business in later years, and a new Theseus is sadly needed there.)

Page 209. — *φορμολὶ ψάμμου πλήρεις*, gabions.

52. *περὶ τοῦ παντὸς δρόμον θέοντες*, running a race for the whole, i. e. having everything at stake. — *ἄνθρωπος ἀνδρὶ παραστάς*, each man with his neighbor. — *τέλος* (G. 160, 2). — *ἔξερράγη*, the excitement broke out (like a storm). — *οἱ μὲν*, as if πολλοὶ ἔλεγον preceded; to this corresponds *Ἄθη-*

ναῖοι δέ, &c. — ἀμύνεσθαι depends on some word like *καλέοντες* understood with Ἀθηναῖοι, &c.

53. λαθόν, *secretly*. — ἐπεδέκοντο πολίητας : after the great losses sustained at Thermopylae and later at Plataea, Thespieae was obliged to admit new citizens. This Sicinnus was an Asiatic by birth, and probably spoke Persian. — λάθρη = λάθρα (G. 182, 2). — φρονέων τὰ βασιλείας, *favoring the King's cause*. — παρέχεα, *affords you an opportunity*.

Page 210. — περιδύετε διαδράντας, *allow to escape* : notice the tense of the participle (G. 279, 3). — πρὸς ἑαυτούς, *against each other* (G. 146, N. 3).

The first object of Themistocles was certainly to make a retreat of the Greek fleet impossible, as he believed that thus only could the progress of Xerxes be checked. He also wished to divert the attention of the Persian commanders from their original plan of attack to an entirely new one of cutting off a retreat, thus making them careless at the critical moment, and perhaps inducing them to divide their fleet. It can hardly be doubted, however, that here — as in his later stratagem (§ 85) — he had a crafty scheme for “laying up treasure” (ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι, § 84) with the King, in case the Greek cause should fail or he himself (as actually happened) should be driven to seek the protection of Persia.

54. τοῦτο δέ, *secondly*. — ἀνήγον . . . Σαλαμίνα, *they brought their west wing up to Salamis, sailing round the island* (or *surrounding the island*, i. e. with ships stationed at important points). This refers to the ships which formed the west wing as they were stationed the evening before the battle (see note on § 50). — οἱ ἀμφὶ . . . Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, *those who had been stationed about Ceos and Cynosura* : it is now generally agreed that this Cynosura must be some point of Salamis, and not the Cynosura of the bay of Marathon. The word (lit. *dog's tail*) means simply a *long point of land*, and the eastern point of Salamis suits the description better than any other. Ceos must be some place or point in the immediate neighborhood. — κατεῖχον . . . πορθμόν : the ships just mentioned, which were lying off Cynosura at nightfall, now advanced and blockaded the channel between Salamis and the peninsula of Piræus (in which is Munychia). — ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων (cf. πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων, above), sc. *τινάς* (G. 170, 1). — ὥς . . . ἔροισμένον, *because (they thought) both the men and the wrecks would be especially likely to be brought ashore here*. — ἐν πόρῳ, &c., i. e. *in the passage where the battle was to be fought*.

The description of Herodotus, thus interpreted, agrees in all essential points with that of Aeschylus. The great tragedian, who had fought in the Athenian ranks of Marathon, was also in the battle of Salamis. It is to be assumed that no account of the position of the Persian fleet on that eventful morning can be correct, which does not agree with his description in the “Persians.” This tragedy, exhibited in Athens in 472 B. C., contains a graphic account of the battle, which a messenger, just arrived at the Persian court from Salamis, narrates to Queen Atossa, the mother of

Xerxes. The three principal points mentioned by Herodotus in § 54 are prominent in Aeschylus. The landing of Persian troops on Psyttaleia, and their slaughter, are made a most important part of the story (see note on § 75). The stratagem of Themistocles is mentioned as the chief cause of the Persian defeat. In consequence of this, Xerxes first orders a triple line of ships "to guard the passage out and the roaring straits" (i. e. the southern entrance of the straits of Salamis); then "others ("to guard," or "to sail") in a circle round the isle of Ajax" (i. e. Salamis). The former are the ships described by Herodotus as holding "all the channel as far as Munychia"; the latter must be "the west wing," which the Persians bring round to Salamis (κυκλούμενοι). This last is made clearer by the statement of Diodorus, that Xerxes sent round the Egyptian ships to blockade the passage between the northwest point of Salamis and the mainland of Megara. This is the movement to which Aristides refers in § 58. We may suppose that other ships were placed at other points around Salamis, where they would be of service if the Greeks made their expected attempt to escape by night. Aeschylus then describes the disappointment of the Persians when no signs of flight appeared; and their consternation, at break of day, when, as the sun rose, they heard the solemn paean—the war-cry of the Greeks—and the blast of the trumpet echo from the hills of Salamis. He represents the attack as begun by a Greek ship. The battle seems to have been fought chiefly within the straits, so that the Persian right extended towards Eleusis, and their left towards Piræus (§ 62). The Persians probably advanced in line from the open sea into the narrows, where they were soon thrown into confusion from want of room. Aeschylus speaks of the stream (ρεύμα) of the Persian fleet, which probably refers to their mode of entering the straits. The Persians were so soon thrown into confusion, that the fight must have rapidly lost its regularity, and probably no systematic plan of the Greek commander was carried out. This explains the confused accounts which we have of the progress of the battle, as to which Herodotus (§ 64) confesses himself unable to give details.

The battle of Salamis was fought on the 20th of September, 480 B. C.

55. συνεσθηκότων, in conflict (see note on II. § 36, above). — Ἀριστίδης: Aristides, who had been one of the generals at Marathon, was banished from Athens by ostracism (see Dict. of Antiquities) in 482 B. C.; but his sentence had been revoked since the invasion of Xerxes had begun, on the motion of Themistocles, his bitter enemy and rival. Recalled too late to return to Athens, he thus joined the Athenians in their camp at Salamis the night before the eventful battle, bringing news of the movement of the Persians which was most welcome to Themistocles.

Page 211. — 56. περὶ τοῦ, &c., on the question, &c. — ἴσον ἔστί, it is all one. — Ἡελοποννησίωσι is to be joined with ἀποπλόου.

57. εἰ ἐμὸ, at my instigation. — παραστήσασθαι, to bring them over, i. e. to my opinion. — ὥς οὐ ποιείντων . . . ταῦτα, because (as they will say) the barbarians are not really doing this (G. 277, N. 2).

58. ἦκαν καὶ ἐκπλῶσαι, indirect discourse for ἦκαν καὶ ἐξέπλωσα. — τοὺς ἐπορμόντας shows that the sea between Salamis and Aegina was occupied during the night by part of the Persian fleet (see note on § 54).

Page 212. — ἐπέθοντο here takes the accusative, as in II. § 34.

59. ἐς τὸν τρίποδα: this tripod was erected after the battle of Plataea. A portion of the pedestal, 16 feet high, is now in Constantinople; and the ~~of the states which "overthrew the Barbarian" (including the Teni-~~

62. κατὰ, opposed to. — πρὸς ἐσπέρης and πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ here are west and southeast; Eleusis and the Piraeus giving the general direction of the Persian line. — Θεμιστοκλῆος ἐντολὰς; see § 18, above. — χαίρειν . . . οὐδέν (G. 188, 1, N. 2). — εὐεργέτης ἀνεγράφη: "Recording name is repeatedly spoken of in the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylon as the highest object of man's ambition. See Esther vi. 1." (Rawlinson.)

63. τῶν νεῶν, i. e. Persian, as τούτους refers to certain Persians. — ἐμέλλε . . . συνοίσεσθαι, the result was bound to be such, &c. — ἦσαν καὶ ἐγέγονον, were and proved themselves. — αὐτοὶ ἑαυτῶν, compared with themselves (i. e. at other times): the comparative here takes two constructions, a genitive and a clause with ἥ, the former being inserted merely for emphasis.

64. μετεξέτερους, individuals. — Ἀρτεμισίην: as Artemisia was queen

of Halicarnassus, the birthplace of Herodotus, he makes more special mention of her. (See also note on § 50, above.) — καὶ ἥ: see below.

Page 214. — ἐμπροσθὶ γάρ: the clause introduced by γάρ ends with ἰδοῦσα, after which ἔδοξέ οἱ, it pleased her, irregularly takes the place of a personal verb belonging to καὶ ἥ. — πρὸς . . . μάλιστα, close upon. — τὸ καὶ συνήνεκε, which succeeded too: see § 66, below. — φέρουσα, bearing down. — ἀνδρῶν τε . . . καὶ: this implies that the ship was *not only* (τέ) manned by Calyndians, *but also* (καὶ) bore the king (?) of Calynda (a Carian town): ἐκπλωόντος is genitive absolute.

65. εἰ μὲν καὶ τι . . . ἐγγόνει, even if we admit that she had had some quarrel with him, still, &c. — μέντοι is used like δέ in apodosis (G. 227, 2). — παραπεσοῦσα: Herodotus used συγκυρίω (as well as συμπίπτω) with the participle, like τυγχάνω in Attic (G. 279, 4).

66. ἀπὸ τοῦτον, by what she had done (not especially κακόν). — καὶ τόν (G. 143, 2): so καὶ τοῦς. — φάναί, assented (imperfect). — ἐπισταμένους, recognizing; but ἠπιστέατο, believed (wrongly). — αὐτῇ συνήνεκε, proved fortunate for her (Krüger), as in § 64, above; γινόμενα being causal: but συνήνεκε may perhaps be taken with γινόμενα, happened to result fortunately, like συνεκέρησε in § 65 (we have, however, συνήνεκε γενέσθαι in § 66). — καὶ τὸ . . . γενέσθαι, and especially the circumstance, that, &c., referring to τὰ τε ἄλλα. — γυγνάσκει μοι (G. 184, 3, N. 6).

67. ἀπὸ δέ (sc. ἔθανον) = ἀπείθανον.

Page 215. — ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ, in the hand-to-hand conflict — ἀποδεξόμενοι here belongs to ἀποδεκνυμι, as ἀποδεξάμενοι in II. § 17: see note on I. § 6.

68. ὥς . . . ἀπολόατο (G. 122, 2), i. e. that the collision was not accidental. — ὥς προδόντων, sc. τῶν Ἰώνων, because (as the Phoenicians charged, ὥς) they had been traitors: the genitive absolute is more emphatic than the simpler ὥς προδόντας would have been. — τοιόνδε, as follows. — κατέδραττο . . . κατέδυσε: notice the difference in the voice and the tense. — τῆς καταδυσάσης νεός, the ship which had sunk them. — ἔσχον, took possession (not had or held).

69. ἐκέλευσε, sc. τινάς as subject of ἀποταμεῖν. — αὐτοί refers to the Phoenicians generally, who were to be taught a lesson. — ὅπως . . . ὥσῃ, whenever he saw (G. 233). — ὑπὸ, at the foot of: the eminence on which Xerxes sat during the battle is low compared with the higher mountain of which it is a projection. — πατρώδην, i. e. adding his father's name to his own, in the Athenian style. — προσεβόλετο . . . πάθος, i. e. he contributed somewhat (τι) to this disaster of the Phoenicians (G. 170). — φίλος ἔόν, sc. τοῖς Ἴωσι.

Page 216. — 70. ἐν τῇ πορθμῷ, between Psyttaleia and the Piræus. The battle was fought between Salamis and the mainland, so that this remote position of the Aeginetans could still be called in the channel: hence ἐκπλωόντων and ἐκπλωούσας.

71. *διόκουσα νία*, (sc. *πολέμην*). — *τὴν προφυλάσσουσάν ἐπὶ Σικιάδῃ*: see note on III. § 5. — *κατακοπίντα*, *badly mangled, cut up*. — *τῆς στρατηγίδος*, *the flag-ship* (of Themistocles). — *ἐς τὸν μηδισμόν* refers to the charges made against the Aeginetans before the battle of Marathon: see I. § 3. — *ἐπὶ*, *to the protection of*.

72. *ἤκουσαν ἀριστα*, *gained the greatest glory*: *εὖ* (or *κακῶς*) *ἀκούειν* = *bene* (or *male*) *audire*. — *Ἀρτεμισίην*: see § 65, and note on § 64. — *πρότερον ἢ εἰλε = πρὶν εἰλε*, *before he had captured, priusquam cepisset* (G. 240, 1; 232, 2). — *ἢ* after *μὴν* = *or*. — *ὅς ἂν εἴη*, [to anybody] *who should take her alive* (G. 248). — *γυναικα*: so Demosthenes afterwards resented the Athenians' fear of the later queen Artemisia of Caria (the builder of the Mausoleum), calling her *βάρβαρον ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ταῦτα γυναῖκα*, *a barbarian, and a woman at that*.

Page 217. — *ἦσαν δὲ . . . Φαλήρῃ* repeats the statement of the last sentence in § 71, after the digression.

73. *ὡς δὲ . . . γίνεσθαι*, *and when they came, &c.* (G. 260, 2, κ. 2). — *ἵπὸν Ἀθηναίης Σικράδος*: this was probably on the southern point of Salamis. — *οὔτε τι . . . εἰδόσι* for *οὐδέν τι . . . εἰδότες*. — *ἤρῳτο* (v. *ἠρόμαι*), *prayed*.

74. *οἷοί τε*, *ready*. — *ἐπ' ἐξερχασμένοισι*, *after all was over*. — *οὐ μίντοι*, &c.: Herodotus, who evidently disbelieved this story, (as Rawlinson remarks) "recorded it more on account of its poetic character than from ill-will towards Corinth."

75. *κατεφόνευσαν*: this is represented by the messenger in the *Persians* of Aeschylus as taking place after the battle, and as the worst disaster of the day. The Persian here slain are called "the finest, the bravest, the noblest, and the first in the King's confidence." (See § 54, above.)

Page 218. — 76. *Κωλιάδα*: this was on the Attic coast, a little more than two miles southeast of Phalerum. — *ἀποπλήσσαι*, *to fulfil*, governs *τὸν χρησμόν*, which is explained by *τόν τε ἄλλον . . . Μουσαίῃ*, and irregularly by *τὸ εἰρημένον*, &c.: for the latter we should expect *τὸν κατὰ τὰ ναυήγια . . . εἰρημένον*. — *ἐλελήθει*, *had escaped the notice of*. — *φρίξουσι* in the oracle must mean *shall roast* (i. e. *cook*) with the wood of the oars which shall drift ashore. The MSS. have *φρίξουσι*, which might mean *shall shudder* at the sight of oars (?). The following words, *ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέως*, favor the common emendation *φρίξουσι*.

77. *χῶμα διαχοῦν*, *to build a mole or dam* from the Attic shore to Salamis. He also (τῷ) began a bridge of boats, and pretended to be preparing for another sea-fight, while he was really planning a retreat (*δρησμόν*). — *ἐκ παντὸς νόου*, *in real earnest*. — *πολεμήσειν* is irregular after *παρεσκευάσται* (G. 202, 3.).

78. *παρυγίγνεται*, *travels* (lit. *comes in, arrives*). — *οὕτω*, *with such skill*.

Page 219. — *ὕσων ἂν ᾗ* (G. 225). — *μὴ οὐ* (G. 283, 7; 263, 1, κ.). —

κατ' ἄλλον, *by one after another*, a strange expression (perhaps a mistake) for κατ' ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον. — λαμπαδηφορία, *torch-race*, like λαμπάς (I. § 7).

80. Μαρδόνιον: see below, § 86. — παρσόμενον, *in attempt*, i. e. *so far as he could*, belongs to the subject of ποιεῖν. — ἐς τοσούτο ἐγένετο, *thus far did matters advance*. — ὡς τάχως εἶχε (G. 168, N. 3). — διαφυλασσάσας . . . βασιλῆϊ, *to guard the bridges for the King's passage* (G. 265). — Ζωστήρης: Zôster is a promontory of Attica about half-way between the Piræus and Sunium. — ἐπὶ πολλόν, *to a great distance*.

Page 220. — 81. ἤλπιζον, *they supposed*, followed by εἶναι in indirect discourse (G. 203).

82. εἰ λύσονται . . . τοῦτ' ἂν . . . ἐργάσαιντο: the direct form would have the same tenses and moods (G. 227, 1). — ἡσυχίην μὴ ἔχων, *to avoid keeping quiet*. — ἀγonti μὲν = εἰάν μὲν ἀγῃ (G. 226, 1). — οὔτε . . . ἔσται, *neither can anything succeed*. — κομιδῇ, *return*. — τὸν ἐπέτεον αἰεὶ καρπὸν, *the harvest of each successive year*. — ἀλλὰ belongs to ἐατέον εἶναι (sc. ἔφη). — ἐς δ' εὖθι, *until he comes*, without ἂν (G. 232, 3; 234).

83. μεταβαλόν, *turning*, i. e. *from the others to the Athenians*. — ἄρμεατο, *were eager (set out)*. — καὶ ἐπὶ σφείων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι, *even taking it upon themselves*, i. e. *on their own responsibility*. — ἄλλοι = οἱ ἄλλοι.

Page 221. — πολλοῖσι, *many occasions*. — ἀναλαμβάναν, *retrieve*. — εὖρημα, *good luck or godsend*: the idea is, that the rescue of ourselves and of Greece is a piece of special good fortune.

84. καταβάλλων τὰ δῶδάματα: the Persian religion, like the Jewish, was uncompromisingly hostile to idols (iconoclastic). A Persian therefore might commit acts with no sacrilegious intent which would be gross impiety in the eyes of a Greek. — ἀπειραστίγῳσι: see II. § 9, above. — ἀλλ' . . . γάρ, *but, since*. — ἐπιμεληθῆναι (G. 270), *let us care for*: we should expect δεῖ here. — καὶ τις (G. 150, N.). — ἀποθήκην: see note on § 53. — τὰ περ ἐγένετο: Themistocles took refuge in Persia after the death of Xerxes, when he claimed the favor of the King on the ground of the services rendered to the Persian cause at this time, confessing and boasting that his action had been treacherous to the Greeks. It may be doubted whether he deceived the Greeks, or the Persians, or both. Grote remarks: "There existed in the mind of this eminent man an almost unparalleled combination of splendid patriotism, long-sighted cunning, and selfish rapacity. . . . Moreover, a clever man tainted with such constant guilt might naturally calculate on being one day detected and punished, even if the Greeks proved successful."

85. διέβαλλε, *deceived them*. — Connect σιγᾶν τὰ (= αἱ) ἐνετεῖατο.

Page 222. — ἀπέπλων ὁπίσω: after this, Themistocles sent threatening messages to many of the Greek islanders, by which he extorted large sums of money, which laid the foundation of his great wealth of 80 or 100 talents. At Andros he demanded payment in the name of "those mighty Gods of Athens, Persuasion and Necessity"; but the Andrians refused in

the name of their "two unprofitable Gods, who never desert their island, Poverty and Helplessness," and submitted to a siege, in which they baffled all the efforts of the Athenians.

86. ἔδοξε with *προτίμψαι* (G. 202) means *it seemed good*; but with *εἶναι* (G. 203) it means *it seemed*, and so with the following infinitive. — οὐκ ἔφη, i. e. *said that he would not*. — *τρίηκοντα μυριάδας*: this is the army which remained in Greece during the winter, and was defeated at Plataea in the following year (479 B. C.).

87. οὐδὲν μέρος, i. e. no important part, compared with the host with which he entered. — οἱ δέ (G. 227, 2).

Page 223. — *ἵνα . . . γίνωιτο ἐλαύνων*, wherever he happened to come in his march, depends on the frequentative force of *ἐπιτάσσω* (G. 233). — *ἄρμα τοῦ Διὸς*: see note on II. § 13, above. — *ἀπέλαβε*, receive back: so *ἀποδίδωμι* means *give back* or *repay*. — *νεμομένας*, as they were in pasture, refers to the eight white mares (called simply *ἵπποι λευκοί* in II. 13) which drew the sacred chariot: compare the poetic use of *ἀφ' ἵππων*, &c., referring to the chariot.

88. *τῆσι νηυσί*: see §§ 80 and 96. — *ἐμπιπλάμενοι*, gorging themselves.

89. *ἔδε*, as follows, after *λεγόμενος*; not *ἔδε λόγος* (without *ὁ*): this is probably a specimen of the tales current in Greece which were invented to malign the servile temper of the Asiatics. — *χαμαίνεσθαι* (sc. *τὸν βασιλέα*), was suffering from the storm. — *ὥστε ἄτε* (G. 277, N. 2). — *ἐπιβατίων*, here probably simply *passengers*: see note on § 60.

90. *κηδόμενος* (G. 280). — *οἶκε = ἔοικε*.

Page 224. — *ἀποσωθῆναι*, was brought safe. — *ὡς δὲ ἐκβῆναι* (G. 260, 2, N. 2).

91. *οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ . . . πάθος*, neither in other points, nor as to this which [is said to have] happened to the Persians. — *ἀντίξουν μὴ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι τοιόνδε*, opposed to the idea that he would have done something like this: *μή* is used because of the negative idea of *ἀντίξοος* (G. 283, 6), while *οὐ* is added because of *οὐκ ἔχω* (G. 283, 7.) — *τοὺς μὲν καταβιβάζσαι* (sc. *ἂν*) is added (by apposition) to explain *ποιήσαι ἂν*; but *δίκως οὐκ ἂν . . . ἐξέβαλε* reverts to the construction which *ποιήσαι ἂν* represents (*ἐποίησε ἂν*).

92. *τραπόμενοι*, after the fruitless siege of Andros: see note on § 85. — *ἐγένετο ἀνδρίδα*, a statue was made.

93. *τῷ γενομένῳ*, to him who had shown himself. — *διενέμοντο*, gave their votes; lit. distributed among themselves, because all voted for some of those present.

Page 225. — *δεύτερα* (adverb), in the second place. — *συνεξέπιπτον*, happened (fell out) to agree: see § 30. — *ἑμουνόοντο*, had but one vote apiece.

94. *ἀκρίτων*, in active sense: Krüger, however, interprets it *unjudged*, with their merits undecided. — *δριστηία μὲν*: we must understand *ἀνδραγαθίης* or some such word; Plutarch says (Them. XVII.), *Ἐθρυβιάδῃ μὲν*

ἀνδράσιν, ἐκείνῳ (i. e. Themistocles) *δὲ σὺφλας ἀριστερόν ἔβοον.* (Stein will even insert the word in the text.) — *ἱππείας*: the 300 knights were the regular body-guard of a Spartan king when he went into battle; Leonidas, however, chose a special band of 300 to accompany him to Thermopylae (see note on III. § 21).

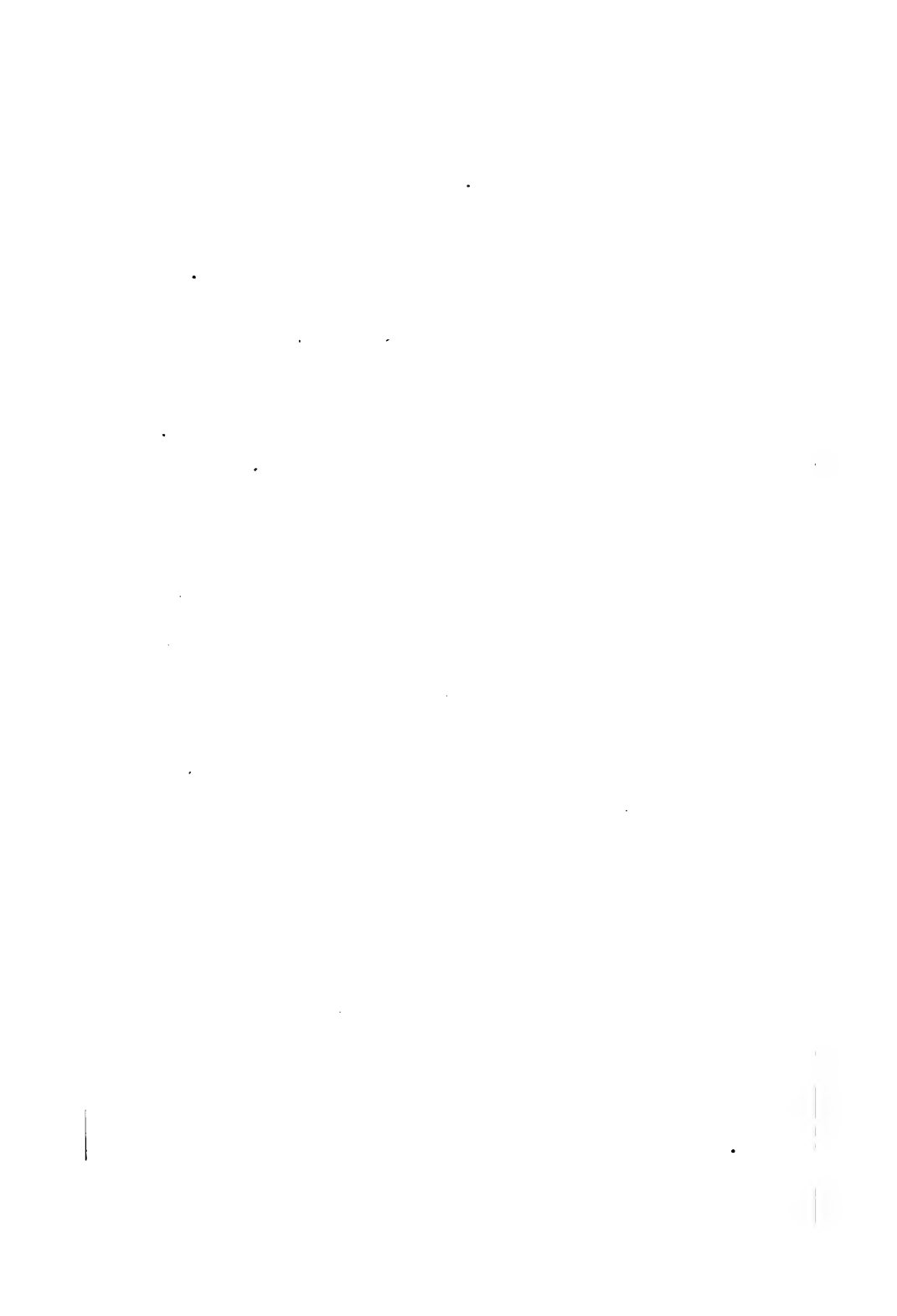
95. *ὅς . . . ἔχου* depends on the idea of *saying* in *ἐνέκεα*. — *Τυρόδημος*: we must suppose this man to have been a native of Belbina, a little island near Sunium, and to have been made an Attic citizen and enrolled in the deme of Aphidnae. Plato and many other writers tell the same story of a Seriphian, without making him a citizen of Athens. — *ἐάν*, *if I were*, = *εἰ ἦν* (G. 222; 226, 1), and *if thou wert*. — *Ἀθηναῖος* must here mean *born in Athens*.

96. *ναυτικός*, sc. *στρατός*. — *ὃ ἔλιπεσσι περιγενόμενος*, unless *ὃ* is inserted before the participle, will mean *which remained to (belonging to) Xerxes*. — *προσέμυθε*, *arrived at*. — *Κύμῃ*, in Aeolis, on the coast of Asia Minor.

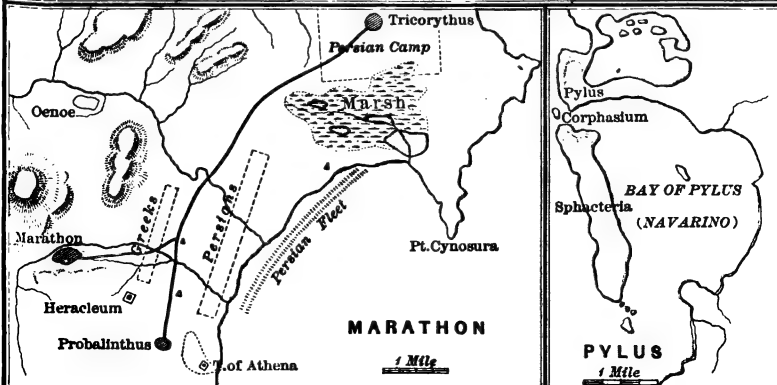
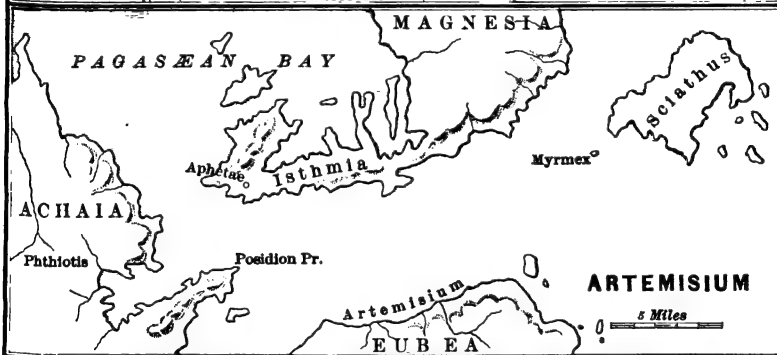
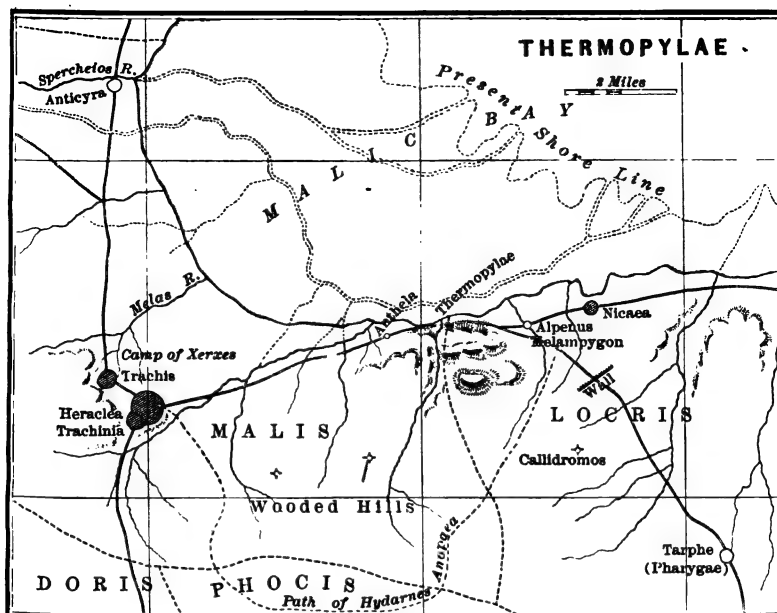
In the following spring, the army of Mardonius re-entered Central Greece, and again occupied Athens; the Athenians, as before, retreated to Salamis. At the great battle of Plataea, in which the Greeks were commanded by the Spartan Pausanias, Mardonius was defeated and slain, and his army nearly annihilated. This disaster, with the defeat in the sea-fight at Mycale, on the same day, was the final act of the Persian wars in Greece.

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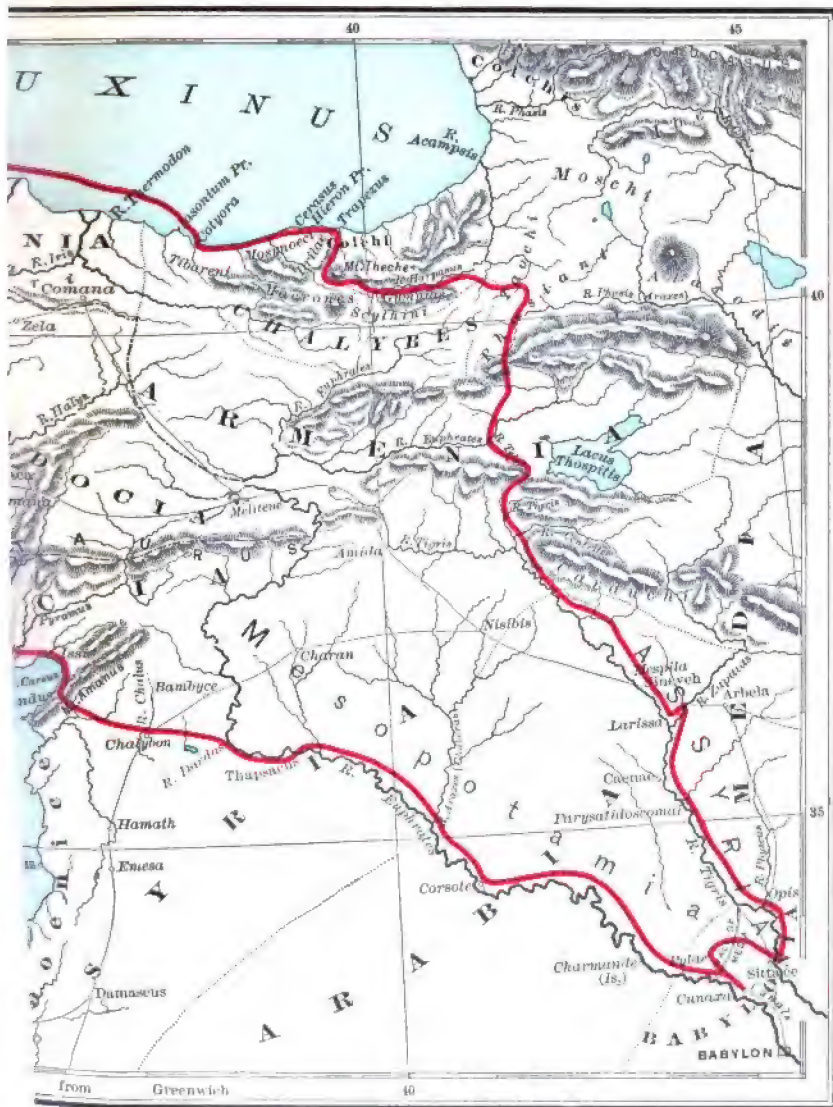




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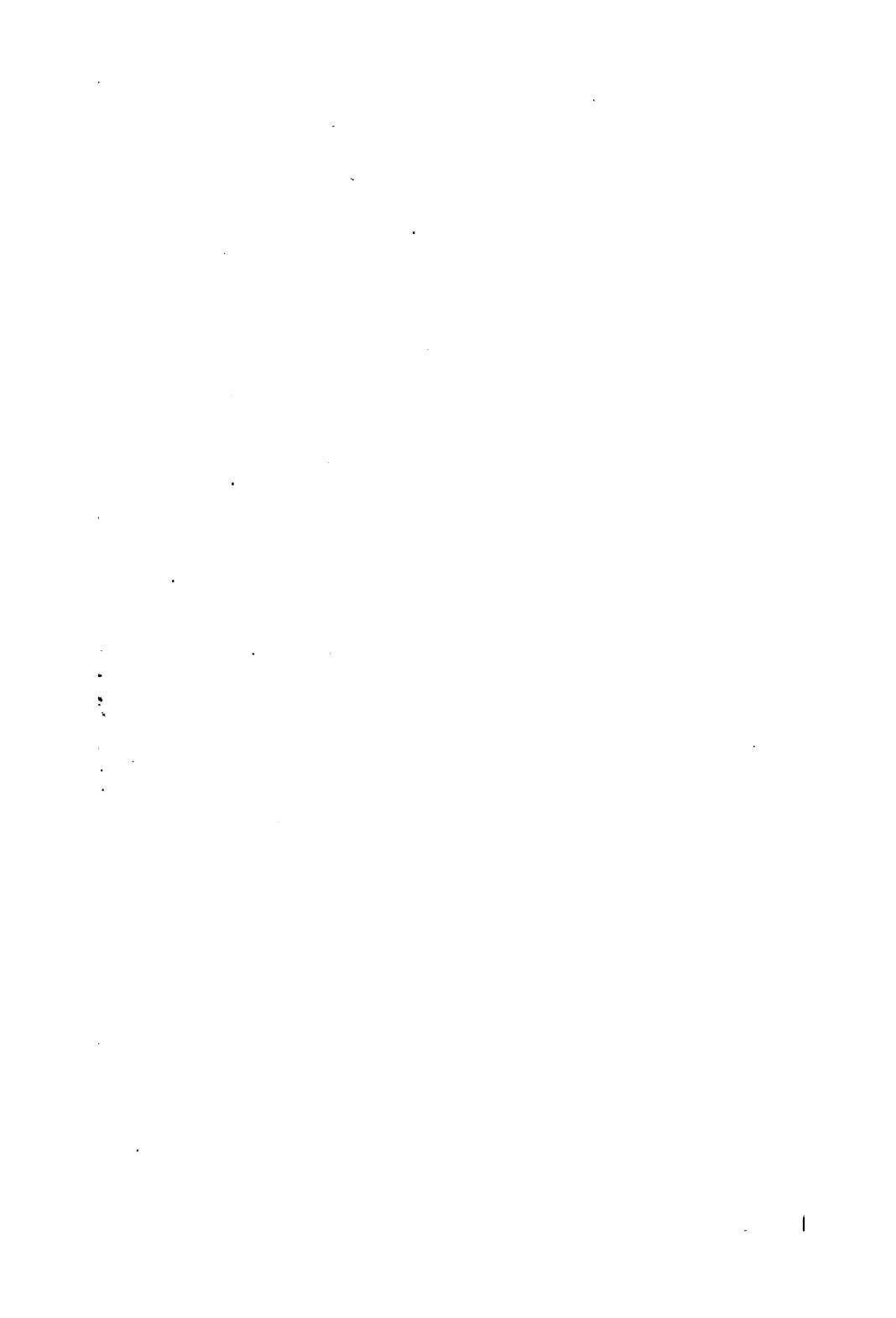
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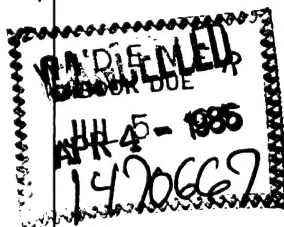
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